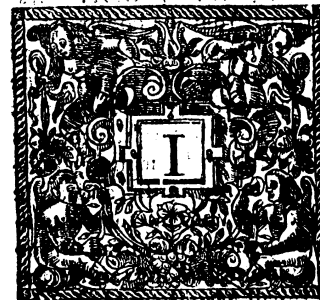


THE  
GENERALL HISTORIE  
of the Turkes, from The first  
beginning of that Nation to the rising  
of the Othoman Familie: with  
all the notable expeditions  
of the Christian  
Princes against  
them.  
Together with  
THE LIVES AND DEEDS  
OF THE OTHOMAN KINGS  
and Emperours  
Written by Richard Knolles, sometime  
fellowe of Lincolne College  
in Oxford.  
With a new continuation, from y<sup>e</sup> yeare of our Lord 1629  
vnto the yeare 1638 faithfully Collected.  
The Fifth edition. printed by  
ADAM ISLIP. 1638 \* \*



TO THE HIGH AND MIGHTY  
Prince JAMES, by the grace of God, King  
of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland;  
*Defendor of the Faith, &c.*



I may of some, and not without just cause (most gracious and dread Soueraigne) be imputed vnto me for no small presumption, to present vnto your royall Majesty (a Prince of so great learning and judgement) these homely fruits of mine endeuors and paines, taken in the Generall History of the Turks, and strange successe of theingreat and mighty *Othoman Empire*. Whereunto for all that I was the rather induced, not only by the rare and wonderfull clemencie, shewed vnto many other the great and most resplendent vertues of your heroicall minde; the least whereof is sufficient to haue cheared vp my weake and feeble spirits; but also by the encouragement of the right worshipfull my most especiall good friend Sir *Peter Manwood* Knight of the Bath, the first inducer of me to take this great worke in hand, and my continuall and onely comfort, stay, and helper therein. Which to do, I was also the more desirous, seeing diuers little volumes, and small parts of the History presented vnto the greatest Princes: as the little Treatise of *Paulus Jou. de Rebus Turcicis*, dedicated vnto the great and mighty Emperour *Charles the fifth*; and the small History of *Caelius Secundus, de Bello Melitensi*, vnto her late sacred Majesty, of most happy and blessed memory, the rare Phoenix of her sex; who now resteth in glory: with diuers others of like sort by the learned Authours thereof still commended, some to one great Prince of their times, some to others: all filling me with good hope that this whole and continuat History of that Northerne and warlike Nation (which in short time by God his appointment hath brought such fatall mutations vpon a great part of the World, as former times haue seldome or neuer seene) drawne euen from the first beginning therof (not together to my knowledge by any one before written) should with your most noble Majesty find no lesse grace and fauour, than hath almost euery part thereof with other the aforesaid and such like most mighty and famous Princes: and the rather, for that your Majesty hath not disdained in your *Lepanto* or *Heroicall Song*, with your learned Muse to adore and set forth the greatest and most glorious victory that euer

## The Epistle Dedicatory.

was by any the Christian confederate Princes obtained against these the *Orhoman* Kings or Emperors. Besides this, the matter and argument of this History and such like (so much concerning the State and good of the Christian Commonweale in general, neuer by any so much impugned or indangered, as by these the naturall and capitall enemies thereof) of right vnto none so properly belongeth, as vnto your most excellent Majesty, with the rest of the Christian Princes, sitting at the helme of your estates; who onely by your vnited forces the barbarous enemies greatest terror are able to giue remedy thereunto: in the chiefeft ranke of whom, your sacred Majesty, for glory, honour, strength, and power (God long preserue the same) is now second vnto none. Thus perswaded and encouraged, I in all humble and dutifull manner do present vnto your Majesty these my weake endeauors, according to my ability and meanes continued for some few yeares more: which how vnworthy soeuer they be of so great and Princely fauour, as well for the mannesse of me the Author, as for the plainnesse of the stile; yet if for the worthinesse of the matter, or of your own great and infinit clemency, you vouchsafe them your Majesties fauourable regard, they shall no doubt liue no lesse fortunate, than if they had bene more happily borne or brought to light: seruing (if to no other vse) yet as faire warnings vnto such great ones as God hath here vpon earth exalted about the rest vnto the highest degrees of power and of state, for the good government and defence of his church and people. Accept them, I beseech you, most mighty Monarch, into your gracious protection, so shall I (if God spare life) be comforted and encouraged vnder so mighty a fauour to proceed to amend what shall be found amisse, and adde what future times and better helpe shall discouer and minister vnto me for the perfection of this History: and according to my bounden duty incessantly in all humility pray vnto the great God of all might and power (by whom all Kings and Princes reigne) to his glory long to preserue your most royall Majesty in blessed health and peace, to rule and reigne over vs and these your great kingdomes, so happily by you vnited: and so likewise (his will so being) your most noble posterity after you, euen to the worlds end.

Your Majesties most

humble and obedient subject,

Richard Knolles.



## The Authors induction to the Christian Reader, vnto the Historie following.

**T**He long and still declining state of the Christian Commonweale, with the utter ruine and subuersion of the Empire of the East, and many other most glorious Kingdomes and Prouinces of the Christians, neuer to be sufficiently lamented, might with the due consideration thereof worthily moue euen a right stony heart to ruth: but therewith also to call to remembrance the dishonour done vnto the blessed name of our Saviour Christ Iesus, the dissolution of his Church here militant vpon earth, the dreadfull danger daily threatened vnto the poore remainder thereof, the millions of soules cast headlong into eternall destruction, the infinite number of wofull Christians (whose grieuous groanings vnder the heavy yoke of infidelity no tongue is able to expresse) with the carelesnesse of the Great for the redresse thereof, might giue cause to any good Christian to sit downe, and with the heauy Prophet to say as he did of Ierusalem: O how hath the Lord darkened the daughter of Sion in his wrath! and cast downe from heauen vnto the earth the beauty of Israel, and remembered not his footstool in the day of his wrath! All which miseries (with many others so great as greater can none be) the Prince of darkenesse and author of all mischief hath by the persecuting Princes of all ages, and ancient hereticks his ministers, labored from time to time to bring vpon the Church of God, to the obscuring of his blessed name, and utter subuersion of his most sacred ward; but yet by none, no not by them all together so much preuailed, as by the false Prophet Mahomet, borne in an unhappy houre, to the great destruction of mankind: whose most grosse and blasphemous doctrine first famished by himselfe in Arabia, and so by him shrouded vnto the World, and afterwards by the Sarasin Caliphes (his seduced successors) with greater forces maintained, was by them, together with their Empire, dispersed ouer a great part of the face of the earth, to the vnspeakable ruine and destruction of the Christian Religion and State: especially in Asia and Africke, with some good part of Europe also. But the unity of this great Mahometan Monarchy being once dissolved, and it diuided into many Kingdomes, and so after the manner of worldly things drawing onto the fatal period of it selfe, in proesse of time became of farre lesse force than before, and so lesse dreadfull vnto the Christian Princes of the West, by whom these Sarasins were againe expelled out of all the parts of Europe, excepting one corner of Spaine, which they yet held within the remembrance of our fathers, vntill that by their victorious forces, they were thence at length happily remoued also, after that they had possessed the same about the space of 700 yeares. In this declination of the Sarasins, the first Champions of the Mahometan superstition (though they had lost much, yet held they many kingdomes both in Asia and Africke, taken for the most part from the Christians) arise the Turks, an obscure and base people, before scarce knowne vnto the World, yet fierce and couragious, who by their valour first aspired vnto the Kingdom of Persia, with diuers other large prouinces: from whence they were about 170 yeares after againe expelled by the Tartars, and enforced to retire themselves into the lesser Asia: where taking the benefit of the discord of the Christian Princes of the East, and the carelesnesse of the Christians in generall they in some good measure repaired their former losses againe, and maintained the state of a kingdom at Iconium in Cilicia (now of them called Carmania) holding in their subjection the greatest parts of that fruitful country, still seeking to raine from the Christians what they had before lost vnto the Tartars. But this kingdom of the Turks declining also, by the dismembring of the same, there stepped up among the Turkes in Bithinia, and Osman or Orhoman, of the Oguzian tribe or family, a man of great spirit and valor, who by little and little growing up among the rest of his countrymen, and other the effeminate Christians on that side of Asia, at last like another Romulus, tooke vpon him the name

Lamen. Iere.  
my, cap. 13.

Granado in  
Spain was re-  
covered from  
the Sarasins by  
the King Perdi-  
nand in the  
yeare, 1492.

of

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of a Sultan or King, and is right worthily accounted the first founder of the mighty Empire of the Turks: which continued by many descents directly in the line of himselfe, even unto Achmat, who now reigneth, is from a small beginning become the greatest terror of the World; and holding in subjection many great and mighty Kingdomes in Asia, Europe, and Africke, is grown to that height of pride, as that it threatneth destruction vnto the rest of the Kingdomes of the earth, labouring with nothing more than with the weight of it selfe. In the greatest whereof is swallowed up both the name and Empire of the Saracins, the glorious Empire of the Greekes, the renowned Kingdomes of Macedonia, Peloponnesus, Epirus, Bulgaria, Scania, Bosna, Armenia, Cyprus, Syria, Egypt, Iudea, Tunes, Algiers, Media, Mesopotamia, with a great part of Hungary, as also of the Persian Kingdom, and all those churches and places so much spoken of in holy Scripture (the Romans only excepted); and in briefe so much of Christendome as farre exceedeth that which is at this day left. So that at this present if you consider the beginning, progress, and perpetuall felicity of this the Othoman Empire, there is in this World nothing more admirable and strange; if the greatnesse and lustre thereof, nothing more magnificent or glorious, if the power and strength thereof, nothing more dreadfull or dangerous: which wondering at nothing but at the beauty of it selfe, and drunke with the pleasant wine of perpetuall felicity, holdeth all the rest of the World in scorn, thundring out nothing but still bloud and war, with a full persuasion in time to rule over all, presenting vnto it selfe no other limits than the uttermost bounds of the earth, from the rising of the Sun vnto the going downe of the same. The causes whereof are many and right lamentable, but for the most part so shut up in the counsels of the great, as that for me to seek after them, were great folly: yet amongst the rest, some others there be, so pregnant and manifest, as that the blinde World taketh thereof, as it were a generall knowledge, and may therefore without offence of the wiser sort (as I hope) even in these our times be lightly touched. Whereof the first and greatest, is the just and secret judgement of the Almighty, who in justice deliuereth into the hands of these mercilesse miscreants, nation after nation, and Kingdomes upon Kingdomes, as vnto the most terrible executioner of his dreadfull wrath, to be punished for their sins: others in the meane while, no lesse sinfull than they, in his mercy enjoying the benefit of a longer time calling them vnto repentance. Then, the uncertaintie of Worldly things, which subject to perpetuall change, cannot long stay in one state, but as the sea is with the wind, so are they in like sort tossed up and downe with the continual surges and waues of alteration and change; so that being once growne to their height, they there stay not long, but fall againe as fast as ever they rise, and so in time come to nothing: as we see the greatest monarchies that ever yet were upon earth haue done, their course being run; over whom Time now triumpheth, as no doubt at length it shall ouer this so great a Monarchie also, when it shall but then lue by fame, as the others now do. Next to these causes from above (without offence be it said) is the small care the Christian Princes, especially those that dwell further off, haue had of the common state of the Christian common weale, whereof euen the very greatest haue to account themselves but as the principall members of one and the same body, and haue or ought to haue, as sharpe a feeling one of anothers harmes, as hath the head of the wrongs done vnto the feet, or rather as if it were done vnto themselves; in stead of which Christian compassion and vnitie, they haue enuie, and euen yet at this time are so diuided among themselves with endlesse quarrels, partly for questions of Religion (neuer by the sword to be determined) partly for matters touching their owne proper state and souereignty, and that with such distrust and implacable hatred, that they neuer could as yet (although it hath bene long wished) joine their common forces against the common enemy: but turning their weapons one vpon another (the more to be lamented) haue from time to time weakened themselves, and opened way for him to deuoure them one after another: whereas with their combined forces (the greatesse enemies greatest terror) they might long since not only haue repressed his fury, and abated his pride, but with small danger, and with glory (and fauouring their so honourable attempts) haue againe recovered from him most of those famous Christian Kingdomes, which he by force against all right holdeth at this day in most miserable subjection and shalldome: many millions of the poore oppressed Christians in the meane time out of the furnace of tribulation, in the awfull of their soules crying in vaine vnto their Christian brethren for reliefe. By it will discord the noble country of Gracia perish, when as the father is fighting against the son, and the son against the father, and brother against brother, they so the way will destruction of themselves called in the Turke, who like a greedy Lyon lurking in woodes, lay in wait for whom all. So perished the Kingdomes of Bulgaria, Serua, Bosna, and Epirus, with the famous Islands of Rhodes and Cyprus, betrayed as it were by the Christian Princes their neighbours, by whom they might haue easily bene relieved. So the most flourishing and strong Kingdom of Hungary (in whose religion whereof the fortune of the Turkish Empire hath longer stucke, than in the conquest of any other Kingdom, by it attempted whatsoeuer) diuided in it selfe by the ambition of Princes, and civil discord, the weaker still calling vnto

The causes of the greatnesse and encrease of the Turkish Empire.

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his aid the mighty power of the Turke, is long since for the most part become vnto him a prey; the poore remainders thereof being at this day hardly defended by the forces of the Christian Emperour, and of the Princes his Confederats, sold sometimes meeting together with such cheerfulness or expedition as the necessity of so great a matter requirith. Vnto which so great a cause of the Common decay, may be added the euill choice of our soldiers employed in those wars, who taken up hand ouer head out of the promiscuous common people, are for most part vntrained men, seruing rather for shew and the filling up of number, than for use; and in no respect to be compared with the Turks Janizaries, and other his most expert soldiers, continually euen from their youth exercised in feats of Armes. Not to speake in the meane time of the want of the ancient Martiall discipline, the wholesome preperation of most puissant Armies: which breedeth in the proud Enemy a contempt of the Christian forces, with a full persuasion of himselfe, That he is not by such disordered and weak means to be withstood. But to come ncerer vnto the causes of the Turks greatnesse, and more proper vnto themselves, as not depending of the imprudent carelessness, weakenesse, discord, and imperfections of others: First, In them is to be noted an ardent and infinite desire of souerainty, wherewith they haue long since promised vnto themselves the Monarchie of the whole world, a quicke motive to their haughty designs. Then, such a rare vnitie and agreement amongst them, as well in the manner of their Religion (if it be so to be called) as in matters concerning their State (especially in all their enterprises to be taken in hand for the augmenting of their Empire) as that therof they call themselves Islams, that is to say, Men of one minde, or at peace amongst themselves; so that it is not to bee maruelled, if thereby they grow strong themselves, and dreadfull vnto others. Ioyne vnto this their courage, conceived by the wonderfull successe of their perpetuall fortune; Their notable vigilance, in taking the advantage of euery occasion for the enlarging of their Monarchie; Their frugalitie and temperance in their dyet and other manner of liuing; their carefull obseruing of their ancient Military Discipline, their cheerefull and almost incredible obedience vnto their Princes and Sultans; such, as in that point no Nation in the world was to be worthily compared vnto them. All great causes why their Empire hath so mightily increased, and so long continued. Whereunto may be added the two strongest sinewes of euery well governed Commonwealth, Reward propounded to the good, and Punishment threatned vnto the offender, where the prize is for vertue and valour set up, and the way layd open for euery common person, be he neuer so meanly borne, to aspire vnto the greatest honours and preferments both of the Court and of the Field; yea euen vnto the neerest affinitie of the great Sultan himselfe, if his valor or other worth shall so deserve: when as on the contrary part the disloyall or cowardly is to expect from the same souerain power nothing but disgrace, death, and torture. And yet these great ones, not contented by such commendable and lawfull means still to extend or establish their far spreading Empire, if that point once come in question, they sticke not in their deuillish policie to breake and infringe the Lawes both of Nations and Nature. Their leagues, grounded vpon the Law of Nations, be they with neuer so strong capitulations concluded, or solemnity of oath confirmed, haue with them no longer force than standeth with their owne profit, seruing indeed but as snarres to intangle other Princes in, until they haue singled out him whom they purpose to deuoure; the rest fast bound by their leagues, still looking on, as if their owne turne should neuer come, yet with no more assurance of their safety by their leagues, than had the other whom they see perish before their faces. As for the kind law of nature, what can be thereunto more contrary, than for the father most vnnaturally to embroile his hands in the bloud of his own children? and the brother to become the bloody executioner of his owne brother? a common matter among the Othoman Emperours. All which most execrable and inhumane murders, they couer with the pretended safety of their State, as thereby freed from the feare of all aspiring competitors (the greatest torment of the mighty) and by the preperation of the integritie of their Empire, which they therely keep whole and entire vnto themselves, and so keepe it as it were by hand from one to another, in no part dismembred or impaired. By these and such like means is this barbarous Empire (of almost nothing) growne to that height of maiesty and power, as that it hath in contempt all the rest, being it selfe not inferior in greatnesse and strength vnto the greatest Monarchies that ever yet were vpon the face of the earth, the Romane Empire only excepted. Which how farre it shall yet further spread none knoweth, but hee that holdeth in his hand all the Kingdomes of the earth, and with his word boundeth in the raging of the sea, so that it cannot further passe. Moued with the greatnesse and glory of this so mighty and dreadfull an Empire, growne for the most part out of the ruine of the Christian Commonweale, with the utter subuersion of many great and flourishing Kingdomes, and wofull fall of many mighty puissant and mighty Princes, not without griefe to be remembered; I long since (as many others haue) entred into the heauy consideration thereof, purposing so to haue contented my selfe with a light view

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of that which might well bee for euery of all good Christians lamented, but hardly or neuer remedied: untill that afterwards led with a more earnest desire to know the strange and fatall mutations by this barbarous nation in former time brought vpon a great part of the world, as also so much as I might be so great a terror of the present time, and in what terms it standeth with the rest, I had with long search and much labor, mixt with some pleasure and myne own reasonable contentment, passed through the whole melancholy course of their tragickall history: yet without purpose euery so haue commended the same, or any part thereof to the remembrance of posteritie, as deeming it an argument of too high a reach, and fitter for some more happy wit, better furnished with such helps both of nature and art as are requisite for the undertaking of so great a charge, than was my selfe, of many thousand the meanest. Being not vnderstanding alfo of that which the Poet (keeping Decorum) saith in the like case, though farre lesse matter of himselfe.

Cum canerem Reges & praelia, Cynthius aurem  
Velit, & admonuit: Pastorem Tittere pingues  
Pascere oportet oues, deducam ducere carmen.

When I did sing of mighty Kings, or else of bloody War,  
Apollo pluckt me by the eare, and said I went too far:  
Beside a Shepheard Titterus, his satlings for to feed,  
And for to sit his rurall song vnto his slender reed.

Besides that, so many difficulties euen at the first presented themselves vnto my view, as to overcome the same, if I should take the labour in hand, seemed to mee almost impossible: for beside the sea and world of matter I was to passe through (requiring both great labor and time) full of the most rare example both of the better and worse fortune in men of all sort & condition, yeelding more pleasure vnto the reader, than facilitie to the writer: I saw not any, among so many as had had taken this argument in hand, whome I might as a sure guid or Lead star long follow in the course of this so great an history (many right worthy and learned men (whose memory my soul honoureth) contenting themselves to haue with their learned pens inrolled in the records of neuer-dying fame, some, one great expedition or action, some another, as in their time it fell out: yea, the Turkish histories and Chronicles themselves (from whom the greatest lights for the continuation of the History was in reason to haue bin expected) being in the declaration of their own affairs (according to their barbarous manner) so sparing and short, that they may of right be accounted rather short rude notes, than iust Histories; rather pointing things out, than declaring the same, and that with such obscuritie, by changing the ancient and vsuall names, as well of whole Kingdoms, Countries and Provinces, as of Cities, Townes, Riuer, Mountains, and other places, yea, and oftentimes Men themselves into other strange and barbarous names of their owne deuising; in such sort as might well stay an intente Reader, and deprive him of the pleasure, together with the profit he might otherwise expect by the reading thereof; whereunto to giue order, perspicuitie, and light, would require no small trouble and paine: (Not to strake in the meane time of the diuersitie of reports in the course of the whole History, such as is oftentimes most hard, if not altogether impossible to reconcile.) Notwithstanding all which difficulties, with many others more proper vnto my selfe, hauing with long labour and diligent search passed through the course of the whole History, and so in some reasonable sort satisfied my selfe therein, I thought it not amisse, as well for the worthinesse of the matter, as for the zeale I beare vnto the Christian Commonwealth, and for the satisfying also of some others my good Friends very desirous of the same, to make proofe if out of the dispersed Workes of many right worthy men, I could set downe one orderly and continuant History of this so mighty an Empire; with the great and fatall mutation, or rather subuersion of many right strong and flourishing Kingdomes and States (the proper worke of all mighty Empires, still encreasing by the fall of others) wherewith this proud Monarchy hath already daunted a great part of the world, being so many and so strange, as that moe, or more wonderfull were not euery so be scene in any of the greatest Monarchies of ancient time or memory; and so together, and as it were vnder one view, and at one shew, to lay open vnto the Christian Reader what I was glad to seeke for out of the confused Labours of many. A Worke so long and laborious, as might well haue deterred a right resolute and constant minde from the undertaking thereof; beeing as yet to my knowledge not undergone or performed by any. Wherein, amongst such varietie, or more truly to say, contrarietie of Writers, I did not content my selfe (as a blinde man led by his Guide happily hauing no better sight than himselfe) to tread the steppes of this or that one man going for a while before mee, and by and by lea-

uing

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uing me againe stumbling in the darke: but out of the learned and faithfull works of many, according to my simple judgement to make choice of that was most probable, still supplying with the perfections of the better, what I found wanting or defective in the weaker, propounding vnto my selfe no other mark to aime at, than the very truth of the History; as that which is selfe of power to giue life vnto the dead letter, and to couer the faults escaped in the homely penning or compiling thereof. Which the better to performe, I collected so much of the History as possibly I could, out of the writings of such as were themselves present, and as it were eie-witnesses of the greatest part of that they writ, and so as of all others best able, most like also to haue left vnto vs the very truth. Such is the greatest part of so much of the History of the Grecke Empire as I haue (for the better understanding of the rising of the Turks in this History) set downe, gathered out of the doings of Nicetas Choniates, Nicephorus, Gregoras, and Laonicus Chalcocondiles, all writing such things as they themselves saw, or were for most part in their time, and neere vnto them done. Such are the wonderfull and almost incredible wars betwixt old Amurath the second, and his foster child the fortunat Prince of Epirus, of the Turks commonly called Scanderbeg, and by that waierd tyrant at his death, together with his kingdom deliuered as it were by inheritance, vnto his son the great and cruell Sultan Mahomet: all written by Marinus Barletius, himselfe an Epirot, and in all those troublesome times then liuing in Scodra, a city of the Venetians joyning vpon Epirus. Such is the wofull captivity of the Imperiall city of Constantinople, with the miserable death of the Grecke Emperour Constantinus Palaeologus, and the fatall ruine of the Grecke Empire, written by Leonardus Chienfis, Archbishop of Mytilene, being himselfe then present, and there taken prisoner. Such is the lamentable History of the Rhodes, taken for most part out of Ia. Fontanus his three bookes de bello Rhodio, a learned man then present, and in great credit with Villerius the Great Master, at such time as that famous Island, after it had by him and the other worthy Knights of the Order, bin most wonderfully of long defended, was to the great ruth of Christendome taken by the Great Sultan Solymán. Such is the most tragickall History of Bajazet, Solymán's youngest son, collected out of the notable Epistles of Augerius Busbequius, Legationis Turcicae, he himselfe then lying Embassador for the Emperour Ferdinand at Constantinople, and present in Solymán's campe, at such time as he himselfe in person went ouer with his army into Asia, to countenance his eldest son Selymus, who succeeded him in the Empire, against his valiant younger brother Bajazet, and beside well acquainted with the great Bassas, Achmet, Rustan, Haly, and others, oftentimes mentioned in the History following. Such is also the History of the taking of the ancient city of Tripolis in Barbary from the Knights of Malta by Sinan the proud Bassa, written by Nicholas Nicholas Lord of Arsenise, present at the same time with the Lord of Aramont, then Embassador for the French King vnto Solymán. So might I say also of the miserable spoile of the fruitfull and pleasant Islands of the Mediterranean, made by Lutzis Bassa, Solymán's brother in law, and great Admirall; with the submitting of the Island of Naxos to the Turks obedience, written by Iohn Crispe, at that time Duke of the same Island. And so likewise of diuers other parts of the History, too long to rehearse. But forasmuch as euery great and famous action had not the fortune to haue in it a Caesar, such as both could and would commend vnto posterity by writing that wherof they might truly say, They were themselves a great part, many right excellent Generals contenting themselves with the honour of the field, and their glory therevpon, leauing the honourable fame thereof to be by others reported, for lacke of such most certaine Authors, or rather (as I before said) eie witnesses, I gathered so much as I could of that remained, out of the workes of such, as being themselves men of great place, and well acquainted with the great and worthy personages of their time, might from their mouths, as from certaine Oracles, report the vndoubted truth of many most famous exploits done both by themselves and others: as might Pau. Iouius from the mouth of Muleassies King of Tunes, from Valtius the great General, from Auria the Prince of Mothia, Charles the Emperour his Admirall, and such others: or els out of the writings of such as were themselves great traouellers into the Turks dominions, and withall, diligent observers of their affaires and state, as were the Physitions Pantaleon, Minadoie, and Leunclaius (of all others a most curious searcher of their Antiquities and Histories) vnto which great clerkes, and some others of that learned profession, we may worthily attribute the greatest light and certainty of that is reported of a great part of the Turkish affaires. But these in the course of so long an History failing also (as by conferring that which is hereafter written, together with their Histories is easily to be perceived) to perfect that I had taken in hand, I tooke my refuge vnto the writings of such other learned and credible Authors, as of whose integrity and faithfulness the World hath not to my knowledge at any time yet doubted: yea, for these few late years I was glad out of the German and Italian Writers in their owne language in part to borrow the knowledge of these late affaires: as also from the credible

The order of the Authors proceeding in the writing of this History.

and

and certaine report of some such honorable minded gentlemen of our owne country, as haue either for their honors sake served in these late wars in Hungary, or upon some other occasion spent some good times in travelling into the Turks dominions, but especially unto the Imperiall city of Constantinople, the chiefe seat of the Turkish Empire, and place of the Great Turks abode: amongst whom I cannot but deservcdly remember my kind friend and cousin Master Rog. Howe, unto whose discreet and curious obseruations during the time of his late abode at Constantinople, I justly account my selfe for many things beholden. In which course of my proceeding, if the Reader find not himselfe so fully satisfied as he could desire, I would be glad by him my selfe to be better informed, as being no lesse desirous to learn the truth of that I know not, than willing to impart to others that little which I know.

Thus much I thought good to set downe, to perswade the Christian Reader of the truth of the History following, wherein he shall find matter enough to wonder at, and no lesse strange than that, whatsoeuer it is that is written of the greatest Monarchies of ancient time, unto whom for power and Majesty it yeeldeth little: but so much the more worthy our consideration than they for that their periods already run, and so their fury over past, this in our time so flourisheth, and at this present so mightily swelleth, as if it would overflow all, were it not for the mercy of God first, and then by the force of some few of the Christian Princes nearest unto so great a danger, with their so great charge, to their immortall glory, and benefit of the Christian Commonweale, mightily checked and kept within some bounds and compasse. This History for the most part thus as is aforesaid passed through, and brought to some good perfection, was yet by me againe laied aside, and like enough euen as an abortive fruit to haue perished in the birth before it was grown to perfection, had I not many times fainting in the long and painefull trauell therewith, by my respectuall good and honorable friend, Sir Peter Manwood of Saint Stephens in the County of Kent, Knight of the honourable Order of the Bath, a great louer and fauourer of learning (and in whose keeping it so far the most part many yeares in safety rested) been still comforted, and as it were againe reuiued, and finally encouraged to take it in hand, and as at first to perfect it; so now againe to continue it: unto whom (being the only furtherer, stay, and helpe of those my labours) I thou art for such pleasure as thou findest therein in courtly beholde, and I for euer bounden. Now, what I for my part haue in this my long trauell performed, I leaue it to thy good discretion to consider, contenting my selfe in so great matter to haue been willing to haue done som thing; wishing no longer to lue, than in some measure to be profitable to the Christian Commonweale, which long since in my nursing mothers house Lincolne Colledge in Oxford, where I was sometime fellow, I did purpose to performe, as it should please God in time to giue me means and occasion: in which minde I hope by the goodnesse and mercy of Christ my Saviour so long as I lue to continue. Only this fauour (to conclude with) I request of thee, that if in this so long and perplexed an History (by piece meale of so many diuersly handled) written by me in a World of troubles and cares, in a place that afforded no means of comfort to proceed in so great a worke, thou chance to light upon some things otherwise reported than thou hast elsewhere read them (as I doubt not but thou maist) not therefore forthwith to condemne what thou here findest, being haply taken from a more certain reporter than was that whereunto thou giuest more credit, or at leastwise not written by me, as meaning in any thing to prejudice the better judgement, but to leaue it to thy good choice in such diuersity of reports to follow that which may seeme unto thee most true. By which courtesie thou hast already encouraged me to ioyne unto my former History a Continuation for some few yeares, in this Edition, and yet vncertaine (God giue me life and health) hereafter encourage me to performe some other Worke to thy no lesse contentment. So wishing thee all happinesse, I bid thee farewell. From Sandwich the last of March, 1610.

Thine in all dutifull kindenesse,

RIC. KNOLLES.



# THE GENERALL HISTORIE OF THE TURKES, BEFORE THE RISING OF THE OTHOMAN FAMILIE, WITH ALL THE NOTABLE EXPEDITIONS OF THE CHRISTIAN PRINCES AGAINST THEM.



THE glorious Empire of the Turkes, the present terrour of the world, hath amongst other things nothing in it more wonderful or strange, than the poore beginning of it selfe, so small and obscure, as that it is not well known unto themselves, or agreed vpon euen among the best writers of their Histories, from whence this barbarous nation, that now so triumpheth ouer the best part of the world, first crept out or tooke their beginning. Some (after the manner of most nations) deriue them from the Trojans, led thereunto by the affinitie of the words *Turci* and *Teucri*, supposing (but with what probability I know not) the word *Turci* or *Turks* to haue bin made of the corruption of the word *Teucri*, the common name of the Trojans: as also for that

*Diuers opinions concerning the beginning of the Turkes.*

D the Turkes haue of long most inhabited the lesser Asia, wherein the ancient & most famous city of Troy somtime stood. No great reason in my deeming, yet giue the authors thereof leaue therewith to please themselves, as well as some others, which dwelling much further off, borrow, or rather force their beginning from thence, without any probability at all; and that with such earnestnes, as if they could not elsewhere haue found any so honorable ancestors. Other some report them to haue first come out of Persia, and of I wor not what city there to haue taken their name: neither want their some which affirme them to haue taken their beginning out of Arabia, yea and some out of Syria, with many other far fet devices concerning the beginning and name of this people: all seruing to no better purpose, than to shew the vncertainty therof. Among others, Philip of Mornay the noble & learned Frenchman, in his worthy work concerning the trunnes of the Christian religion, seemeth (and that not without good reason) to deriue the Turkes, together with the Tartars, from the Iewes, namely from the ten Tribes, which were by *Salmanafer* King of Assiria, in the time of *Osias* king of Israel, carried away into captiuitie, and by him confined into Media, and the other vnpeopled countries of the North, whose going thither is not vnaptly described by *Esdra*, where among the great Lords of the Tartars, in the farthest part of the world Northward, euen at this day are found some, that still retain the names of *Dan*, *Zabulon*, and *Neptahy*, a certain argument of their descent: wherunto also the word *Tartar* or *Tatar*, signifying in the Syrian tongue, remnants or leauings, and the word *Turke*, a word of disgrace, signifying in Hebrew, banished men, seemeth right well to agree. Besides that, in the Northern countries of Russia, Sarmatia, and Lythuania, are found greater store of the Iewish nation, than elsewhere, & so neerer vnto the Tartarians stil the moe: wherunto *Io. Leunclauius* the most curious searcher out of the Turkes antiquities and monuments, addeth as a farther conjecture of the descent of those barbarous Northern people from the Iewes, That in his trauel through Livonia, into Lythuania in the country neere vnto the metropolitan city of Riga, he

*a. King cap 17.  
4. Eld. cap 13.*

*Io. Leunclauius  
us Part 1. c. 13.  
cap 13.*

other-  
wise, all d  
Tangrolipix,  
sent to aid the  
Persian Sultan.

whom the Greeks commonly call *Tangrolipix*, and some others, *Saduk*, or *Sidok*, names (as I suppose) corrupted of the great familie whereof he was descended. By the aid of this *Tangrolipix* (for now we will so call him, as by the name most used) *Mahomet* the Persian Sultan overcame *Pisafiris* the Caliph of Babylon, his Arabians being not able to endure the force of his Turkish archers. This war thus happily ended, the Turks desiring to returne home, requested of the Sultan leave to depart, and with a safe convoy to be conducted vnto the riuer Araxis, and there to haue the passage of that swift riuer opened vnto them, which was by the Persians strongly kept by two Castles built vpon each end of the bridge, wherby the riuer was to be passed. But *Mahomet* loth to forgoe such necessarie men, by whom he had obtained so great a victory, and purposing to employ them further in his seruice against the Indians, would by no means hearken vnto their request, but seeming therewith to be discontented, commanded them to speake no more thereof, threatening them violence if they should more presume to talke of their departure. The Turks therefore doubtfull of their estate, and fearing further danger, secretly withdrew themselves into the desert of Carauitis: and for that they were in number but few, and not able to come into the open field against so many millions of the Saracens, liued as they might, by continuall incursions and roads which they made out of the desert Forrest into the countries adjoining: wherewith *Mahomet* greatly incensed, sent out an army of 20000 men, vnder the conduct of ten of his best Captaines, against them: who for want of water & other necessities, doubting to enter the desert, encamped themselves in the side of the Forrest, there to consult what course to take. But *Tangrolipix* who with his Turks lay a great way off in the covert of the woods and mountains, understanding of the coming of his enemies, and of the manner of their lying, thought it best vpon the sudden by night to set vpon the Saracens and Persians, if so happily he might overthrow them by policie, whom he was not able to encounter in plain battell. Vpon which resolution hauing trauelled 2 daies long march in the desert, the third day at night he suddenly set vpon his enemies, lying negligently in their trenches, and by his vnexpected coming brought such a feare vpon them, that they without longer stay betooke themselves to flight, every man shifing for himself without regard of others. This victory so happily gained, and *Tangrolipix* now (beyond his hope) throughly furnished with armor, horses, and abundance of all things needfull for the wars, kept the woods & Forrests no longer as a thief or out law, but shewed himself in the open field, where dayly repaired vnto him numbers of rogues and vagabonds seeking after spoile; with many other desperate villains, who for feare of punishment were glad of such a refuge: so that in a short space his army was growne to be 50000 strong; and so much the stronger, for that they had nothing to trust vnto more than the valour of themselves. Whilst *Tangrolipix* thus increaseth, *Mahomet* enraged with the overthrow of his army, in his fury caused all those ten captaines which had the leading thereof, to haue their cies pluckt out; threatening also to attire all the soldiers that fled out of the battell, in womans apparel, and so disgraced to carry them about as cowards; and with all raised a great army for the suppressing of the Turks. All things being now in readinesse, he set forward; when by the way the souldiers whom he had so threatened to disgrace, suddenly fled to the enemy: with whose coming *Tangrolipix* greatly encouraged and strengthened, resolved to glue the Sultan battell. And so boldly coming on, met with him at *Sipahan* a city of Persia, where was fought betwixt them a most terrible battell, with wonderfull slaughter on both sides. In the heat of which battell, *Mahomet* vnadvisedly riding to and fro to encourage his soldiers, falling with his horse, brake his necke: vpon which mischance both the armies, coming to agreement, by common consent proclaimed *Tangrolipix* Sultan in his stead, and so made him King and Persia, and of all the other large dominions vnto that kingdom belonging. This was the first kingdom of the Turks, begun by the good fortune of *Tangrolipix* about 214 yeres after their coming out of Scythia, in the yere also of our Lord, 1030. *Constantinus Monomachus* then reigning, or a little before (according to the Turks account) the reign of *Romanus Argirus*, *Constantine* his predecessor. *Tangrolipix* by rare fortune, thus of a mean captain become King of Persia, forthwith commanded the garrison which kept the bridge over the riuer Araxis, to be removed, and so free passage to be giuen to the Turks into their countrymen, at their pleasure to come over: who in great multitudes repaired into Persia, where they were by the new Sultan well provided for, and by little and little promoted vnto the greatest

Mahomet the Persian Sultan sought himselfe with an armie against Tangrolipix.

Tangrolipix by conquest of the Indians made Sultan of Persia.

Tangrolipix King of Persia.

A greatest dignities of that kingdom; the Persians and Saracens, the antient inhabitants thereof being by these new come guests now kept vnder, and as it were troden vnder foot. Together with this kingdom, the Turks receiued the Mahometane superstition, from which they before not much abhorred, as men vsing circumcision: So that hard it is to say whether Nation lost more; the Persians and Saracens by the losse of so great a kingdom, or the Turks, embracing so great a vanitie.

*Tangrolipix* with his Turkes thus possessed of the kingdom of Persia, held not himselfe therewith long content, but made war vpon his neighbor princes, especially against *Pisafiris* the Caliph of Babylon, whom he in diuers battels overthrow; and hauing at length slaine him, ioyned his kingdom vnto his owne. After that, he sent *Cutlu-Muses* his cousin, with an armie against the Arabians, by whom he was overthrowne and put to flight. But returning by Media, he requested of *Stephan* the Greeke Emperours Lieutenant, leave to passe with his armie by the confines of his countrie: which his request *Stephan* not onely reiected, but also by strong hand sought to stop his passage; but ioyning battell with him, was by the Turks easily overthrowne, & himselfe taken. So *Cutlu-Muses* returning to *Tangrolipix*, and recounting vnto him the successe of his warres, perswaded him to turne his forces into Media, as a most fruitfull country and easie to be subdued. But he highly offended with the overthrow giuen by the Arabians, would not hearken vnto him, but raising a new armie in hope of better fortune, went against the Arabians in person himselfe. *Cutlu-Muses* in the meane time fearing the Sultans displeasure, fled with his followers and fauorites; and taking for his refuge *Palar* a strong citie of the Chorasmiens, reuolted from him: which the Sultan seeming not to regard, held on his intended iourney against the Arabians, by whom he was also put to the worst, and enforced with dishonour to returne. After that, he with part of his army besieged *Cutlu-Muses*, who by the strength of the place, and valour of the people, for a great while notably defended himselfe. In the meane time *Tangrolipix*, not vnindeed what *Cutlu-Muses* had before said vnto him, concerning the easines of the conquest of Media (a countrie, as he sayd, defended but by women) sent *Asan* his brothers son, surnamed the deafe, with a conuenient armie to inuade the same: who entering into the frontiers of that prouince, was there by the Emperours lieutenant overthrowne, & himselfe with the greatest part of his army slaine: with which losse the Sultan rather enraged than discouraged, sent *Habramy Alim* his brother again, with an army of an hundred thousand fighting men: with which so great a power the Emperours lieutenant thought it not good to encounter, vntill hee had procured further ayd from the Emperour, especially out of Iberia; and therefore kept himselfe with such power as he had, within his strong and fenced places. Which *Alim* perceiuing, & out of hope to draw him vnto battell, roaming vp and downe the Country, at last besieged *Arzen*, an open town, but full of rich merchants, by whom it was (contrarie to his expectation) notably defended for the space of six dayes, vntill that at length the Turks seeing no other way to win it, set fire vpon it in diuers places; by force whereof the inhabitants were enforced for safeguard of their liues to flie & to leaue the towne with an infinite wealth to the spoile of the enemy. By this time was *Liparites* Gouvernor of Iberia, come with a great power to the ayd of the Emperours Lieutenant in Media: whereof *Alim* hauing intelligence, without delay hastened with his armie towards his enemies: and meeting with them a little before night, had with them a cruell fight; wherein the victorie fel vnto the Christians, who had the Turks in chase a great part of the night: neuertheless *Liparites* valiantly fighting in another wing of the battell, was there taken, & so carried away prisoner: for whose ransom the Emperour sent a great sum of mony, with certain presents to the Sultan: all which he sent back againe, & frankly set *Liparites* at libertie, wishing him neuer to beare armes more against the Turks. And with him sent the *Seriph*, a man of great place among the Mahometans, his Embassador vnto the Emperour. Who coming to Constantinople, amongst other things, proudly demanded of the Emperour, to become tributarie vnto the Sultan, and so to bee at peace with him for euer: Which his vnreasonable demand was by the Emperour with no lesse disdain scornfully reiected, & the *Seriph* so dismissed. Which contempt of his Embassador the Sultan taking in euill part, as also not a little moued with the death of his nephew, and losse of his armie, with all his power inuaded the Romane prouinces; but being come as far as *Coime* without any notable harme doing, for that the countrie people hearing before of his coming, had in time conueighed themselves with their substance into their strong holds, whereof there

whilst the Turks first receiued the Mahometane superstition.

Cutlu-Muses sent by Tangrolipix against the Turkes.

Cutlu-Muses rebelleth against Tangrolipix.

The Turkes Embassador commeth to the Emperour. Tangrolipix inuadeth the Emperours dominions.

was great store in those countries; and hearing also that the Greeke Emperour was raising a great power to come against him at Cæsarea; not daring to proceed any further, leaving so many enemies behind him, he fretting in himselfe, returned into Media, where finding the people all fled into their strong townes, hee layd siege vnto Mantzichiart, a Citie standing in a plaine champion Countrey, but strongly fortified with a triple wall and deepe ditches. This Citie hee furiously assaulted by the space of thirtie daies without intermission, but all in vaine, the same being still notably defended by *Basilus* Gouverneur thereof, and the other Christians therein. The Sultan wearie of this siege, and about to haue risen, was by *Alcan* one of his chiefe Captaines, perswaded yet to stay one day, for him to make prooffe in, what hee were able to doe for the gaining thereof: whereunto the Sultan yeelded, committing the whole charge of the assault vnto him. *Alcan* the next day diuiding the armie into two parts, H and placing the one part vpon the higher ground, of purpose with the multitude of their shot to haue ouerwhelmed the defendants; with the other part of the armie, furnished with all things needfull for the assault, approached to the walls: the Sultan in the meane time with certaine of the chiefe Turkes, from an high place beholding all that was done. But this so forward a Captaine in the midst of his endeauor lost himselfe, being slaine with a great number of his followers in approaching the wall. His dead bodie knowne by the beauty of his armour, was by two valiant young men that sallied out of the gate, drawne by the haire of his head into the Citie, and his head being forthwith cut off, was cast ouer the wall among the Turkes: wherewith the Sultan discouraged, and out of hope of gaining the Citie, rose with his army, pretending himselfe with other his vrgent affaires to be called home, and threatening I withall, the next spring to returne with greater power, and to do great matters. But not long after, great discord arose betwixt the Sultan and his brother *Habramie Alim*, inasmuch that the Sultan fought by diuers means to haue taken him out of the way: which *Habramie* perceiving, fled to his Nephew *Cutlu Musse*, and ioyning his forces with his, denounced war vnto the Sultan his brother; who meeting with them not far from Pazar, overcame them in plain battell, wherein *Habramie* was taken, and presently by the commandement of his brother put to death. But *Cutlu Musse*, with his cousin *Melch*, and six thousand Turkes, fled into Armenia; and by messengers sent of purpose, requested of the Emperour *Constantinus Monomachus*, to be received into his protection. But the Sultan with his armie following them at the heels, they for their more safetie were glad to flye into Arabia. The Sultan afterwards turning into Iberia, did there great harme, spoyling the countrey before him: against whom the Emperour sent *Michael Acoluthus*, a valiant captaine. Of whose approach the Sultan hearing, and that hee would vndoubtedly ere long giue him battell, (deeming it no great honour vnto him to overcome the Emperours seruant, but an eternall dishonor to be of him ouerthrown) retired with his army back again to Tauris, leaving behind him one *Samuch* with three thousand Turkes, to infest the frontiers of the Emperours territories: which both he and other the Turkes Captaines afterward more easily did, for that *Monomachus* the Emperour hauing prodigally spent the treasures of the Empire, to increase his reuennue, had imposed a tribute vpon the frontier countries of his empire, which were wont before to be free from all exactions; in lieu whereof they were bound to defend the passages from all incursions of the enemy: but now pressed L with new impositions, had dissolued their wonted garrisons, and left an easie entrance for the barbarous enemies into the provinces confining vpon them. Besides that, the Emperours immediately following, and especially *Constantinus Ducas*, abhorring from wars, and giuen altogether to the hoarding of treasure, gaue little countenance, and lesse maintenance, vnto men of seruice, which in short time turned to the great weakening, and in fine to the vtter ruine of the Constantinopolitan empire. At the same time also the government of the Constantinopolitan empire, by the death of *Constantinus Ducas* the late Emperour, came to his wife *Eudocia* with her three sons, *Michael*, *Andronicus* and *Constantinus*, all very young: whose sex and tender yeres the barbarous nations hauing in contempt, at their pleasure grievously spoyled the provinces of the empire, namely Mesopotamia, Cilicia, Capadocia, yea and sometimes as farre as M Coelesiria. The report whereof much troubled the Empreffe, and gaue occasion for many that loued her not, to say, That so troubled an estate required the government of some worthy man. Wherefore she fearing lest that the Senat making choice of some other, she and her children should be remoued from the government, thought it best for the preservation of her state and her childrens, to make choice of some notable and valiant man for her husband, that for

Disfection betwixt Tangrotipix and his brother Habramie Alim.

Cutlu Musse flyeth into Arabia.

Coutenousse and lacke of reward the decay of the Constantinopolitan empire.

Eudocia the Empreffe contrary to her oath defrains her marriage.

- A for her and hers, should take vpon him the managing of so weightie affaires. But to check this her purpose (the only remedy of her troubled thoughts) she had at the death of the late Emperour *Constantine* her husband, at such time as the Soueraignty was by the Senat confirmed to her and her sons, solemnly sworne neuer more to marry; which her oath was for the more assurance conceiued into writing, and so deliuered vnto the Patriarch to keepe. This troubled her more, than to find out the man whom she could thinke worthy of her selfe, with so great honor. She held then in prison one *Diogenes Romanus*, a man of great renoune, and honorably disceaded; whose father hauing married the neece of the Emperour *Romanus Argirus*, and aspiring to the empire, being conuicted thereof, slew himselfe for feare to bee enforced by torments, to bewray his confederates. This *Diogenes* was by the late Emperour *Constantine*, for his good seruice against the Scythes (who then much troubled the empire) highly promoted, B with most honourable testimony in the charters of his promotions, That such honours were bestowed vpon him, not of the Emperours meere bounty, but as the due rewards of his worthy deserts. Notwithstanding after the death of the Emperour, hee sick of his fathers disease, and swelling with the pride of ambition, sought by secret means to haue aspired vnto the empire: wherof the empreffe hauing intelligence, caused him to be apprehended & brought in bonds to Constantinople, where being found guilty of the foule treason, and so committed to safe keeping, was shortly after brought forth to the iudgement seat againe, to receiue the heauie sentence of death. In which wofull plight, standing as a man out of hope, and now vtterly forlorn, hee moued all the beholders with a sorrowfull compassion: for beside that he was a man C of exceeding strength, so was he of incomparable feature & beauty, adorned with many other rare qualities and virtues answerable thereunto: wherewith the Empreffe moued with the rest, or pierced with some secret good liking, is hard to say, reuoked the sentence of condemnation ready to haue bin pronounced vpon him, and giue him pardon. And shortly after hauing set him at libertie, sent for him as he was going into Capadocia his natie country, and made him Generall of all her forces, with a full resolution in her selfe to marry him, and to make him Emperour, if the might by any meanes get the writing out of the Patriarchs hand, wherein her oath for neuer marrying againe was comprised. For the compassing whereof, she entred into a deep device full of feminine policie with one of her Eunuches, whom she purposed to vse as her pander for the circumuenting of the Patriarch. This crafty Eunuch instructed by his mistres, comming to the patriarch *Ioannes Xiliphilines*, a man both for his place and integritie of life much honored, told him in great secret, that the Empreffe had so far set her good liking vpon a young gentleman, a nephew of his called *Barda* (then a gallant of the court) as that she could be content to take him to her husband, and to make him Emperour, if the might by his holines be perswaded, that she might with with safe conscience do it, and by him be discharged of the rash oath she had vnadvisedly taken, neuer to marry againe, wherof he had the keeping. The Patriarch, otherwise a contemner of wordly honours, yet moued with so great a preferment of his nephew, promised the eunuch to do therein whatsoeuer the Empreffe had desired, which he accordingly performed. And so sending for the Senators one by one, in whose good liking the matter chiefly rested, he with much grauity propounded to them the dangerous estate of the common-weale, with the troubles daily increasing, and the continual fear of forrein enemies, not to be repressed by the weak hand of a woman, or the authority of yong children, but requiring (as he said) the valiant courage of some worthie man. After that, he began to find great fault with the rash oath which the Empreffe had taken a little before the death of her husband, neuer to marry; and vtterly condemning the same, as contrary to the word of God, & vniuersally exacted of her, rather to satisfy the jealous humor of the Emperour her late husband, than for any good of the common-weale: he in fine perswaded them, that the vnlawful oath might be reuoked, and the Empres set at libertie at her pleasure, by their good liking to make choice of such a man for her husband, as might better undertake so weighty affaires of the empire, more fit for a man, than for so tender a Lady and 3 yong children. The greater part of the Senat thus perswaded by the Patriarch, and the rest with gifts and promises overcome by the Empreffe, the patriarch deliuered vnto her the writing the so much desired, & discharged her of her oath: wherupon she forthwith calling vnto her certain of her secret friends, married *Diogenes*, whom she caused to be proclaimed Emperour. Now thought *Eudocia* after the manner of a woman, to haue had her husband (whom she euen from the

Diogenes Romanus of a prisoner by the Empreffe made General of her army.

Eudocia married Diogenes Romanus, and proclaimed him Emperour.

the bottom of despaire had exalted to the highest type of honor) in all things loyal & pliant: whereunto he for a while at the first forced himselfe, but afterwards (becing a man of a proud nature, and haughty spirit) became wearie of such obsequence, and began by little and little to take every day more and more upon him. And for that the imperiall provinces in the East, were in some part lost, & the rest in no small danger, he, as well for the redresse thereof, as for his owne honour, and to shew himselfe an Emperour indeed, and not the servant of the Emperesse, left the court, and passed over into Asia, although it were with a smal army and euill appointed: for why, it was no easie matter for him to furnish out the army with all things necessarie, which by the sloth and sparing of the late Emperours, had, to the great danger and dishonor of the empire, bin vterly neglected. Neuerthelesse the Turkish Sultan, who at the same time with a great power invaded the provinces of the empire, hearing of his coming, and that he was a man of great valour, and doubting what power he might bring with him, retired himselfe; and diuiding his army, sent the one part thereof into the South part of Asia, and the other into the North, which spoiled all the countrey before them as they went, and suddenly surprising the city of Neo-Cæsaria, sacked it, and so laded with the spoile thereof departed. But the Emperour vnderstanding thereof, and not a little grieved therewith, drawing out certain bands and companies of the best and most readiest souldiers in his army, and with them coasting the countrey to get betwixt the Turks and home, vnto therein such expedition, that he was vpon them before they were aware, and so suddenly charging them, brought such a feare vpon them, that they betooke themselves to their heeles, leauing behind them for haist, their baggage and carriages, with all their prisoners & bootie they had before taken at Neo-Cæsaria, and in their late expedition: yet was there no great number of them slaine, for that the Christians fore-wearied with long trauell, were not able far to follow the chase. From thence tooke his way into Siria, he sent part of his army to Melitena, and carried himselfe from Aleppoa great booty both of men and cattel. At which time also the city of Hierapolis was yeilded to him, where shortly after he built a strong castle. But whilst he there staid, news was brought to him, that the other part of his army which he had sent away, was ouerthrown by the Turkes; for the reliefe of whom, he rose with all haist and marched towards them: but being in number far inferiour to his enemies, hee was by them as he lay encamped, inclosed round in such sort, as it was thought almost impossible for him to haue escaped: at which time also the Gouvernor of Aleppo traiterously reuolted from him, and ioined his forces with the enemy, making now no other reckoning, but assuredly to haue taken him: but whilst the turks thus dream of nothing, but of a most glorious victorie, and were in mind diuiding the spoile, the Emperour without so much as the sounding of a trumpet, suddenly issuing out of his trenches, when they least thought he durst so haue done, and resolutely charging them home, put them to flight, and had of them a notable victory, had he throughly prosecuted the same: after that, hauing taken diuers towns, he came to Alexandria, in Cilicia, and there all about in the country bilited his army, because of the approach of winter, and so returned himselfe to Constantinople. The next Spring the Turkes, according to their vsuall manner invading the frontiers of the empire, did much harme about Neo-Cæsaria: whereof the Emperour aduertised, went thither with his army, and quickly repressing their fury, tooke his journey to the riuier Euphrates, where leauing part of his army with *Philaretus* for the keeping of those frontiers, he himselfe retired Northward into Capadocia. But after his departure, the Turkes setting vpon *Philaretus*, put him to flight with his garrisons: and taking the spoile of the frontiers, entered into Capadocia, waſting all as they went: and afterwards turning into Cilicia, sacked Iconium, a rich populous city. Whereof the Emperour vnderstanding at Sebastia, made towards them: but hearing by the way that they had ransackt the city, and were for feare of his coming already retired, he sent *Chatagurio* gouernor of Antioch, with part of his army to Mopſipheſtia, to stop the Turkes of their passage. But they in the plains of Tharus were before distressed by the Armenians, and stript of all their rich prey: and hearing farther of the approach of the Emperours power, fled by night and so escaped: which the Emperour vnderstanding, and hauing now well quieted those provinces, and the yere far spent, returned again to Constantinople. But after his departure, the Turkes again invading the frontier provinces, he sent *Manuel Comnenus*, a valiant young man, Generall against them; who so preuailed, that the Emperour enuying at his honour, tooke from him a great part of his army, and sent him with a small power

The prauincets  
of the empire  
spoiled by the  
Turks.

The Turkes  
discomfited by  
Diogenes the  
Emperour.

- A power into Syria: But as he was vpon the way, he was by the Turkes entrapped nexte into *Sebastia*, and there taken, most part of his armie being at the same time ouerthown and slaine: with which losse, the Emperour being troubled, made great preparation to go himselfe in person against his enemies, who encouraged with the former victorie, ceased not to inuest his territories. In the meane time by great fortune came *Manuel Comnenus* home, together with the Turke that tooke him; who being fallen into the displeasure of the Sultan, fled vnto the Emperour with his prisoner, of whom he was honorably entertained. All things now in readiness, for so great an expedition as the Emperour had in person purposed, he set forward: and after long trauell hauing passed Cæsarea, he incamped at a place called *Cryapega*: where for severe execution done vpon certaine mutinous souldiers, one of the legions of his army rolb
- B in murinie against him: whom (for all that) he quickly pacified with the terror of the rest of his army, which he threatened to turne vpon them if they proceeded to forget their duty: after that, removing to *Theodosopolis*, he diuided his army, and sent *Rufinus* one of his best captians, with one part thereof against *Chliat*, and another part he sent to besiege *Mantzicierts*, retaining with himselfe the rest, being of no strength. The Turkes in *Mantzicierts*, finding themselves not able long to hold out, fell to composition, and yeilded the citie. But shortly after, the souldiers left there in garrison for the keeping thereof, going out to seek for forrage, were by the Turkes suddenly oppressed: which the Emperour vnderstanding, sent thither one *Nicephorus Bryennius*, with certaine companies to relecue the citie, who encountering with the Turkes, and finding himselfe too weak, sent vnto the Emperour for aide: who not knowing the
- C strength of the enemies, blamed him of cowardise, yet sent vnto him *Nicephorus Basilacem* with part of his armie, who ioining his forces with *Bryennius*, and giuing the Turkes battell, put them to flight. But following too fast vpon them vnto their trenches, and *Bryennius* making no great haist after, he had his horse slaine vnder him, and so on foot heauily laden with armour, and not able to shift for himselfe, was there taken and brought to the Sultan: who honorably entreated him, and oftentimes questioned with him concerning the Emperour, and shewing him his owne power, examined him also of the Emperours.
- Tangrolipix was now dead, and the Sultan now in field against the Emperour, was *Axan* his son, a man of great wisdom & discretion, who considering the doubtful euent of battell, sent ambassadors vnto the Emperour to intreat with him of peace. But hee (persuaded by some of
- D his captains, that this motion made by the Sultan for peace, proceeded but of a meere feare, and distrust he had in his own power, or els to gain time vntill some greater strength came) had small regard of the ambassadors or their message, but proudly willed them to tell their master, That if he were desirous of peace, he should get him farther off, and leaue the place wherein he lay incamped, for him to lodge in: and so without other answer, commanded them away. Now had the Emperour (as is before said) sent away part of his army by *Rufinus* against *Chliat*, whom he sent now for in haste again: but he hearing of the approach of the Sultan, by the perswasion of *Tarchomites*, one of his captains, was retired for his more safety back into the Romane frontiers, leauing the Emperour destitute of his help. At which time also a company of the Scythians which serued in the Emperours camp, reuolted to the Turkes; not without some suspicion, that the rest of their fellows, which remained would ere long do the like: neither els the Emperour presuming of such strength as he had, or carried headlong with his owne fortune, resolved to giue the Turkes battell, and therefore putting his men in order set vpon them. Who somewhat troubled with the Emperours so sudden a resolution, as being yet in some hope of peace, yet hauing put themselves in order of battell, receiued the enemies charge: and giuing a litle ground, as men not greatly desirous either to fight or fle. This fight continuing long, & the day now declining, the emperor doubting lest the Sultan should send part of his army to assault his camp (from which he was now drawne somewhat far, and had left the same but weakly manned) caused a retreat to be sounded, & so began orderly to retire himself with them that were about him: which others a far off in the battell beholding, and supposing him to haue fled, began themselves to fle amain. Of which so shameful flight and sudden feare *Andronicus* (the son of *Iohn Ducens*, the late emperor *Constantine* his brother, and by him created *Cesar*, who with his sonnes secretly enuid at the honour of *Diogenes*) was the cause: for he commanding a great part of the army, gaue it first out to such as were about him, that the Emperour fled: and to increase the feare, turning his horse about, fled towards the campe

Diogenes entred  
with agreat  
army against  
the Turkes.

Axan the Sultan  
sentethem  
ambassadors  
Diogenes for  
peace.

Iohn Ducens  
notable traitor  
cause of the  
flight of the  
emperors army.

Diogenes the  
Emperour taken  
by the Turke.

Eudocia the  
Empresse de-  
posed by the traitor  
Ioh. Ducas,  
Psellus, and  
others.

Diogenes the  
Emperour taken  
prisoner by An-  
dronicus.

The miserable  
death of Dioge-  
nes the Emperour

Axan the Sul-  
tan seeking to  
revenge the  
death of Dioge-  
nes.

camp as fast as he could: after whom al the rest most disorderly followed: which the emperor beholding, and therewith not a little troubled, made a stand, labouring in vaine, to haue staide the rest: for now the turks encouraged with the sudden flight of the Christians, began hardly to pursue them, as men already ouerthrowne by the hand of God, whom for all that the emperor with such as yet stood with him, for a space notably resisted. But being forsaken by the greater part of his army, & oppressed with the multitude of his enemies, being wounded him selfe, and his horse slain vnder him, he was taken all imbrued with his own blood, & the blood of his enemies, of whom he had wounded & slain many. The Sultan aduertised of his taking, at the first beleued it not, supposing it rather to haue been some other great man: vntill that he was both by them, whom he had but a little before sent embassadour vnto him, & by Basilacius one of his captaines then prisoner with him, assured that it was vndoubtedly he, which Basilacius brought before him, to see if he knew him, fell downe prostrate at his feet, as before his dread Lord & Soueraigne. The Emperor brought before the Sultan, and humbling himselfe in such sort as best befitted his heauy fortune, the Sultan presently tooke him vp, and thus cheerefully spoke vnto him: *Griue not noble Emperour (said he) at thy mishap for such is the chance of war, overthrowing sometimes one sometimes another: neither feare thou any harme, for I will use thee not as my prisoner, but as an Emperour: which he accordingly did, presently appointing him a princely pavilion, with all things answerable to his estate, setting him oftentimes at his own boord, and for his sake enlarging such prisoners as he required. And after he had thus for certain daies honorably vsed him, and discoursed with him of many things, he concluded a perpetuall peace with him, vpon promise of a marriage to be made betwixt their children; and to with a safe conuoy sent him away with greater honor than was at an enemies hand to haue been expected. The Emperour in Turkish attire, which the Sultan had bestowed vpon him, comming to Theodosopolis, there staide the curing of his wounds, & afterwards accompanied with the Sultans embassadors, set forward toward Constantinople. But all was now there changed: for vpon the report of his captiuitie, Iohn the Caesar with Psellus one of the chiefe Senators, & others of the same faction, which alwaies enuied at the honor of Diogenes, presently tooke the imperial government from Eudocia the Empresse, and thrusting her into a monasterie which she had built neere to Propontis, set vp Michael Ducas her eldest sonne, Emperour, in stead of Diogenes: whose simplicitie Caesar his vnckle abusing with the rest, did, now what they list. And hearing that Diogenes was now (contrary to their expectation) set at libertie by the Sultan, and comming towards the imperiall city, sent out letters euery way in the new Emperours name, to all the gouernours of the prouinces whereby he was to passe, not to receiue him as Emperour, or to do him any honour: which Diogenes vnderstanding, staide at the castle of Docia, whether some of his friends with such power as they were able to make, resorted vnto him. Against whom, Caesar with the contrary faction first sent his sonne Constantine, and after that Andronicus his eldest son, both Diogenes his mortall enemies, with a great army: by whom Diogenes, with his friends and followers, were ouerthrowne and discomfited. Diogenes himselfe flying to the citie of Adana, was there hardly besieged by Andronicus, and in the end glad to yeeld himselfe, vpon condition, that he should resigne the empire, and so for euer after to lead a priuate life. For whose safetie, certaine of the chiefe of the clergie sent of purpose from Michael the Emperour, gaue their faith: so Diogenes all attyred in black, yeelded himselfe to Andronicus; by whom he was brought to Cotai, then the metropolitane citie of Phrygia, there to expect what further order should be taken for him from the court: during which time he fell sicke, being (as many supposed) secretly poisoned. But whilst he there lay languishing, an heauier doome came from the young Emperour. That he should haue his eyes put out: which was forthwith in most cruell manner done, the clergie men that had before for his safety gaged their faith, crying out in vaine against so horrible a crueltie. Thus deprived of his sight, he was conueyed into the Island of Priora, where his eyes for lack of looking to, putrifying, and worms breeding in them, with such an odious smell, as that no man could abide to come nigh him, he in short time after died, when he had reigned three yeares, eight moneths. All which miserie was thought to haue happened vnto him through the malice of Caesar, without the knowledge of the young Emperour his nephew. Axan hearing of the miserable end of the late emperor Diogenes, was therewith much grieved and the more, for that the league which he had to his good content so lately made with him*

was

A was thereby come to nought: wherefore in reuenge thereof, he with great power inuaded the imperiall prouinces, not for spoile and booty only, as in former time, but now to conquer and to hold the same. Against whom, Michael the Emperour sent Isaac Comnenus his Lieutenant, with a great army, who meeting with the Turks, & joyning battell, was by them ouerthrowne with all his army, and taken prisoner, and glad afterwards for a great summe of money to redeeme himselfe. After which ouerthrow, the Emperour sent his vnckle Caesar with another army, against them, who was by Ruselius, that had before revolted from the Emperour, ouerthrowne at the riuer Sangarius, and taken prisoner; whom he for all that shortly after set at libertie againe, and joyning with him against the Turks, were both together by them discomfited and taken prisoners, but afterwards redeemed, Caesar by the Emperour, and Ruselius by his wife. This Ruselius was a notable traitour, who joyning with the Turks, did what he list in the prouinces of the Empire in the lesser Asia: for the repressing of whom, the Emperour sent Alexius Comnenus, a young man, but very politick and couragious, who secretly praesiding with the Turks that were great with Ruselius, had him at last by them for a sum of money betrayed into his power: who forthwith sent him to Constantinople to the Emperour, by whom he was imprisoned, but afterwards set at libertie and imployed against Bryennius and his brother, then vp in rebellion against the Emperour.

B But to come neerer to the Turkish affaires. Cutlu-Muses, who with his cousin Melech and others, were for feare of Tangrolipix their cousin fled into Arabia, as is before declared, now in the beginning of the reigne of Axan, returned: and as the enuious competitors of his kingdom, hauing raised a great power of their friends and partakers, were now ready to haue tried the matter with him by plain battell. Against whom also, the Sultan on the other side had brought into the field his whole forces, & was now likewise ready to haue incountred them neere vnto the city of Eres. But whilst the Turks thus diuided, stood ready to destroy themselves, the Caliph of Babilon (from whom though the Turks had taken all temporall soueraintie, yet in matters of religion stil held him in great reuerence and esteem, as their chiefe Bishop, & the succesor of their great Prophet) considering that nothing could be more dangerous to his sect and religion, than that ciuill discention, the late confusion and vtter ruine of the Sarafin empire, and authority of the Caliphs, and fearing the like effect in these new Sarafins, now the chief stay of the Mahometan superstition: setting aside all pontificall formality wherby he was bound not to go out of his own house, came with all speed euen as the armies were now ready to joyn battell, & thrusting himselfe into the midst betwixt them, what with the reuerence of his person, what with his effectuall persuation, wrought so much and preuailed so far with both parties, that they were content to lay downe their weapons, and to stand to his order and judgment: which was, That Axan the Sultan should still enjoy his kingdom and territories, whole and entire vnto himselfe as he did: and that Cutlu-Muses and his sons, aided by him, and so inuading the prouinces of the Constantinopolitan empire, should therof subdue so much as they could vnto themselves, & to be thereof accounted the only Lords and gouernours: which order as it was vnto the Turks, and for the maintenance of the Mahometan superstition, very wholesome and commodious, so was it vnto the Christian commonweale and religion most dangerous and hurtfull, as in proceesse of time by prooffe it appeared. For by this mean in short time after, Cutlu-Muses with his cousins and sons subdued all Media, with a great part of Armenia, Capadocia, Pontus, and Bythinia, and so a great part of the lesser Asia. By the aid of this Cutlu-Muses, and the fauor of the soldiers, Nicephorus Botoniatas aspiring to the Empire of Constantinople, displaced his master the Emperour, Michael Ducas, after he had reigned six yeares & six moneths, and in the habit of a Monke thrust him into an Abbey: which vsurper by the iust judgement of God, was at length required euen with the same measure, and in like manner serued by Comnenus, who thrusting him out, succeeded himselfe in the empire. Much it was that this Cutlu-Muses, with his sons and kinsmen did for the enlarging of the Turkish empire, by the helpe of the great Persian Sultan: whose forces together with their own, in diuers countries conducted by these worthy leaders his nigh kinsmen, and doing great matters, gaue occasion for themselves to be accounted Sultans, though indeed they were none, neither their names such, as are by some ancient writers, & others of later time also reported, but vnto the Turks themselves by those names, either for Sultans, vnknewne. Out of these great commanders, all borne of the Selzuccian familie,

Cutlu-Muses  
with his sonnes  
and kinsmen  
take vp arms  
against Axan  
the Sultan.

A most burlesque  
order for the  
Christian com-  
monweale.

The ground of  
the error of  
diuers writers  
about the suc-  
cession of Tan-  
grolipix, other-  
wise called  
Sadoch.

family, hath *Aithons*, and others following his report, deriued the *Imperiall* of *Aspasalemus*, *Melecl*, and *Belchiaroc*, whom they suppose to haue orderly succeeded *Andec*, whose wife called *Tangrolipix*, in the Turkish empire; and to haue done great matters: whereas both by the report of the Turks themselves, and the relation of the Greeks, it appears plainly, *Andec* more truly called *Ax-han*, that is to say, the White king, to haue bin the son of *Tangrolipix*, and to haue succeeded him in the empire: and that by him the emperor *Diogenes* was taken, and not by *Aspasalemus* as they vainly imagine. As for *Aspasalemus*, whom the Turks by that name know not either any thing of his doings, it seemeth to haue been a name corrupted of *Aspam Sallarius*, the brother of *Tangrolipix* and *Habrami*, and not his sonnes son, as they would haue it. In like manner *Melecl* also seemeth to haue been forged of *Melech*, the son of *Habrami*, *Tangrolipix* his brother, and not of *Aspasalemus*, as some without any good ground report. Whom they finding to haue been all great men in the Seluaccian family, with some others also, haue both corrupted their names, and giuen vnto them an imaginarie soueraignie and succession in the Turks first empire, such as beside that the Turks themselves acknowledge not, is easie to be refuted out of the histories of the Greeks, who had with them still much to do. Wherefore leauing those supposed princes of the Turks, with their imaginarie succession, and doings, vnto the authors thereof, following more certainties, to return againe to the course of our history. *Axan* the Sultan at the same time that he had by the mediation of the Chaliph (or not long after) fallen to agreement with his cousin *Cutlu-Mafes*, to increase the honour of his nation and the bounds of his empire, gaue vnto *Ducat* and *Melech*, two of his nigh kinsmen, the gouernement of *Damasco* and *Aleppo*, with that part of *Syria* which joyneth vnto them, of purpose that way to ineroch vpon the Egyptian Chaliph, who then had vnder his iurisdiction, all, as far as *Laodicea* in *Syria*; yet not with so large priuiledge as had *Cutlu-Mafes*, vnto whom and his posteritie he had yeilded the absolute honour of a Sultan or King, ouer such countries and prouinces as he should win from the Christians: but vnto these others his kinsmen, he gaue the gouernement of the aforesaid cities of *Damasco* and *Aleppo*, in the frontiers of his dominion in *Syria*, conditionally, that they should still remaine his vassals, and hold of him as of their soueraigne, whatsoeuer they had, who neuerthelesse in short time mightily preuailed vpon the Egyptian, still increasing the Turkish territorie with the losse of the Sarafins, whose name together with their Empire, was now by the Turks almost quite driuen out of Asia.

But these proud branches of the Turkish Empire, thus overspreading the lesser Asia, with the greatest part of *Syria*, were in short time after by the mercy of God, and the valour of the most Christian and most religious princes of the West, cut shorter, and brought againe into some better order. The full discourse whereof, worthy eternall memory, by others inrolled in the antient records of fame, I purpose not at large to follow, but in brieue to touch, for the orderly continuation of the present historie, hasting to the doings of this victorious nation of latter times, wherein we are to make a longer stay, as more pertinent vnto the dangerous estate of the present time.

It fortuned that whilst *Cutlu-Mafes* and his sons, supported by the Sultan *Axan* their kinsman, thus mightily preuailed against the Christians in the lesser Asia on the one side, and *Melech* with his cousin against the Egyptian Chaliph in *Syria* on the other: that one *Peter*, a French Hermite moued with a deuout zeale, according to the manner of that time, went to visit the sepulchre of our Sauior, with the other holy places at *Ierusalem*: who comming into *Syria*, then for the most part possessed by the Turks & Sarafins, diligently noted by the way as he trauelled, the maners and fashions of these barbarous nations; their gouernment, their cities, their power and strength; but aboue all, the grievous miseries of the poore oppressed Christians, that there li'd in most miserable thraldom among them, without hope of release: al which, he in the habit of a poore pilgrim, at liberty safely viewed, in the midst of these miscreants, being withal a little low hard fauoured fellow, and therefore in shew more to be contemnd than feared: yet vnder such simple & homely feature lay vnregarded a most subtil sharp and pearching wit, fraught with discretion & sound judgment, still applying to some good vse what he had in his long and painful trauel most curiously obserued. He commeth to *Ierusalem*, and performing his deuotions there, saw the grievous misery of the poore deuout Christians, so great and heauy, as that greater or more intollerable could none be: whether with not a little

Enter a French  
Hermit with  
a staffe and  
a bagge  
to Ierusalem.

The description  
of Peter the  
Hermit.

A little grieved, he entred into a deepe discourse thereof with *Simon* the Patriarke and Abbot of the monasterie of the Christians (there before built by certaine Italian Merchants) and with the master of the Hospitalers, by whom he was fully informed thereof, as of whatsoeuer else he required. After much graue conference, it was at length agreed vpon amongst them, that the Patriarke and the grand Master, should in their own, and the names of the other oppressed Christians, write their letters vnto the Pope and the other Christian Princes, concerning their miseries; and to craue their aid for the recovery of those holy places out of the hands of those cruell Infidels: of which letters the deuout Hermit promised himself to be the trustie carrier, and of their petitions the most carefull soliciter. Whereupon the Patriarke and grand Master, in the name of the poore oppressed Christians wrote their letters vnto this effect:

- B We the citifens of the holy Citie, and countrey men of Christ Iesus, daily suffer those things which Christ our King suffered but once, in the last daies of his mortalitie. We are daily buffeted, scourged, and pierced: every day some of vs are brained, beheaded, or crucified. We would flee from citie to citie, and pierce the remotest parts of the earth, and remooue out of the middle of that land where Christ our Sauior wrought our redemption, to lead a poore exiled and vagrant life; were it not impietie to leaue the Land (sacred with the birth, doctrine, death, resurrection, and ascension of our Sauior) without inhabitants and Priests; and that there should first lacke such as would indure death and martyrdom, than such as would inflit the same; and that there should not be which would willingly die for Christ, as in battell, so long as there were any that would fight against them. These things truly we most miserably suffer: yet was there a time when as our ancestors feared no such thing, either to themselves or their posteritie. And now perhaps the Christian kingdomes of the West line likewise without the least suspicion of feare: but let them be moued by our example and testimony. The strength of the Turks is daily increased and ours diminished: The continuall gaining of new kingdomes giueth them courage: They haue already deuoured the whole world, in hope. The forces of the Turks are fiercer and stronger than the forces of the Sarafins, their policies deeper, their attempts more desperat, their endeavors greater, and their successes fortunater. Yet haue the Sarafins attempted both *Rome*: they haue besieged *Constantinople*, and haue wasted not onely the sea coasts of *Italy*, but euen the heart of the land also. Then why should the kingdomes of the West presume themselves to stand in safety and out of all perill, when as the chiefe fortresses of the world haue bene so indangered? what may the rest of Christendome promise vnto it selfe, seeing that *Ierusalem* (the seat and spectacle of the Christian Religion) hath bene besieged, taken, sacked, raised, and triumphed vpon? seeing that of the Christian profession remaine but the poore and weake reliques, in comparison of the antient whole entire body? This land, which is daily besprinkled with our blood, yea the blood it selfe cryeth out for reuenge. And we your most humble suppliants, prostrate at your feet, call vpon the helpe, aid, mercie, faith, and religion, of you most blessed Father, of the Kings, Princes, and Potentates; Christians not in name and profession onely, but in heart, soule, and spirit. Before the tempest shunder, before the lightning fall vpon you, auert from you and your children the storme hanging ouer your heads: defend vs your poore suppliants, deliuer your religion from most wicked and accursed slauerie. You shall in so doing deserue immortall fame, and God shall requise your so great valour in this world with terrestriall kingdomes, and in the world to come with eternall blisse, whose sacred inheritance you shall haue defended from the rage of hell.

With these letters, and plenty of other secret instructions, the deuout hermit returning into *Italie*, and comming to *Rome*, deliuered his letters vnto *Urban* the second of that name, then Pope, with a full discourse of the miseries of the Christians vnder the Turkish thraldom, which he had seene at *Ierusalem* and other places as he trauelled, requesting his holy care for the redresse thereof: with whom he so preuailed, that shortly after, he calling a Councell at *Claremont* in *France*, among other things, propounded the miserie of the poore oppressed Christians at *Ierusalem*, as an especiall matter to be considered of. And hauing caused the aforesaid letters, directed vnto him and the other Christian Princes, to be openly read in the Councell, whereunto three hundred and ten Bishops were then out of diuers parts of Christendom assembled, with the Embassadors of all countries, much moued the whole assembly to compassion: at which time also the hermit (whose flowing eloquence fully counteruailed what wanted in his feature, standing vp in the midst of the Councell, deliuered his message in the name of the afflicted Christians, with their heauie groanings and teares: which as they could

*Rome* and *Constantinople*, which was also called *Noua Roma*, or new *Rome*.

The Councell of *Claremont* in *France*.

could not be in letters expressed, so were they not hardly by the religious hermit (as by him) who having both lately seene both the miserie of the men, and desolation of the places, and at the heart touched with the griefe thereof) so lively represented, as that it moved the whole assembly with the like sympathy of heavinesse and griefe. Which the Pope perceiuing, tooke thereupon occasion to enter into a large discourse concerning that matter, with many effectual reasons persuading the Fathers and Princes there present, of the necessitie of so religious a Warre to be taken in hand, for the deliuerance of their oppressed brethren out of the thraldome of the Infidels; and now as well as with their present Decree, as afterwards at their returne home into their Countries, by all meanes to further the same. Which notable persuasion, with the heauie complaint of the Hermit, and the equitie of the Cause, so much moued the whole Councell, and the rest there present, that they all as men inspired with one Spirit, declared their consent by their often crying out, *Deus vult, Deus vult*, God willeth it, God willeth it: which words so then vttered by way of applause, were in the great and most sacred expedition following, much vsed of the deuout Christians, as the fortunate signall of their cheerefull forwardnesse, euen in their most dangerous enterprises. Strange it were to tell, and hardly to be beleueed (but that the antient Histories beare witnesse of the like) how farre in one daies space the report of this religious decreed warre was by flying fame disperfed.

An expedition agreed vpon by the Councell of the Christian Princes, oppressed in the Holy-Land.

The Councell dissolued, and the reuerend Fathers returning euerie man home into his owne countrey, it pleased God by their effectual persuasions so to worke with the rest of the Christian Princes, and people in generall, that in all countries and provinces in Christendom, were shortly to be seene men of all sorts in great number, with red Croffes on their breasts (the cognifiance of that sacred expedition) readie of themselves to spend both life and goods for the defence of the Christian Religion, and recouerie of the Holy-Land. The number of whom is of diuers diuerfly reported; but of most supposed to haue bene three hundred thousand fighting men: Of whom the chiefe Commanders were, *Godfrey Duke of Lorraine*, with his two brethren, *Eustace and Baldwin*, all of the honourable house of Buillon; *Hugh* Synamer, the Great brother to *Philip* then the French King; *Raymond* and *Robert* Earles of Flanders; *Robert Duke of Normandie*, *William the Conquerors sonne*, *Stephen de Valoys Earle of Chartiers*; *Ademar Bishop of Podie*, the popes Legat; and *Peter the Hermit*, not to be numbered amongst the least, as chiefe author of this most famous expedition: vnto whom many other honourable Princes joyned themselves, as partakers of their trauels, though not with like charge.

The chiefe commanders of the Christians in their expedition into the Holy-Land.

The first that fet forward in this expedition, was one *Gualter Senfauier* a noble Gentleman, with a great band of men: not long after whom followed *Peter the Hermit*, with fortie thousand more; who both traueiling thorow Germany, Hungaria, and Bulgaria, were glad oftentimes, especially in the further part of Hungarie and Bulgaria, to open themselves a way with the sword; and so with much labor, and no lesse losse came at length to Constantinople: where they were not greatly welcome vnto the Emperour *Alexius Comnenus*; who guiltie vnto himselfe of the vnlawfull meanes whereby he had extorted the Empire from *Nicephorus* his predecessour, had that expedition of the Christians into the East, in distrust, as purposed against himselfe: vntill that fully resolu'd to the contrarie, by the Hermit and others; and that a farre greater power was comming after, for the inuasion of the Turks, and recouerie of the Holy-Land; he was content to relieue them now wearie of their long trauell: and afterward to make roome for them that were to come, shipped them ouer the strait of Bosphorus into Asia; who marching forward into Bithynia, encamped their Army in the countrey not farre from the Citie of Nice. In the meane time *Godfrey* with his brethren, and diuers other Princes that had joyned themselves vnto him, with the Germanes and Lorranois, and the greatest part of the Armie, followed the same way that the Hermit had taken before him. At which time also *Hugh* the French Kings brother, with the Legate, the two *Roberts* (the one Duke of Normandie, and the other Earle of Flanders) and the rest of the French Commanders, passing ouer the Mountaines into Italie, came to Rome, with a wonderfull great Armie: where taking their leaue of the Pope, because they would be lesse troublesome vnto the Cities and Countreys whereby they were to passe, they diuided their great Armie into three parts; whereof the one part went to Brundisium, and the other to Bary, and the third

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A third to Hydtuntum, vnto whom also *Bohemund* one of the great Princes of Apulia, joynded himselfe with twelve thousand good souldiers that followed him. From these three parts the Christian army departing, and crossing the Adriaticke, arrived in safety at Dirrachium, and nigh thereabout vpon the coast of Dalmatia: from whence they trauelled by land thorow Macedonia, to Constantinople; where they met with the Duke *Godfrey* and the rest of the Armie: whom also at the first, *Alexius* the Emperour is reported to haue but coldly entertained, as jealous of his owne estate; vntill that better persuaded of their designements and good meaning towards him, confirmed by many rich presents sent vnto him by these strange Princes, he joynded with them in league: wherein it was agreed, That the Emperour during the time of this expedition should furnish them with new supplies of men, armour, victuals, and whatsoever else they should want: in regard whereof, the Princes on the other side promised to restore again vnto the empire, what provinces, countries, or cities they should happily gain out of the hands of the Turks and Saracins, the City of Ierusalem only excepted: which agreement was afterward on the suspicious Emperours part but slenderly performed. Neuertheless, this league so made, hee granted them passage, and so transported them ouer the strait into Asia: only *Bohemund*, for an old grudge betwixt the Emperour *Alexius* and his father, would not come to Constantinople, but marching with his army thorow the vpper Mysia and Thracia, came sooner than any man had thought, vnto the strait of Hellepontus, and so passed.

Godfrey Duke of Buillon and the other Christian Princes, with together at Constantinople.

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Now had *Gualter*, and the Hermit *Peter*, with their Army, lien two moneths in the countrey about Nice, expecting the comming of the rest of the Christian Princes: for why, they thought it not good before their comming to attempt any thing against the enemy, whom they knew to lie not farre off very strong. But the common souldiers wearie of so long lying, and nought doing, and pinched with some wants, and withall disliking of *Gualter* their chiefe Commander, and the Hermit *Peter*, (of whose integritie and holinesse they had a greater opinion, than of his prowesse and direction) rose vp in mutinie, and displacing *Gualter*, made choice of one *Raymond* a valiant Germane Captaine, for their Generall: by whose conduct they tooke Exorgum, a Towne of purpose forsaken of the Turks. For they long before vnderstanding what a tempest of warre was growing vpon them out of Europe, sought by all means to cut off these that were already come ouer, as the forerunners of a greater Army following; and therefore had left them this Towne, as a bait to traine them out of their trenches. And after that the Christians were thus possessed of the Towne, hauing layd certaine strong ambushes, they droue out certaine herds of cattell the more to allure them: all which certaine companies of the Christians brought in without any losse, the Turks still winking thereat. With which boote the Christians encouraged, went out three thousand of them to take in a little towne not farre off; who were by Turks cut off and slaine euery mothers sonne, as they were about to haue diuided the spoile. Which ouerthrow reported into the Towne, discouraged euen the chiefe Commanders of the army, so that they resolu'd no more to try the fortune of the field, before the comming of their friends. Neuertheless the common souldiers condemning them of cowardise, chose them a new Generall, one *Godfrey Burel*, whom they now requested not, but enforced to goe out to reuenge the death of their fellowes. Which their rashnesse not long after turned to their own destruction: for ten thousand of them going out of Exorgum, to forrage the countrey, were by the Turkes entrapped, and almost all slaine, except some few, which by speedy flight escaped. The Turkes prosecuting their victorie, layd hard siege to them in the Towne also, vntill they had partly with famine, and partly with the sword consumed the most part of them. The Hermit with the poore remainder of his army tooke his refuge to Cinite, a Towne not farre off, before abandoned by the Turks; wherewith much adoe he defended himselfe vntill the comming of Duke *Godfrey* and the rest of the Princes.

*Cutlu Atufes* the Turke was now dead, hauing left vnto his son Sultan *Solyman* many large countries & provinces, altogether gained from the Christians in Asia, whom he held in great subjection and thraldome. This warre-like Prince hauing discomfited and almost brought to nought the hermits forces, was no lesse carefull for the withstanding of the great army following: which now being come into Bithynia, & lying before Nicomedia, remouing thence, laid siege to the city of Nice, called in ancient time Antigonis, of *Antigonus*, the son of *Philip* that built it; and afterwards Nicea, of *Nicea* the wife of King *Lyfsmachus*. In this city dwell many

Nice besieged by the Christians

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deuout Greeks, Christians; but in such thralldome vnto the Turks, that they could not do any thing for the deliuerie of themselves. This siege indured longer than the Christian Princes had at the first supposed: who although they to the vttermost of their power forced the citie on three sides, yet was it stil notably defended, new supplies still comming from the Turks by the lake of Afcanius joyning vpon the other side of the Citie. But after that the Christians, possessed of the lake, began on that side also to lay hardly vnto the citie, the Turks discouraged, and seeing themselves beset round with their enemies, yeelded vp the city the fifth of Iuly, in the yeare 1097, after it had been fifty daies besieged. But whilst the Christians thus lay at the siege, the Turks assailed the quarter of the camp where the Legat lay; by whom they were notably repulsed, and with great losse enforced to retyre vnto the mountains. In this citie, amongst the rest of the Turks, was taken *Solyman* wife, with two of her children, whom the Princes sent prisoners to Constantinople. This City so woon, was according to the agreement before made, restored vnto *Alexis* the Emperour, whose fleet had in that siege done good seruice, by taking the lake from the Turks.

The city of Nice thus woon, the Christian Princes remouing thence with their army, and marching thorow the country, came the fourth day after vnto a riuer which watted many rich pastures: where as they were about to haue incamped, for the commodiouse of the place, and refreshing of the army, suddenly news was brought into the quarter where *Bohemund* lay, now busie in casting vp his trenches, That the Turks with a great Army were ready euen at hand to charge him. For *Solyman* hauing raised a great power of his owne, and aided by the Sultan of Persia his kinsman, was now come with an army of 60000 strong to giue the Christians battell: of whose approach *Bohemund* aduertised, left the fortifying of his trenches, and putting his soldiers in array, set forward to meet him; sending word to the rest of the Princes that lay a far off, to be ready as occasion should require, to relieue him. These two armies conducted by their most resolute chieftains, meeting together, joyned a most fierce and terrible battell, where in a short space the Turks lay slain vpon heaps, in such sort that they serued the Christians in stead of bulwarks. But whilst *Bohemund* thus preuailed in the battell, certain of the Turks horsemen wheeling about, brake into *Bohemunds* camp (not as then altogether fortified, and but slenderly manned) where among the women, and other weake persons there left, they raised a great tumult and outcry, to the great appaling of them that were fighting in the battell: which *Bohemund* perceiuing, withdrew himself with certain companies vnto the camp, from whence he with great slaughter repulsed the enemy. But returning again into the battell, he found there a great alteration: for his soldiers whom before he had left as it were in possession of a most glorious victory, were now so hardly laid vnto by the Turks, as that they were ready to haue turned their backs and fled. Neuertheless, by his comming in, the battell was notably restored, and again made doubtful: when the enemy perceiuing how much the assaulling of the camp had troubled the Christians in battell, sent out certaine troupes of horsemen again to assault the same; and had not failed vndoubtedly to haue taken it, being as aforesaid not yet fortified, had not *Hugh* the French Kings brother come in good time to the rescue: who comming in with 30000 horsemen, after he had relieued the camp, entering directly into the battell, was notably encountered with a Squadron of fresh souldiers of the Turks, by them of purpose reserved for such euent. There began a battell more terrible than the first, with most doubtfull victory: but at the length the Turks wearie of the long and cruell fight, and seeing most of their fellowes slaine, began by little and little to giue ground, and so retired into the mountains which were not far off. In this battell, which continued a great part of the day, were slaine of the Turks 40000, and of the Christians about 2000. The next morning *Bohemund*, with the French Kings brother, came againe into the field, in such order as if they should presently haue giuen or receiued battell: where after they had stayd a great while, and saw no enemy to appear, they fell to the honest buriall of their dead; which were easily known from the Turks, by the red crosses vpon their garments, the cognifance of their sacred warfare. *Solyman* flying with the remainder of his army, notably dissembled his losse, giuing it out that he had gotten the victory: yet by the way as he went he burnt vp the countrie villages, and destroyed or carried away whatsoeuer els he thought might stand the Christians in any stead, if they should further follow after him, leauing nothing for them but the bare ground.

After this victory, *Bohemund* and the Christian Princes, without resistance marching thorow

- A through the hot and dry countries of the lesser Asia, came to Antiochia a Citie of Pisidia, which they took with small labour: and so marching vnto Iconium the principall city of Cilicia, neere vnto the mountaine Taurus, were there also of the citizens courteously receiued, where they staied certaine daies for the refreshing of the Armie. From thence they set forward toward Heraclea, where a great power of the Turks were reported to be assembled. But they, together with the garrison souldiers, vpon the approach of the victorious Army of the Christians, forsook the city and fled: the citizens being Christians (as they were yet generally in all the Prouinces of the lesser Asia, but in great subiection to the Turks) and now rid of their cruel masters the Turkish garrisons, came forth, and meeting the Princes, gladly yeelded themselves with their city vnto them, as vnto their deliuerers. Here the Christian Princes fully instructed of the great feare and desperation of the Turks, who now in no place durst abide their comming; for the more speedy taking in of those countries but lately oppressed by the Turks, diuided their army into two parts, leauing the one part thereof with *Baldwin* and *Tancred* in Cilicia, for the full subduing thereof, (who in short time tooke the cities of Tarsus, Edeffa, and Manussa; with all the rest of the country, the Turks daring not any where to abide their comming:) the other part of the army in the mean time entering into the lesser Armenia, tooke the same from the Turks, which the Princes gaue to one *Palmirus* an Armenian, who had in that expedition done them great seruice. From thence they tooke their way into Capadocia, which they also subdued, driving out the Turks in euery place, and tooke the Cities of Cæsarea and Socor, where they staied a few daies for the refreshing of the army: with like successe they passed thorow the rest of the Prouinces of the lesser Asia, of late possessed by the Turks, still chasing them out before them, and setting at libertie the poore oppressed Christians of those countries. Whereof *Solyman* (craving aid of *Axan* the Persian Sultan his cousin) grievously complained, by his letters to him directed in this sort: *The famous Citie of Nice, with the country of Romania, which we by your aid and power haue gotten from the kingdome of the Greeks, and of your bounty possessed, the Christians of the kingdome of France haue againe taken from vs. Thus was the late erected kingdome of the Turks in the lesser Asia, by these valiant Christian champions againe brought low, and they glad to retyre themselves further off into the mountains and more Easterne countries, vntill this heat was ouergast; and that they, taking the benefit of the troubled state of the Greeke Empire (afterwards rent in sunder by ambition and ciuill discord, the ruine of the greatest monarchies) recovered not only their former state, but became also dreadfull vnto the Greeke Emperors themselves: vpon whom they dayly gained in one corner or other, still maintaining the honour of their estate vntill the rising of the Ottoman Familie, as in the proceesse of this History shall God willing be declared.*
- D These victorious princes (then, and to the worlds end famous) not contented, to their immortal praise to haue thus driuen the Turks out of the lesser Asia, and recovered so many countries, bound themselves, as well the Princes as the common soldiers, by solemne oath, neuer to returne againe into their countries, vntill they had accomplished that sacred war with the conquest of the Holy city. So mounting together the high mountain Taurus, and descending thence as into another world, they came to the city Marcia, which they tooke without resistance, the Turks there in garrison being by night before for feare fled: where the Christians for the refreshing of themselves certain daies staied. In the mean time *Robert* Earle of Flanders with 1000 men at armes, was sent out to giue summons vnto a city called Artafia, about 15 miles distant from Antioch: when as the citizens beholding the ensignes of the Christians, suddenly tooke vp armes against the Turks there in garrison, which had of long holden them in subiection, and preuailed vpon them, slew them euery mothers son: whose heads they presented vnto the Earle, and receiued him into their Citie. The Turks to reuenge the death of their friends, and to recover againe the citie before the comming of the rest of the armie, sent out about 10000 men out of Antioch; for thither was assembled a great power of them to haue hindred the further proceedings of the Christians: and being come neer to Artafia, they sent before certaine stragling companies, of purpose to draw the new come Christians out of the city, lying in the mean time in ambush with the rest, of purpose to entrap them: with these stragling companies the Flemmings sallying out lustily, encountered, and easily put them to flight; the Turks indeed flying of purpose to bring them within the danger of the other, lying in ambush. After whom the Flemmings eagerly following, were before they were aware enclosed

closed round with their enemies, and there had vndoubtedly perished, had not the Citifens G (being Christians) presently sallied out and right worthily relieved them.

Shortly after, the Christian Princes marching forward with their army, were encountred by the Turks at the riuier Orontes, who had there thought to haue stayd their further passage: with whom *Robert Duke of Normandie*, who had the leading of the vanguard, had a hard conflict, vntill that the Turks, discouraged with the sight of the armie still comming on, forsooke the bridge, and betook themselves to flight. So the Christians passing the riuier, came and in the campe, with their army before the famous City of Antioch, the one and twentieth day of October, in the yere 1097: the gouernor whereof vnder the Persian Sultan was one *Cassianus*, O of some also honoured with the name of a King) who at the comming of the Christians, had with him in the city seuen thousand horsemen, and twentie thousand foot of the Turks, H great store of victuals, and all manner of other prouisions necessary for the defence thereof.

Antioch in Syria being by the Christians.

The description of the famous citie of Antioch.

This citie, called in ancient time *Epidaphane*, or *Epiphane*, and of the Hebrewes, *Reblatha*, sometime the seat of the Syrian Kings, and afterwards the metropolitall city of Syria, haueing vnder it an hundred and fifty Bishops, (famous for many things, and amongst others, for that it was the seat of the blessed Apostle *S. Peter*, and first place whereas the professors of the Christian religion tooke the name of Christians) is situate vpon the riuier Orontes, about twelue miles from the sea, and was then strongly fortified both by Nature and Art, being compassed about with a double wall; the vttermoost wherof was of hard stone, and the other of bricke, with 460 towers in the same, and an impregnable castle at the East end thereof, where- unto was joyning a deepe lake, comming out of the great riuier, which watered the South side I of the citie. Round about this strong citie (one of the most assured refuges of the Turks) although it were in circuit great, lay the Christian Princes encamped, except on that side which being defended with the high broken mountaines, is not there to be besieged. Vpon whom the Turks out of the citie, during the time of the siege made many a fierce and desperat sallie, being still by the Christians most valiantly repulsed: especially at the bridge which the Christians had made of boats for their more commodious passage to and fro ouer the riuier. In this fort was the siege continued vntill the beginning of Februarie, with many a bloody skirmish. At which time such abundance of raine fell, as that hardly could a man find any place to lie dry in; and the scarcitie of victuall grew so great in the campe, that many (horrible it is to say) to assuage their hunger, were glad to eat the dead bodies of their late slaine enemies. In these extremities many died of hunger and cold; yea, their horses also perished for want of meat, so that in the whole campe were scarcely left two thousand horses fit for seruice, the rest being either all dead, or brought so low, as that they were altogether vsueruiceable. These miseries dayly increasing, diuers men of great account, whom no terror of the enemy could haue dismayed, began secretly to withdraw themselves out of the camp, with purpose to haue stolne home; among whom were *Peter* the hermit author of this war, and *Tancred* the nephew of *Bohemund*, who taken by the way, and brought backe with the rest as fugitiues, were sharply reprehended by *Hugh* the French Kings brother, as cowards, and traitors to their brethren and fellow soldiers, and so enforced to take a new oath for their fidelitie and perseuerance.

*Bohemund* in the meane time going to *Arthusia* a towne not far off, by good fortune cut off a great part of the Turks there in garrison: who after their vsuall manner sallying out to haue cut off the forragers of the Christians, were now themselves caught tardy: whereby the country for a time was more open for the distressed Christian soldiers to seeke abroad for reliefe. But this libertie so lately gained lasted not long, when newes was brought vnto the campe, That the Turks in great number, out of the prouinces about *Aleppo* and *Damasco*, were comming vnto the reliefe of their besieged friends in Antioch. Neuerthelesse, the Christians trusting to their own strength & the strength of the place wherein they were incamped, lay still, & at their comming so encountred them, that they slew 2000 of them, & put the rest to flight. In which conflict the Christians got great store of prouision and victuals which the Turks had thought to haue put into the city. The heads of the slain Turks the Christians set vpon stakes before the citie, to the more terror of the defendants. This ouerthrow of the Turks, wherein *Cassianus* had lost his eldest son, with others of his best captains, so daunted the besieged, that they requested a truce for a time of the Christian Princes: which granted, they of the city came oftentimes into the campe, and they of the campe likewise into the city: *Cassianus* still expecting re- M liefe

A liefe from the Persian Sultan. Whilest the Christian Princes were thus busie in Asia, the Venetians with a great fleet of two hundred gallies scowring the seas, vnder the conduct of *Henry Contarinius* the Bishop, and of *Vitalis* the Dukes son, meeting with the gallies of *Pisa* at the Rhodes, and falling out with them, had with them a great fight, wherein the Venetians hauing the vpper hand, tooke eightene of their gallies, and in them five thousand souldiers: whom they seeing to be marked with the red crosse, the cognisance of the sacred war, they presently set at liberty, together with the gallies, detaining onely thirty of the better sort as hostages. After that, the Venetians sailing into Ionia, tooke the city of *Smyrna*, and spoiled all along the coasts of *Lycia*, *Pamphilia*, and *Cilicia*, before for feare abandoned by the Turks.

The truce before taken between the Turks and the Christians at the siege of Antioch, being in short time after broken by the death of one *Vollo* a Frenchman, slaine by the Turks; the war was again begun, and the city more hardly laid vnto than before. At which time the gouernor, who in the time of this long siege, which had now continued nine moneths, had lost most part of his best souldiers, was glad for the defence of so great a City, to vse the seruice of diuers Christians, then dwelling in the city. Among whom was one *Pyrhus*, a citifsen of great reputation, vnto whom he had committed the guarding of a tower, called the two Sifters; but afterwards *S. Georges* tower. This *Pyrhus* had secret intelligence with *Bohemund* Prince of Tarentum, with whom he agreed to giue him there entrance into the city, vpon condition, that he should of the other Christian Princes procure the gouernment of the city to himself; and that he, with the rest of the Christian citifsens in the city, might be at his hands well vled: which thing being easily obtained, all things agreed vpon, *Bohemund* with his souldiers were by night by *Pyrhus* let into the city, who made way for the rest of the army to enter. The city thus taken, many of the Turks fled into the castle, the rest were put to the sword, man, woman and child; and among them also many of the Christians, the furious souldiers taking of them no knowledge. Great wealth was there found, but small store of victuals. *Cassianus* the late gouernor flying out of the city to saue himself, in wandring thorow the mountaines, fel into the hands of the Christian Armenians, who lately thrust out of Ierusalem, were fled thither for refuge, by whom he was there slaine. In the city were slaine about ten thousand persons. Thus was the famous city of Antioch, which the Turks had long before by famine taken from the Christians, againe recovered the third day of Iune, in the yere of our Lord God, 1098. I 0 9 8

Antioch betrayed to the Christians.

*Cassianus* gouernour of Antioch in flying slaine.

D The poore oppressed Christians in Ierusalem hearing of this so notable a victory, gaue secret thanks vnto God therefore, and began to lift vp their heads, in hope that their deliuey was now at hand. Of this victory, the Princes of the army by speedy messengers and letters, certified their friends in all countries, so that in short time, the fame thereof had filled a great part of the world. Among others, *Bohemund* Prince of Tarentum, vnto whom the city was deliuered, sent the joyfull newes thereof vnto *Roger* his brother Prince of Apulia: whose letters as the most certain witnesses of the history before reported, I thought it not amisse here to set down:

I suppose you to haue vnderstood by the letters of your sonne Tancred, both of the great feare of some of vs, and the battels which we haue of late with our great glory fought. But concerning the truce, and the proceeding of the whole action, I had rather you should be certified by my letters, than the letters of others. King *Cassianus* had required a time of truce: during which, our souldiers had free recourse into the Citie without danger, vntill that by the death of *Vollo* a Frenchman, slaine by the enemy, the truce was broken. But whilest it yet seemed a hard matter to winne the Citie, one *Pyrhus* a Citifsen of Antioch, of great authoritie and much deuoted vnto me, had conference with me concerning the yeelding vp of the Citie; yet vpon condition, that the gouernement thereof should be committed to me, in whom he had reposed an especiall trust. I conferred of the whole matter with the Princes and great Commanders of the armie, and easily obtained that the gouernement of the Citie was by their consent allotted vnto me. So our armie entring by a gate opened by *Pyrhus*, tooke the citie. Within a few daies after, the towne *Aretum* was by vs assaulted, but not without some losse and danger to our person, by reason of a wound I there receiued. I assure you much of the valor of your son Tancred, of whom I and the whole armie make such account and reckoning, as is to be made of a most valiant and resolute Generall. Farewell. From Antioch.

The letters of Bohemund Prince of Tarentum, to his brother Roger prince of Apulia, concerning the winning of Antioch.

Whilest the Christians thus lay at the siege of Antioch, *Corbanus* (the Persian Sultan his lieutenant)

Edessa was  
besieged by the  
Turks.

lieutenant) with a great army besieged Edessa, with purpose after the taking thereof, to have G relieved the citie of Antioch. But this being notably defended by Baldwin, left there of purpose with a strong garrison for the defence thereof; the Turke fearing in the meane time to lose Antioch, the lastest refuge of the Turks in all those parts, rose with his armie, and set forward against the Christians: where by the way, it was his fortune to meet with *Sansadulus*, *Cessianus* his son, but lately fled from Antioch, by whom he vnderstood of the losse of the city, and by what means the same was most like again to be recovered: vpon which hope, *Corbanus* and with his mightie army kept on his way, with a full resolution to set all vpon the fortune of a battell. Whole comming much troubled the Christians: for that although they were possessed of the citie, yet was the Castle still holden by the Turks. Neuerthelesse leauing the Earle of Tholous in the city, with a competent power for the keeping in of them in the castle, they H tooke the field with the whole strength of the armie, and so in order of battell, expected the comming of their enemies: who courageously comming on, as men before resolved to fight, ioyned with them a most terrible and bloudie battell. Neither were they in the meane time idle; for that the Turks hauing in the castle received in vnto them certain supplies from *Corbanus*, sallied out vpon them that were left for the safeguard of the citie, and had with them a cruell conflict. Thus both within the citie and without, was to be seen a most dreadful fight of resolute men, with great slaughter on both sides: yet after long fight and much effusion of blood, the fortune of the Christians preuailing, the Turks began to giue ground, and afterwards betook themselves to plain flight, whom the Christians hardly pursuing, made of them a wonderfull slaughter. In this battell were slaine of the Turks about an hundred thousand, I and of the Christians about foure thousand two hundred. There was also taken a great prey; for besides horses & other beasts for burden, were taken also five thousand camels with their lading. The next day, being the 28 of Iune, the castle was by the Turks (now dispairing of relecte) yeelded vp vnto the Christians.

*Corbanus* the  
Sultans lieutenant,  
with  
a great army  
commeth to re-  
scue againe the  
city of Antioch

Antioch thus taken, *Hugh* the French kings brother, surnamed the Great, was sent from the rest of the Princes to Constantinople, to haue deliuered the citie vnto *Alexius* the Emperor according to the agreement before made. But he, guilty in conscience of his owne foule dealing with them, vnto whom he had sent no reliefe at all during the long and hard siege of Antioch, neither performed any thing of that he had further promised, and therefore knowing himselfe hated of them, had in distrust so great an offer of the princes, so euill deferred, and K therefore refused to accept thereof. Whereupon *Bohemund* by the generall consent of the whole armie was chosen Prince, or (as some call him) King of Antioch.

*Bohemund* chosen  
Prince of  
Antioch,  
the plague in  
the Christian  
army.

*Bohemund* dis-  
senting vpon emu-  
lating betwixt  
*Bohemund* and  
*Raimund*.

After this long siege and want of victuals, ensued a great plague in the armie of the Christians, the Autumne following, whereof it is reported fifty thousand men to haue died, and among them many of great account. But the mortalitie ceasing, the Christians in Nouember following, by force tooke *Rugia*, and *Albaria*, two cities, about two daies journey from Antioch: where dissention arose betwixt *Bohemund* and *Raimund*, who of all others only enuied at his preferment vnto the principallitie of Antioch: *Bohemund* for the common causes sake, gaue way vnto his aduersarie, and retired with his souldiers backe againe to Antioch: after whom followed the Duke *Godfrey*, and the Earle of Flanders with their regiments. The rest of the Princes wintred some at *Rugia*, some at *Albaria*, from whence *Raimund* made sundrie light expeditions further into the enemies country: but the spring approaching, the Christian Princes with all their power tooke the field againe. *Bohemund* with them that remained with him, departing from Antioch, besieged *Tortosa*. *Raimund* in the meane time with the rest, besieging the citie of *Tripolis*: who become much more insolent than before, by reason of some fortunate roades he had made vpon the enemies the last winter, ceased not still to maligne *Bohemund* and his proceedings: matter enough to haue diuided the whole power of the Christians, and to haue turned their weapons vpon themselves: which *Bohemund* well considering, rose with his armie, and because he would not with his presence trouble the proceeding of the religious warre, retired himselfe to Antioch. After whose departure, *Godfrey* and the Earle of Flanders, took *Gabella*, a citie about twelue miles from *Laodicea*, and from thence returned againe to the siege of *Tortosa*, whither *Raimund* came also with his armie, hauing before driuen the Gouvernour of *Tripolis* to such composition as pleased himselfe, and to furnish him with such things as he wanted. Thus was *Tortosa* hardly on three sides besieged by

M

A by the Christians, but so notably defended by the Turks, that after three months hard siege, the Christians were glad to depart thence: and marching long the sea side, spoiled the country about *Sidon*. But forasmuch as that city was not easily to be won, they left it, and encamped before *Ptolemais*, which they also passed by: the gouernour thereof sending them out victuals, with such other things as they wanted; and vpon summons giuen, promising to yeeld the city after they had once won the city of *Ierusalem*. From thence they came to *Cæsarea* in Palestine, where they solemnly kept the feast of *Whitsonide*, and so to *Rama*, which they found for feare forsaken of the Infidels. Marching from *Rama*, and drawing neere to *Ierusalem*, they in the vanguard of the army, vpon the first deserying of the Holy city, gaue for ioy B bleb and redoubled; as if therewith they would haue rent the very mountaines, and pierced the highest heauens. There might a man haue seen the deuout passions of these most worthie and zealous Christians, vttered in right diuers manners: some, with their eies and hands cast vp towards heauen, called aloud vpon the name and help of *Christ Iesus*; some, prostrat vpon their faces, kissed the ground, as that whereon the Redeemer of the world sometime walked: others, ioyfully saluted those holy places which they had heard so much of, and then first beheld: in brieft, euery man in some sort expressed the ioy he had conceived of the sight of the Holy city, as the end of their long trauell.

The exceeding  
ioy of the Chris-  
tians vpon the  
first deserying  
of the holy city.

This most antient and famous city, so much renowned in holy *Writ*, is situate in an hilly country; not watred with any riuer or fresh springs, as other famous cities for most part be; C neither yet was it well feared for wood, or pasture ground: but what wanted in these, and such other benefits of nature, was by the extraordinary blessings of the most Highest so supplied; as that the Iewes there dwelling, so long as they kept the ordinances of the Lord, were of all other people in the world iustly accounted the most happy & fortunate. Yet in those so blessed times, was this city for the sin of the people oftentimes deliuered into the enemies hand, and the glory thereof defaced; as well appeareth by the whole course of the historie of holy scripture, as also by the antient and approued histories, as well of the Iewes themselves, as others. Neuerthelesse it still rose againe (though not in like glory as before in the time of king *David*, *Solomon*, and the other next succeeding kings) and so was still repeopled by the Iews, til that at last according to the foretelling of our Sauour *Christ*, it was with a great and of all others most lamentable destruction, vtterly rased and destroyed by the Romans, under the leading of *Vespasian* the emperor, and his noble son *Titus*, 40 yeres after our Sauour his precious death and passion. Since which time, it was neuer vntill this day againe repaired, or yet well inhabited by the Iews; but lying buried in the ruins of it selfe, all the reigne of *Domitian*, *Nerva*, and *Trajan*, untill the time of the great Emperour *Alinus Adrianus*, it was again by him redified about the yeare 136, and after the name of him called *Aelia*; who together with the name changed also in some part the antient situation of the city. For whereas before it was seated vpon the steep rising of an hill, in such sort that towards the East and the South, it overlooked the whole ground, hauing only the Temple and the castle called *Antonia*, in the highest part of the city; *Adrian* translated the whole city vnto the very top of the hill, so that the place where our blessed Sauour suffered his most bitter passion, with the Sepulchre wherein he was also laid, and from whence he in glory rose againe, before without the city, were then inclosed within the wals thereof, as they are at this day to be seen. Yet for all that, the Emperor being dead, in proceesse of time this new built city recovered again the antient name of *Ierusalem*, whereby it hath euer since, and is at this day yet known. This city fore-edified, the Emperor first gaue to the Iews, whom he afterwards thrust out againe for their rebellion, and gaue it to the Christians to inhabit, ouer whom, one *Marke* first Bishop of the Gentiles there, had the charge. But forasmuch as the Roman Emperours were at that time altogether Idolaters and persecutors of the poore Christians, the Church also at *Ierusalem*, with others, endured fundry and many grieuous persecutions, under the Emperours *Antonius*, *Commodus*, *Seuerus*, *Maximinus*, *Valerianus*, *Aurelianus*, *Dioclesianus*, & *Maxentius*, till that at length *Constantine* the Great, conuerted vnto the faith of *Christ* about the yeare of Grace 320, suppressing the Pagan Idolatry, gaue generall peace to the afflicted Church: whereby the Christian Church at *Ierusalem* for the space of three hundred yeres after, happily flourished under the Greek emperours, vntill the time of the Emperor *Phocas*, who hauing most cruelly slain the good Empe-  
four

*Ierusalem* red-  
ified by the  
great Emperour  
*Alinus Adrianus*.  
A brieft dis-  
course of the  
state and for-  
tune of the holy  
city of *Ierusalem*,  
from the destruc-  
tion thereof, under  
*Vespasianus* the  
Emperor, and  
*Titus* his  
sonne, vntill the  
yeare 136, when  
it was againe  
recovered out  
of the hands of  
the heathen,  
and then the  
consecration  
thereof, the  
11th.

four *Maurice* with his children, and so possessed himselfe of the empire, gaue occasion there-  
by vnto *Chosroe* the Persian King, in reuenge of the death of *Maurice* his father in law, with all  
his power to inuade Syria: who as a tempest bearing downe all before him, tooke also by  
force the city of Ierusalem, hauing that yere, which was about the yere six hundred and ten,  
slain almost an hundred thousand Christians. But *Phocas* the vsurper beeing by them of his  
guard most cruelly slaine, and *Heraclius* succeeding in his stead, *Chosroe* was by him againe dri-  
uen out of Syria, and the holy city againe recovered, about the yere 624. In these great wars  
against the Persians, *Heraclius* had vsed the help of the Arabians, called Scenite, a warlike peo-  
ple of Arabia Deserta, altogether giuen to the spoile: who the wars now ended, expecting to  
haue receiued their pay, were contrary to their expectation, and without all reason rejected by  
them that should haue paid them, with very foule and contumelious words; as, that there was  
not money enough to pay the Christian soldiers of the Latines & the Greeks, much lesse those  
vile dogs (whom they so called, for that they had but a litle before receiued the damnable  
doctrine of the false Prophet *Mahomet*, the great seducer of the world, who euen in that time  
flourished.) Vpon which discontentment they at their returne revolted from the Empire, and  
joined themselves vnto their great Prophet, and so afterwards vnto the Caliphs his successors,  
extending his doctrine, together with his soueraignie, to the utmost of their power: and that  
with so good successe, that in short time they had ouerrun all Egypt, Syria, the land of Pro-  
mise, and taken the holy city. With these (the disciples of *Mahomet* and his successors, the  
Sarafins, for so now they would be called) the Greeke Emperours insuing had for certaine  
yeres diuers conflicts, with diuers fortune, for the possession of Syria. But at length wearied  
out, and by them overcome, they left the aforesaid countries wholly to their deuotion. Here-  
by it came to passe, that the Sarafins for the space of 370 yeres following held these coun-  
tries, with many others in great subjection, oppressing still the poore Christians in Ierusalem  
with most grievous tributes and exactions: vnto whom they yet left a third part of the city  
for them to dwell in, with the Temple of the Sepulchre of our Sauior, and mount Sion; not for  
any deuotion, either vnto them, or those places, but for that it yeelded them a great profit by  
the recourse of deuout Christians traouelling thither: referring in the meane time vnto them-  
selves, the other two parts of the city, with the Temple of *Solomon*, before re-edified by the  
Christians. Now whilest the Sarafins thus triumph in the East, and not in the East only, but  
ouer a great part of the West also; contenting themselves with such tributes as they had im-  
posed vpon the subdued nations and countries; vp start the Turks, a uagant, fierce, and cruell  
people; who first breaking into Asia (as is before declared) and by rare fortune aspiring vnto  
the kingdome of Persia, subdued the countries of Mesopotamia, Syria, with the greatest part  
of the lesser Asia and Iudaea, together with the Holy City: who both there and in all other  
places, held the poore oppressed Christians in such subjection and thraldome, as that the for-  
mer government of the Sarafins seemed in comparison of this to haue been but light and easie.  
Neither was there any end or release of these so great miseries to haue been expected, had  
not God in mercy by the weak meanes of a poore hermit, stirred vp these most worthy Prin-  
ces of the West to take vp arms in their defence, who hauing with their victorious armies re-  
covered the lesser Asia, with a great part of Syria, were now come vnto this Holy City.

Ierusalem besieged by the Christians.

The gouernor of Ierusalem vnderstanding by his espials, of the proceedings of the Chri-  
stians, had before their approach, got into the city a very strong garrison of right valiant sol-  
diers, with good store of all things necessarie for the holding out of a long siege. The Chri-  
stians with their army approaching the city, encamped before it on the North; for that toward  
the East and the South, it was not well to be besieged, by reason of the broken rocks and moun-  
taines. Next vnto the city lay *Godfrey* the Duke, with the Germans and Loranos: neere vnto  
him lay the Earle of Flanders, and *Robert* the Norman: before the West gate lay *Tancred* and  
the Earle of Tholous: *Bohemund* and *Baldwin* were both absent; the one at Antioch, the other at  
Edeffa. The Christians thus strongly encamped, the fifth day after gaue vnto the city a fierce  
assault, with such cheerefulness, as that it was verily supposed, it might haue beene euen then  
won, had they been sufficiently furnished with scaling ladders: for want whereof, they were  
glad to giue over the assault and retire. But within a few daies after, hauing supplied that de-  
fect, and provided all things necessarie, they came on againe afresh, and with all their power  
gaue vnto the City a most terrible assault, wherein was on both sides seene great valour, po-  
licie

A licie, and cunning, with much slaughter, vntill that at length the Christians weary of the long  
fight, and in that hot country, and most feruent time of the yere, fainting for lacke of water  
were glad againe to forsake the assault, and to retire into their trenches: only the well of *Siloe*  
yeelded them water, and that not sufficient for the whole campe: the rest of the wells which  
were but few, being before by the enemy either filled vp or else poysoned.

Whilest the Christians thus lay at the siege of Ierusalem, a fleet of the Genowaies arrived  
at Ioppa; at which time also a great fleet of the Egyptian Sultans lay at Ascalon, to haue  
brought reliefe to the besieged Turkes in Ierusalem, whereof the Genowaies vnderstanding,  
and knowing themselves to weake to encounter them at sea, tooke all such things out of their  
ships as they thought good, and so sinking them, marched by land vnto the campe. There was  
amongst these Genowaies diuers engineers, men (after the manner of that time) cunning in mak-  
ing of all manner of engines fit for the besieging of cities: by whose deuice, a great mouing  
tower was framed of timber and thick planks, couered ouer with raw hides, to saue the same  
from fire: out of which the Christians might in safety greatly annoy the defendants. This tow-  
er being by night brought close to the wall, serued the Christians in stead of a most sure for-  
res in the assault the next day: where whilst they strue with warlike valor & doubtful victory  
on both sides, from morning vntil mid-day, by chance the wind fauoring the Christians, carri-  
ed the flame of the fire into the faces of the Turks, wherewith they had thought to haue burnt  
the Tower, with such violence, that the Christians taking the benefit thereof, and holpen by the  
tower, gained the top of the wall: which was first footed by the Duke *Godfrey*, and his brother  
C *Eustace*, with their followers, and the ensignes of the Duke there first set vp, to the great en-  
couraging of the Christians, who now pressing in on euery side, like a violent riuer that had  
broken ouer the banks, bare downe all before them. All were slain that came to hand, men, wo-  
men and children, without respect of age, sex, or condition: the slaughter was great, & the sight  
lamentable, all the streets were filled with blood, and the bodies of the dead, death triumph-  
ing in euery place. Yet in this confusion, a wonderfull number of the better sort of Turks,  
retiring to *Solomons* temple, there to do their last deuoir, made there a great and terrible fight,  
armed with despair to endure any thing; & the victorious Christians no lesse disdainig, after  
the winning of the city, to find there so great resistance. In this desperat conflict, fought with  
wonderful obstinacie of mind, many felon both sides: but the Christians came on so fiercely,  
D with desire of blood, that breaking into the temple, the foremost of them were by the presse of  
them that followed after, violently thrust vpon the weapons of their enemies, & so miserably  
slaine. Neither did the Turks thus oppressed, giue it over, but as men resolved to die, desperat-  
ly fought out with inuincible courage, not at the gates of the Temple only, but euen in the  
midst thereof also, where was to be seene great heaps, both of the victors and the vanquished,  
slaine indifferently together. All the pauement of the Temple swam with blood, in such sort,  
that a man could not set his foot, but either vpon some dead man, or ouer the shooes in blood.  
Yet for all that, the obstinate enemy still held the vaults and top of the Temple, when as the  
darkenesse of the night came so fast on, that the Christians were glad to make an end of the  
slaughter, and to found a retreat. The next day (for that proclamation was made, for mercy to  
be shewed vnto all such as should lay down their weapons) the Turks that yet held the vpper  
part of the Temple, came downe and yeelded themselves. Thus was the famous City of Ieru-  
salem with great bloodshed, but far greater honor, recovered by these worthy Christians, in  
the yere 1099, after it had bene in the hands of the Infidels about foure hundred yeres.

The Genowaies come to the siege.

A most cruell and bloody fight, where the Christians and the Turkes, euen in the Temple of Solomon.

1099

The next day after, hauing buried the dead, and cleansed the city, they gaue thanks to God  
with publike prayers and great reioycing. The poore Christians before oppressed, now over-  
come with vnexpected joy, welcommed their victorious brethren with great joy & praise; and  
the soldiers embracing one another, sparing to speake of themselves, freely commended each  
others valour. Eight daies after, the Princes of the army meeting together, began to consult  
about the choice of their king: among whom was no such difference, as might well shew which  
was to be preferred before the others. And although euery one of them for prowesse & desert,  
seemed worthy of so great an honor, yet by the generall consent of all, it was giuen to *Robert*  
Duke of Normandie: who about the same time hearing of the death of the Conquerour  
his Father, and more in loue with his Fathers new gotten Kingdome in England, in hope  
thereof, refused the Kingdome of Ierusalem, then offered vnto him: which at his returne he  
found

found possessed by *William Rufus* his younger brother, and so in hope of a better, refusing the worse, upon the matter lost both.

*Godfrey Duke of Buillon by the generall consent of the Christian army chosen first king of Ierusalem.*

After whose departure, *Godfrey* of Buillon Duke of Loraine (whose ensigne was first displayed upon the walls) was by the generall consent both of the Princes and the armie, saluted King. He was a great soldier, and endued with many heroicall vertues, brought vp in the court of the Emperour *Henrie* the fourth, and by him much employed. At the time of his inauguration, he refused to be crowned with a crowne of gold: saying, That it became not a Christian man there to wear a crowne of gold, where Christ the Sonne of God had for the saluation of mankind, sometime wore a crowne of thorne. Of the greatest part of these proceedings of the Christians, from the time of their departure from Antioch, untill the winning of the Holy Citie, *Godfrey* by letters briefly certified *Bohemund*, as followeth:

*Godfrey of Buillon, to Bohemund King of Antioch, greeting.*

After long trauell, hauing first taken certaine townes, we came to Ierusalem: which Citie is enuironed with high hills, without riuers or fountaines, excepting onely that of Solomons, and that a very little one. In it are many Cisternes, wherein water is kept, both in the Citie and the Country thereabout. On the East, are the Arabians, the Moabites and Ammonites. On the South, the Idumaans, Egyptians and Philistians: Westward along the sea coast, lie the Cities of Ptolemais, Tyrus, and Tripolis: and Northward, Tiberias, Cesarea Philippi, with the countrey Decapolis and Damasco. In the assault of the Citie, I first gained that part of the wall that fell to my los to assault, and commanded Baldwin to enter the Citie: who hauing slaine certaine companies of the enemies, brake open one of the gates for the Christians to enter. Raymond had the Citie of David, with much rich spoile yielded vnto him. But when we came vnto the Temple of Solomon, there we had a great conflict, with so great slaughter of the enemy, that our men stood in blood about the ancles: The night approaching, we could not take the upper part of the Temple, which the next day was yielded, the Turkes pittifully crying out for mercie: and so the Citie of Ierusalem was by vs taken, the fifteenth of Iuly, in the yeare of our redemption 1099, thirtie nine daies after the beginning of the siege, foure hundred and nine yeares after it fell into the hands of the Saracins in the time of Heraclius the Emperour. Besides this, the Princes with one consent saluted mee (against my will) King of Ierusalem: who although I feare to take vpon me so great a Kingdome, yet I will doe my deuoir, that they shall easily know me for a Christian King, and well deserving of the vniuersall Faith; but loue you me as you do, and so farewell. From Ierusalem.

*An hundred thousand Arabians and Saracens slaine.*

*Godfrey of Buillon first Christian King of Ierusalem, died of the plague.*

Whilest these things were in doing at Ierusalem, such a multitude of the Turkes, and Saracins their confederates (now in their common calamitie all as one) were assembled at Acalon (a citie about fife and twentie miles from Ierusalem) to reuenge the injuries they had before received, as had not before met together in al the time of this sacred war. Against whom, *Godfrey* (the late Duke, and now King) assembled the whole forces of the Christians in those countries, and leauing a strong garrison in the new woon citie, set forward: and meeting with them, joyned a most dreadfull and cruell battell, wherein (as most report) were slaine of the Infidels, an hundred thousand men, & the rest put to flight. The spoile there taken, far exceeded all that the Christians had before taken in this long expedition. *Godfrey* after so great a victorie, returning to Ierusalem, gaue vnto God most humble thanks. The rest of the Princes returned either to their charge, as did *Bohemund* to Antioch, *Baldwin* to Edessa, *Tancred* into Galilee, whereof hee was created Prince; or else hauing now performed the vttermost of their vowes, returned with honour into their owne countries. This was of all others the most honourable expedition that euer the Christians tooke in hand against the Infidels, and with the greatest resolution performed; for the most part, by such voluntarie men, as moued with a deuout zeale, to their immortal praise, spared neither life nor liuing in defence of the Christian faith and religion; all men worthy eternall fame and memory. Not long after, ensued a great pestilence (the ready attendant of long war and want) wherof infinit numbers of people died, and among the rest *Godfrey*, the first Christian King of Ierusalem, neuer to be sufficiently commended: who with the generall lamentation of all good Christians, was honourably buried

**A** ried in the Church of the Sepulchre of our Sauior on the mount Calvary, where our Sauior suffered his passion; in which the Christian Kings succeeding him were also afterwards buried. He departed this life the eighteenth of Iuly, in the yeare of our Lord 1100, when hee had yet scarce reigned a full yeare. Whose tombe is yet at this day there to be seen, with an honorable inscription thereupon.

1100

After the death of *Godfrey*, the Christians made choice of *Baldwin* his brother, Countie of Edessa, who leauing his former gouernment to *Baldwin* (surnamed *Burgensis*, his neer kinsman, came to Ierusalem honorably accompanied, and was there by the Patriarch on Christmasse day with all solemnitie crowned King, Anno 1101. He, aided by the Venetians and Genoa's at sea, and by *Bohemund* King of Antioch by land, took from the Infidels the city of Casaria Stratonis, standing vpon the sea side, and ouerthrew certain companies of the Egyptian Sultans at Rama. But vnderstanding that the Christian Princes of the West were coming to his aid with a new power, hee glad thereof went to meet them, and safely conducted them to Ierusalem along the sea coast, by the cities of Berythus, Sydon, Tyre and Ptolemais, all yet holden by the Enemy. At which time the Turkes at Acalon hauing receiued great ayd from the Arabians and Egyptians, inuaded the country about Rama, where betwixt them and the Christians was fought a most cruell battell, wherein the Christians received a most notable ouerthrow, many of their great Commanders being there slaine; and amongst the rest, *Stephen* Earle of Charters (but lately returned home from the former expedition, and now come back againe) and *Stephen* Earle of Burgundy and Tholous; yea the King himselfe hardly escaped the Enemies hand, and after many daies came at length to Ioppa, after it had bin constantly before reported him to haue been in that battell also slaine. Who hauing there in hast repaired his army, came again speedily vpon his enemies, fearing as then nothing lesse, and ouerthrew them with such a slaughter, as that they had small cause to reioice of their former victorie. Neither were the rest of the Christian Princes in the other parts of Syria and Palestine in the mean time idle, but fought by all means to enlarge their territories. *Tancred* prince of Galilee hauing raised a great power, tooke Apamea the metropolitall city of Coelosyria, and after much toile won also the city of Laodicea. *Baldwin* also the Gouernor of Edessa, besieging the city of Carras, had brought the besieged Turkes to such extremity, that they were about to haue yielded the city; when suddenly he was set vpon by a great army of the Turkes sent from the Persian Sultan for the reliefe of the besieged, and being there ouerthrowne, was himselfe there taken, with *Benedict* the Bishop, and one *Iosephine* his kinsman: Who after fife yeares imprisonment, found means with the Turk that had taken them, to redeem themselves, to the great offence of the Persian Sultan, and of the Sultan *Solyman*.

*Baldwin Countie of Edessa, brother vnto Godfrey, second King of Ierusalem.*

1101

**D** King *Baldwin* after the late victory liued for a season at some good rest in Ierusalem, vnmoled of his enemies: but knowing his greatest safety among such warlike people, to consist in arms, he vpon the sudden raised the whole strength of his kingdom, and laid siege to Ptolemais, otherwise called Acon, a city of Phoenicia, standing vpon the riuage of the sea; where he found such resistance, that he was glad to raise his siege and depart, having done nothing more than spoiled the pleasant places about the city. By the way in his return backe again it **E** fortunated him to meet with certain companies of the enemies adventurers, by whom he was in a skirmish mortally wounded, although he died not thereof in long time after: for albeit that the wound was by his surgeons healed vp, yet was the griefe thereof so great, that at length it brought him to his end. Yet lie notwithstanding the former repulse, the next yeare encouraged by the coming of the Genoa fleet, laid hard siege again to Ptolemais both by sea and land, which after twenty daies siege was by composition yielded vnto him.

*Ko, Baldwin mortally wounded.*

*Ptolemais won by K. Baldwin.*

Shortly after, the Gouernor of Aleppo, with certain other of the Turkes great Captains in those quarters, hauing joined their forces together, and so inuaded the country about Antioch, were by *Tancred* (whom *Bohemund* at his departure into Italy had left Gouernor of that city) notably encountered and put to flight. At which time also the Caliph of Egypt, sending great forces both by sea and land against the King of Ierusalem, was in both places discomfited, at land by the Christians, and at sea by tempest.

**F** *Bohemund* in the mean time with a great army of voluntary men and others (wherein hee is reported to haue had fife thousand horse and forty thousand foot) returning towards the holy Land, in reuenge of many injuries done by *Alexius* the Emperour, vnto the Souldiers of

D this

this sacred war, contrary to his faith and promise to them before giuen; by the way landed G his men in Epirus, and grieuouſly ſpoiled the countrey about Dirrachium part of the Emperors dominion. Neither made he an end of ſpoiling, vntill he had inforced the Emperour for redreſſe of ſo great harms, to make peace with him, and again by ſolemne oath to promiſe all ſecuritie and kindneſſe vnto all ſuch Chriſtian ſouldiers as ſhould haue occaſion to traueſe to or fro thorow his countreies during the time of this religious war. After which agreement hee put to ſea again, and ſo returned for Ieruſalem. But whiſt he ſtaid at Antioch, he ſhortly after there died in the yeare 1108, leauing the principallitie thereof vnto his yong ſon *Bohemund* a child, vnder the tuition of his nephew *Tancred*.

*Bohemund dies  
at Antioch.*

1111  
*Sidon won.*

Yet were the cities of Berytus, Sidon, and Tyre, alongſt the ſea coaſt, in the enemies poſſeſſion: for the gaining whereof *Baldwin* the King raiſed a great army, and ſo came & laid ſiege to Berytus, which after many ſharp aſſaults he at length won the 23 day of Aprill, in the yeare 1111, and put to ſword moſt part of them that he found therein. The ſame yeare alſo he, aſſiſted by a fleet ſent vnto him out of Norway, beſieged the city of Sydon; which the Citizens (ſeeing themſelues now beſet both by ſea and land) at length yeelded vnto him by compoſition the 19 day of December. After which victorie he diſmiſſed the fleet, and returned himſelfe in triumph to Ieruſalem. Now of all the famous cities alongſt the ſea coaſt of Phoenicia and Paleſtine, from Laodicea to Aſcalon, was only the city of Tyre that remained in the enemies hand: which City *Baldwin* alſo hardly beſieged; neuertheleſſe it was ſo well defended by the Turks, that after he had all in vain lien before it the ſpace of 4 months, he was glad to riſe with his army and depart.

It fortuned that within two yeares after, the Turks with a mighty army ſent from the Perſian Sultan, inuaded the country of Coeliſyria, where ſpoiling all before them as they went, they came and incamped vpon the ſea coaſt neere vnto Tyberias. Againſt whom *Baldwin* gathered the whole ſtrength of his kingdom; with whom alſo *Tancred* (who now reigned in Antioch, the yong *Bohemund* being dead) with the Countie of Tripolis, and the reſt of the Chriſtian Princes, joined their forces: who all together marching forward, came and incamped not far from the enemy, being in number far more than they. *Mendus* General of the Turkes army (for ſo I find him called) vnderſtanding of their approach, ſent out certain companies of his men to skirmiſh with them; againſt whom the Chriſtians alſo ſent out others, who incountring them, eaſily put them to flight, beeing before commanded fo to do, of purpoſe to draw the Chriſtians into the danger of a great ſtrength lying in ambuſh to intrap them: which according to the Turkes deſire fell out; for the Chriſtians fiercely purſuing the flying enemy, fel into the ambuſh, and ſo before they were well aware, were beſet on all ſides by their enemies: to whoſe reſcue other companies of Chriſtians comming in, and others alſo from the Turks, both the great armies were at length drawn into the field, where betwixt them was joined a moſt fierce and terrible battell, with great ſlaughter on both ſides; but at length the multitude of the Turks preuailling, the Chriſtians were put to the worſe, and ſo glad to fly: after whom the fierce enemy hardly followed, not without great ſlaughter: in which flight the King himſelfe hardly eſcaped, with *Arnolphus* the Patriark. Whiſt *Baldwin* was thus buſied abroad, the Turkes and Sarafins from Aſcalon came and beſieged Ieruſalem, beeing then but weakly manned: but hearing of the kings comming, and that the army of the Chriſtians daily increaſed with new ſupplies out of the Weſt by ſea, they retyred home again, hauing burnt certain ſtore-houſes full of corn, and ſpoiled ſuch things as were ſubieſt to their fury.

Long it were to recount all the hard conflicts and combats this king had with the Sarafins and Turks, which for breuitie I paſſe ouer, contented to haue briefly touched the greateſt. In the laſt yeare of his reign, hauing for certain yeares before liued in ſome reaſonable peace, he made an expedition into Egypt, where he with much difficultie won Pharamia a ſtrong city vpon the ſea coaſt, which he joined vnto his own Kingdome. After that, he went to the mouth of the riuer Nilus, and with great admiration learned the nature of that ſtrange riuer: and hauing therein taken abundance of fiſh, he returned into the city, and therewith the ſame feaſted himſelfe with his friends. But after dinner he began to feel the griefe of his old wound, and growing therof ſicker and ſicker, returned with his army toward Ieruſalem, where by the way neere vnto a City called Laris he died (to the great griefe of all the Chriſtians) in the yeare 1118. His dead body being brought backe vnto Ieruſalem, was there royally buried, neere

neere vnto his brother *Godfrey*, after he had reigned eighteen yeares: whoſe ſepulchre is yet there alſo to be ſeen, faſt by the ſepulchre of his brother.

The late King thus dead and buried, the Chriſtians with one conſent made choiſe of his couſin *Baldwin*, ſurnamed *Brugensis*, gouernor of Edeſſa, who by the name of *Baldwin* the ſecond was the ſecond of Aprill, in the yeare 1118, ſolemly crowned King of Ieruſalem. He was of ſtature tall and well proportioned, of countenance comely and gracious, hauing his hair thin and yellow, his beard mingled with ſome gray haire, hanging downe to his breſt; his colour freſh and liuely for one of his yeares. He was a man of great courage, and therefore no leſſe redoubted of his enemies, than beloued of his ſubieſts, who had in him reposed great hope both for the defence and enlarging of that new gained kingdome. Againſt him the ſame ſummer the Caliph of Egypt, aided by the king of Damasco and the Turks, in reuenge of the loſſe he had in the expedition the yeare before receiued, raiſed a great power to inuade him both by ſea and land. Againſt whom *Baldwin* alſo oppoſed himſelfe with his whole ſtrength, and ſo came and incamped within the ſight of his enemies. In which ſort when both armies had lien the one facing the other by the ſpace of three months, they both roſe; the Chriſtians fearing the multitude of the Turks, and the Turks the valor of the Chriſtians, and ſo retyred without any notable thing done.

This yeare died *Alexius* the Greeke Emperour, who euen from the beginning of this ſacred War, ſecretly repined at the good ſucceſſe of the Chriſtians in Syria, although his Empire were thereby greatly enlarged: after whom ſucceeded *Calo Ioannes* his ſonne, who all the time of his reign right worthily defended his territories in the leſſer Aſia, againſt the inuaſion of the Turks.

Not long after, *Gazi* one of the greateſt Princes of the Turks in the leſſer Aſia, with the King of Damasco, and *Debes* King of Arabia, joining their forces together, with a great army inuading the country about Antioch, came & incamped not far from Aleppo: againſt whom *Roger* Prince of Antioch, not expecting the comming of *Baldwin* and the other Chriſtian princes his confederats, but preſuming of his own ſtrength, went forth with greater courage than diſcretion, whereunto his ſucceſſe was anſwerable; for encountring with them at too much odds, he was by them in a great battell buerthrowne, where himſelfe was ſlain, with moſt part of his army. Of which ſo great a ſlaughter, the place wherein this battell was fought was afterward called the field of blood. But whiſt the Turkes after ſo great a victorie careleſſly and at pleaſure roame vp and down the country, *Baldwin* ſetting vpon them ouerthrew them with a great ſlaughter, and ſo put them to flight. After this victorie gained by the Chriſtians the fourteenth of Auguſt, in the yeare 1120, King *Baldwin* in great triumph entred into Antioch, and ſo joined thot principallitie vnto his owne kingdome.

The yeare following, the Turks with another army inuaded the ſame countrey againe: for repreſſing of whom, whiſt *Baldwin* and the other Chriſtian Princes were making their preparations, it fortuned that *Gazi* their great Commander ſuddenly died of an Apoplexy, vpon whoſe death they retyred without any further harm doing. Neuertheleſſe the next ſpring, the King of Damasco aided by the Arabians, entered againe with a great army into the countrey about Antioch, and there did ſome harme: for the Antiochians now deſtitute of their owne Prince, and *Baldwin* (who had taken vpon him their proteſtion) beeing far off, and otherwiſe buſied at Ieruſalem, were much more ſubieſt vnto the inrodes of their enemies (ſtill at hand) than before when they had a Prince of their own ſtill preſent among them. But *Baldwin* aduerted therof, was making toward them with a puiſſant army, ſooner than they had thought it could haue bin poſſible. Of whoſe approach the Turks vnderſtanding, retyred againe out of the Country: after whom the King thinking it not good to make further purſuit, turned a little out of the way, and took by force Garaze, one of the ſtrongeſt caſtles of the kings of Damasco, built but the yeare before; which becauſe it was not without great charge and danger to be den, he raſed down to the ground.

*Baldwin* notwithstanding that he had many times thus honorably repulſed his enemies, wiſely conſidering how he was on the one ſide beſet with the Turks, and on the other ſide with the Sarafins which yet reigned in Egypt (the Kingdome of Ieruſalem lying as it were in the mouth of them both) thought it good betime to craue aid of the Chriſtian Princes of Europe; and to that purpoſe had ſent diuers his Embaſſadors vnto diuers of them, but eſpecially

D a

vnto

*Baldwin Brugenſis  
choſen  
King of Ieruſalem.*

1118

1120

1122

vnto the Venetians, whom of all others hee thought fittest at his need to yeeld him reliefe by sea. It fortuned in the mean time, that *Balac* the Persian Sultan with a great army of the Turks invaded the country about Antioch; whereof *Baldwin* vnderstanding (although he certainly knew he should ere long receiue aid from the other Christian Princes his friends, but especially from the Venetians, and might therefore with great reason haue protracted the war vntil their coming; yet being therewith much moued, or else his destiny so requiring, raised such forces as he had of his owne, and without longer staying for his friends, with greater courage than good speed set forward; and so joining battell with the enemy, was therein ouerthrowne, with the greatest part of his army, and himselfe taken prisoner in the fight, with certain other of his best commanders, who all together were carried away captiues vnto Carras.

Ioppa besieged  
by the Saracins

Vpon the report of this ouerthrow, and taking of the King, the Caliph of Egypt on the other side took occasion with all his power to invade the kingdom of Ierusalem; and hauing in himselfe purposed the vtter ruine thereof, beside the great army which hee sent thither by land (which lay incamped not far from Ascalon) he put to sea a huge fleet also of 700 sail, for the distressing of the sea towns, which he well knew were not otherwise to be won. This fleet of the Sarasin Kings (for Egypt with the kingdomes of Tunes and Morocco were yet in possession of the Saracins) arriuing at Ioppa, there put ashore their land forces, and hardly besieged the town both by sea and land. But whilest they thus lay in great hope to haue won the town, *Dominicus Michael* duke of Venice, stirred vp by *Calixtus* then Bishop of Rome, came to Cyprus with a fleet of two hundred sail for the reliefe of the Christians in Syria and the holy land; and hearing of the distresse of Ioppa, nothing dismayd with the number of the Enemies fleet, hasted thither, and came so suddenly vpon them, that he had (as some report) ouerthrowne them before they could put themselves in order, or be in readinesse to fight: or as some others say, after a great and doubtfull fight, hauing sunk or taken many of them, and put the rest to flight, he obtained of them a most glorious victorie. With like good fortune also were the Saracins ouerthrowne in a fortunate battell at land neere vnto Ascalon, by the Lord *Eustace*, vnto whom the defence of the kingdom was committed after the taking of the King, who not long after so great a victory died.

Ioppa relieved as is aforesaid, the Duke of Venice travelled by land to Ierusalem, where he was honorably receiued by *Gerardus* the Patriark, and the confederation before made betwixt King *Baldwin* and the Venetians, vpon the same conditions, solemnly again renewed.

Tyre besieged  
by the Christians

The Saracins thus notably discomfited both by sea and land, and the Christians thereby not a little encouraged, and joining their forces together with the Venetians, came and the first of March laid siege vnto the ancient and strong city of Tyre: which they hauing beset both by sea and land, gaue therunto many a sharp assault, which the Turks, as men fighting for their liues and wiues right valiantly repulsed. In which sort the siege was continued longer than the Christians had at the first thought should haue needed: yet at length after four moneths siege, the Turks fore weakened with often assaults, and hardly pinched with want of food, all their store being spent, yeelded the city by composition. This was the city of Tyre (the most famous port of Phoenicia) yeelded vnto the Christians the twenty ninth of Iune, Anno 1124. The third part of this city was giuen to the Venetians, according to the composition made betwixt them and the Kings of Ierusalem, That of all such cities as were by their helpe won from the Infidels in Syria, they should haue a third part, with one street, and free traffick in all the rest of the cities of the kingdom of Ierusalem. Shortly after was King *Baldwin* set at libertie for the ransom of an hundred thousand ducats, after he had bin eighteen months prisoner among the Turks.

1124

The Duke of Venice hauing now spent almost three yeares in this sacred expedition, and well confirmed the state of the Christians in Syria, returning home, by the way tooke the Islands of Chios, Rhodus, Samos, Mitylen, and Andrus, with the city of Modon in Peloponnesus, all places belonging to the Greeke Emperour. Which he did in reuenge of the injuries done by the Emperour in the time of his absence: who enuying at the successe of the Christians in Syria, as had his father *Alexius* before him, had in the absence of the Duke infested the territories of the Venetians, for the which he was now justly requited with the losse of a good part of his owne.

*Baldwin* also not vnmindfull of the injuries vnto him before done by the Turks, in requitall thereof

thereof, invaded the country about Damasco, and there in three notable battels ouerthrew the King, and spoiled the country; wherein hee took so great a prey, that therewith he redeemed his daughter, whom he had at the time of his deliuerance left in hostage with the Turks for the paiement of his ransom. He also ouerthrew the Saracins at Ascalon, who aided by the Caliph of Egypt, had sundry times invaded the country about Ierusalem. And so hauing well repressed his enemies, for a space liued in peace.

Not long after, *Hugh Paganus* first Master of the Templers (an Order of Knights first begun in the reign of this *Baldwin*) before sent to craue aid of the Christian princes of the West against the Turks and Saracins, returned with a great number of zealous Christians, ready to lay down their liues for defence of the Christian faith and religion: with whom *Baldwin* and the other Christian Princes of Syria joining their forces, set forward and besieged Damasco, the regal city of the Turks in those quarters. But such was the strength of this city, with the valor of the defendants, and contagiousnesse of the aire, that the Christians (the heauens as it were then fighting against them) were glad to raise their siege, in vain begun, and so to retire.

Whilest things thus passed in Siria, *Fulk* Countie of Turin, Mayn, and Anjou, a man almost of sixty yeares, hauing as he thought best disposed of his rhings at home, had for deuotions sake taken vpon him an expedition into the Holy land. In the time of which his preparations Embassadors came vnto him from king *Baldwin*, offering him in mariage *Melissenda* (or as some call her *Margaret*) his eldest daughter, with succession into the kingdom of Ierusalem in dowry, if he should suruiue the King; and in the mean time to content himselfe with the cities of Tyre and Ptolemais. Of which offer he accepted, and so held on his journey before intended. It fortuned about three yeares after, that the King fell dangerously sick, and feeling his death drawing on, hauing laid aside all regal dignitie, caused himselfe to be removed out of his own palace, into the Patriarks house, which was neerer vnto the Temple of the Sepulchre, &c. there calling vnto him *Fulk* the Countie his son in law, with his daughter, and his son *Baldwin*, then but two yeares old, in the presence of the Patriark and diuers other Princes and great Commanders, commended vnto them the gouernment and defence of the kingdom, appointing *Fulk* to succeed him: and taking vnto himselfe the habit and profession of a Monke, if hee should haue longer liued, presently after gaue vp the ghost the two and twentieth day of August, Anno 1131; whereof he reigned with much trouble thirteene yeares, and was solemnly buried in the temple vpon mount Calvary, with the other two Kings *Godfrey* and *Baldwin* his predecessors.

The death of  
Baldwin the second,  
the third  
King of Ierusalem.

The Kings sunfall ended, the Princes of the kingdom with one accord made choice of *Fulk* the old Countie, Earle of Anjou, for their King: who the sixt of September was with all solemnitie by *William* the Patriark crowned in Ierusalem. This man in the beginning of his reign, beside his troubles abroad, was also vext with domesticall and intestine discord, *Pontius* Countie of Tripolis (seeking by force of arms to haue rent the dukedom of Antioch from the kingdom. And *Hugh* Countie of Ioppa, for feare of due punishment for his treason, joining himself with the Saracins of Ascalon, and so with them infesting the territories of Ierusalem, to the great hurt of the Christian State, and advantage of the Infidels. Which troublesome broiles were yet afterward by the King, partly by force, partly by the mediation of the Patriark and other princes (who seeing the danger therof like to ensue, had interposed themselves) well appeased. Vengeance yet neuertheless still following both the aforesaid traitors: *Pontius* being shortly after slain by the Turks, and *Hugh* dying in exile.

Besides these domesticall troubles, the Turkes also invaded the countrey about Antioch, where they were by the sudden comming of the King ouerthrowne, with the losse of their tents and exceeding great riches. And that nothing might be wanting vnto the disquieting of the state of that new erected kingdom, not long after, *Iohn* the Constantinopolitan Emperour (together with the empire, inheritor also of his fathers malice against the proceedings of the Christians in Syria) with a puissant army passing thorow the lesser Asia, and by the way raking by force *Tarsus*, the metropolitall city of Cilicia, with the whole prouince therinto belonging, came and besieged Antioch, which *Fulk* but a little before had, together with *Constance* the daughter and Heire of the late Duke of Antioch, giuen in marriage to *Raimond* Countie of Poyton, for that purpose sent out of France. But in this so dangerous a state of that Christian kingdom, the other zealous Christian Princes interposed themselves as mediators

diators betwixt the Emperor (pretending the same to belong vnto his Empire) and *Raimund* G that was in possession thereof: and in fine brought it to this end, That *Raimund* for the present submitting himselfe vnto the Emperor, should from thenceforth hold his dukedome of him, as of his Lord and Soueraign. Vpon which agreement the Emperour returned vnto Tarsus, where he wintered, and so afterwards to Constantinople.

Much about the same time, *Sanguin* one of the Turks great Princes inuading the Countrey about Tripolis, besieged the castle of Mont-Ferrand; vnto the reliefe wherof *Fulk* comming with his army, was by the Turks ouerthrowne, and for the safegard of his life glad to take the refuge of the castle, the Countie himselfe beeing in that battell taken prisoner. After which victorie, the Turkes laid harder siege vnto the Castle than before; the besieged in the meane time being no lesse pinched within with famin, than pinched without by the enemy. In this H the Kings hard distresse, the other Princes hauing raised the whole power of the kingdome, were comming to his reliefe: whereof the Turk hearing, offered of himselfe to giue them all leaue freely to depart, and to set the Countie at libertie, so that they would deliuer vnto him the Castle. Of which his offer they gladly accepting, yielded vp the strong Hold and so departed. The King by the way meeting with the army, thanked his friends for their forwardnesse, and so returned to Ierusalem.

Calo Iouannes  
the Greek Em-  
perours seeks in  
uaine to haue  
surrendered the  
city of Antioch

About foure yeares after, *Iohn* the Constantinopolitan Emperour with a great army came again into Syria, with purpose to haue vained the famous City of Antioch vnto his empire, and so to haue made a way into the kingdome of Ierusalem, whereafter hee had now a good while longed. But comming thither in hope to haue found the Cilicians and Syrians ready I to haue receiued him, he was deceiued of his expectation, being shut out of the Latines, and not suffered to enter but vpon his oath, and that with some few of his followers; and so after due reuerence done vnto him, quietly to depart, without any stir or innouation in the city. In reuenge of which disgrace, at his departure hee gaue the suburbs of the City as a prey to his greedy soldiers, pretending the same to be done for want of victuals: who made haue of all that came to hand, not sparing the very fruit trees, but cutting them down to dresse their meat withall. Hauing thus vnder colour of necessitie reuenged the disgrace receiued, he returned into Cilicia and there wintred: where one day for his disport hunting of the wild boar, and hauing wounded him with his boar-spear, the wild beast therewith enraged, and with all his force bearing forward vpon the weapon, forced the Emperours hand backward vpon the point of a K poisoned arrow that was hanging in a quier at his back, and so was therewith lightly wounded. Neuerthelesse as light as the wound was, such was the strength of the poison, that the griefe thereof still increasing, and his hand and arm more and more swelling, there was no remedie to be found, but that his arm must be cut off: which desperat and vncertain cure he abhorring, and in the extremitie of his pain oftentimes saying, That the Greek Empire was not to be gouerned with one hand; ouercome with the strength of the poison, died. In whose place succeeded his yongest son *Emanuel*, *Alexius* and *Andronicus* his two elder sons being both dead at his setting forth vnto this so vnhappy an expedition.

The death of  
Calo Iouannes  
the Greek  
Emperour.

The miserable  
death of Fulk  
fourth king of  
Ierusalem.

It fortuned about this time also, that the kingdome of Ierusalem beeing now at peace, that *Fulk* the King with the queen his wife lying at the city of Ptolemais in the time of Autumn, L it pleased the Queen for her disport to walk out of the city, vnto certaine pleasant fountaines there by in the country; for whose companie the King would needs go also, with certaine of his Courtiers: where by the way it chanced that certaine boyes running along the field, put vp an hare that was sitting in a furrow; after which all the Courtiers on horseback galloped amain, with notable outcries and hollowing. Among the rest, the King to be partaker of the sport, forcing his horse to the vttermost of his power, in the midst of his course fell, together with his horse foundring vnder him, and in falling chanced to fall his head vnder the horse, with whose weight and the hardnes of the saddle he was so crushed, that the braines came out both at his nose and ears. In this pittifull case being taken vp for dead, and with great beautie being carried back, he yet breathing lay speechlesse three daies, and so died the thirteenth of November, Anno 1142. His dead body afterwards brought to Ierusalem, was there with great magnificence, and the generall lamentation of all his subiects, buried with the other Kings his predecessors.

Now had the late King left behind him two sons, *Baldwin* about the age of thirteen years, and

and *Almerick* about the age of seuen. Of the elder of these two the Christian Princes made choice, who by the name of *Baldwin* the third, was (together with *Melesinda* his mother, partner with him in the kingdome) vpon Christmas day with great solemnitie crowned King of Ierusalem, in the yeare 1142. About which time *Sanguin* the Turk, taking hold of the discord betwixt *Raimund* Prince of Antioch, and *Ioseelin* countie of Edessa, came & with a great power besieged Edessa, the Countie being at the same time absent; and did so much, that at length he took the city by vndermining it, where the bloody Turk exercised all manner of crueltie vpon the poore Christians in the city. By the losse of this famous city, so large a territory fel again into the hands of the Turks, as that three Archbishops were thereby drawne from the Church of Antioch. The Turke encouraged by this victory, Araitwaies after besieged Cologenbar, another strong town of the Christians. One night drinking liberally with his friends, he was by one of them in his drunkenesse stabbed, and so slain, and the siege raised. In whose stead *Noradin* his son succeeded.

*Baldwin*, third  
of that name,  
first King of Ierusalem.

1142

*Baldwin* in the first yeare of his reign recovered from the Turks the castle of Sobal, a strong Hold beyond Iordan, which he notably fortified for the defence of that side of his kingdome against the incursions of the Turks. But the next yeare vndertaking an expedition against the King of Damasco, he was by *Noradin* the Turke, the Kings sonne in law, so hardly beset in his returne, as that it was accounted a thing miraculous, how he with his army escaped his hands.

The report of the losse of Edessa, with the miseries there endured by the Christians, being bruted thorow all parts of Christendom, greatly moued the Christian Princes of the West. Whom *Engenius* the third then Bishop of Rome, ceased not both by himselfe and by his Legats, to stir vp to take that sacred war in hand. And therein wrought so effectually, that almost in euery prouince of Christendom preparation was made for the relief of the distressed Christians in Syrians. Of all others, *Conrade* the third, then Emperour of Germany was most forward, who aided by the German Princes and others, with an incredible number of voluntarie men out of all parts of Christendom had raised a most puissant Army, and therewith set forward on this sacred expedition. Of this his deuout purpose he had before certified *Emanuel* the Greek Emperour, thorow whose countries hee was to passe, crauing that hee might by his good fauor so do, and for his money to be relieued with victuals, and other such things as hee should haue need of for himselfe or his people, promising in most quiet and peaceable maner to passe, without any harm doing vnto his territories or subiects. All which the Greek Emperour, commending his zeale, seemed in most large terms willingly to condescend vnto. Neuerthelesse he inwardly repined therat, wishing indeed no better successe vnto the Christians in this so honorable an expedition, than did the Infidels themselves, as by the sequell of his doings well appeared. For *Conrade* with his populous army, indeed a terror vnto the Greekes, entering into the confines of the Constantinopolitan Empire, found all things in shew friendly (for why, *Emanuel* had before giuen out streit command, that good store of victuals & all other necessities should be ready at all places to be sold as the army was to passe) but they were not far come into the country, but that in the tail of the army still followed certaine strong companies of the Greekes, to keep the souldiers from stragling from their ensignes, roaming about in the country, now and then cutting them short as they took them at aduantage. And still the further they travelled, the more it was to be seene in the countenances of the discontented Greekes, how vnwelcome guests they were. Yet still on they went thorow the countries of their dissembling friends, little differing from open enemies, until they came to Philippopolis; in departing from whence, such discord rose betwixt them that were in the rereward of the army & the Greekes that followed them, that it was like to haue come to plain battel, had not those broils by the discretion of some of the wiser sort bin in good time appeased. So marching on they came to Adrianople, & in few daies after to the plain called Cherobachi, thorow which the riuier Melas bath his course; which in summer being almost dry, in Winter or any other great downefall of water, might suddenly overfloweth his bankes, and so drowneth the whole countrey, that then it seemeth no more a riuier but a sea, and swelling with the wind, is not to be passed ouer but by great boats. This riuier then suddenly rising by night, by reason of the great rain that then fell in such abundance as if the flood-gates of heauen had bin opened, so overflowed the place wherein the army lay incamped vpon the side thereof, that with the violence

*Conrade* 3. Em-  
perour of Ger-  
many, takes up-  
on him an Ex-  
pedition into  
the holy land.

violence of the water were carried away not only many weapons, saddles, garments, and such other the soldiers necessities, but euen the horses and mules, with their burthens, yea & great numbers of armed men themselves also, a most miserable & lamentable thing to behold. Many valiant men there fell without fight, and died, no man killing them: to be tall helped nor, neither did valor stand them in any stead; they perished like hay, and were carried away like chaff, with such outcries and lamentation, that they which saw it verily said that the wrath of God was broke into the camp: such a sudden inundation had ouerwhelmed all, that happy was he could make shift for himselfe, without regarding one another. This misfortune fore troubled the Emperour with his whole army: neuertheless the water being again fallen, & all put in so good order as in such a confusion was possible, he marched on to the imperiall City, which the suspicious and malicious Greek had before notably fortified, and strongly manned with armed men glistring vpon the walls, as if it should haue bin presently assaulted.

Conrade the  
Emperour not  
suffered to en-  
ter into Con-  
stantinople.

Conrade approaching the city, was not suffered to enter, but perswaded by the Greek Emperour, forthwith to transport his army ouer the streight, with promise to supply his wants with whatsoeuer he should require. Which was done in such hast, as if nothing had bin further to haue bin regarded, but only to haue them shipped ouer. In which seruice the Greekes spared no labor or kind of vessell that might serue to transport them. The Greeke Emperour in the mean time, by men secretly appointed for that purpose, keeping account of the number that passed, untill that wearied with the multitude, they ceased further to number them. But when they were once shipt ouer, then began the couer malice of the Greek Emperour forthwith to appeare. For, besides that they trusting to his promises, had brought little or no provision ouer with them, the country people by his appointment brought nothing vnto them to sell, as before: and they of the towns and cities shut their gates against them as they marched, not affording them any thing but at an extreme rate, for which they would first receive their money by ropes cast down from the wals, and then deliuer them what they pleased therefore, yea and oftentimes nought at all. Among many other vile practises not becomming Christians, the mischievous Greeks to poison the soldiers, mingled limewith the meal which they sold vnto the army, whereof many of the hungry soldiers greedily feeding, died. Whether the Greeke Emperour were priuy thereto or no, is not certainly known, but certain it is he caused counterfeited money to be coined, of purpose to deceiue them, and in brief, there was no kind of mischief to be practised against them, which either he himselfe deuised not, or set not others to deuise, to the intent that their posteritie, terrified by this so vnfortunat expedition, might for euer be afraid to take the like again in hand. And that nothing might be wanting that malice could deuise, he had secret intelligence with the Turks themselves concerning the strength of this army, plotting vnto them the means how the same might best be defeated: whereby it came to passe that some part thereof was by Pamplano a captain of the Turks, ouerthrowne neere Batis, and many slain. But attempting to haue done the like vnto that part of the army that passed thorow Phrygia, they were themselves ouertaken in their owne deuice, and ouerthrowne with a great slaughter. After which, the Turks in great number, to stay the Christians further passage, kept the riuer Meander, incamping vpon the further banke of that winding Riuer with a most huge army. There these worthy Christians right well declared, that it was but their patience, that the Grecian legions that had before so long followed them, with their countries and cities they had passed by, were not to them become a prey. For the Emperour comming to the riuer side, where was neither bridge nor boat to passe ouer, and finding the great army of the Turks on the other side ready to giue him battell if he should aduenture the riuer, with their archers standing vpon the very bank side, he retried a little out of the danger of the shor, and there incamping, commanded his soldiers to refresh themselves and their horses that night, and to be ready against the next morning to join battell with their enemies they were so far come to seek for. Little rest serued him that night: early in the morning before day he arose, and arming himselfe, put his whole army in order of battell, as did also the enemy on the other side of the riuer, with their battalions orderly placed, and their archers vpon the bank side, ready to giue the first charge on the Christians, if they should aduenture to come ouer. Both armies thus standing in readinesse, the one in sight of the other, and nothing but the winding riuer betwixt them; the Emperour before resolved to fight, with cheerful countenance and speech encouraged his men as followeth.

That

That this Expedition was of vs taken in hand for Christ his sake, and for the glory of God, and not of man, you know right well, fellow Soldiers. For, for this Cause, hauing contemned a pleasant life at home, voluntarily separated from our nearest and dearest Friends, we endure miseries in foreign Countries, we are exposed with dangers, we pine with hunger, we quake with cold, we languish with heate, we haue thowt of our bed, the Heauen our conering. And although wee be noble, famous, renowned, rich, ruling ouer Nations, yet we are we alwaies our Gorgels as necessary bonds, and are with them and our Armour laden, as was the greatest Seruant of Christ (Peter) surcharged with two Chaines, and kept with foure Quaternions of Soldiers. But these Barbarians (diuided from vs by this Riuer, to be the enemies of the Crosse of Christ) whom we of long haue desired to encounter withall, in whose blood (as Dauid saith) we haue sinned to wash our selues: Who is there that knoweth not, except he be altogether blackish, and will not with open eyes see, nor with open eares heare: If we wish to ascend straight way into heauen (for neither is God denied, that he knoweth not the cause of this our journey, or will not in recompence giue vnto us the immortal fields, and shady dwelling of Paradijs, which hauing for saken our owne dwellings, haue chose rather for his sake, to die than to liue). If we call to remembrance what things these men of unchristianised hearts do commit against our Friends and Countrymen, if we remember what grievous tortures they inflict vpon them, or if we be any thing troubled with the compassion of their innocent blood, vnto this Riuer, stand now courageously, and fight valiantly, and let not any feare or terror daunt vs. Let these Barbarians know, That by how much Christ our Master and Instructor doth excell their falsly Prophet and Seducer, Author of their vaine impieties, so much are we superiours vnto them in all things. Seeing therefore we are an holy Campe, and an Army gathered by the power of God, let vs not cowardly lose our selues, or feare for Christ his sake honorably to aduenture our liues. For if Christ died for vs, how much more right is it that we for him should die also? Vnto this so honorable an Expedition let vs also giue an honorable end: let vs fight in Christ's name, with a most assured hope of an victorious. For none of them (I trust) shall be able to abide our force, but shall all giue way vnto our first charge. But if we shall die (which God forbid) there shall be an honorable place of our buriall, whersoever we shall for Christ fall. Let the Persian Archer for Christ his sake strike mee, I will die with assured hope, and with that arrow, as with a Chariot, I will come vnto that rest which shall be to me deaxer, than if I should wish a base ordinary kind of death in my sins end my dayes in a bed. Now at length let vs take vengeance of them, with whose impure feet our Kinsmen and Christian brethren trodden downe, are gone into this common Sanctuaries, in which Christ our Saviour, equall and associate to his Father, is become a Companion of the Dead. Wee are those mighty men, we all haue drayned our swords, which stand about the liuely and Diuine Sepulchre, as about Solomons Bed. Wherefore we that be free borne, let vs take out of the way these Agarens, the children of the Bondwoman, and let vs rampre them as felines of offence out of the way of Christ: whom (I know not why) the Grecians feed up as greedy Wolves to their owne destruction, and with shame see them with their blood; when as with courageous mindes and thoughts becomming wise men, they ought so to haue been driven from their Prouinces and Cities, as rauening wilde beasts from their Flacks. Now so far as this Riuer (as it seemeth) is not but by some aduenture to be passed ouer, I my selfe will shew you the way, and be the first that shall take it. Let vs, serred together, forcibly breake into the Riuer, and wee shall well enough ride thorow it. I know that the water beaten backe by our force, will be at a stand, and breake the course, returning as it were backward. By not unlike meanes the Israelites in ancient times on foot passed ouer Iordan, the course of the Riuer being staid. This attempt shall be spoken of in all posterities, it shall by no tract of time be worne out or forgotten, but still remaine in fresh remembrance, to the great dishonour of the Turkes, whose dead bodies ouerthrowne at this Riuer, shall lie like a mountaine, and be seen as trophy of our victorie vnto the worlds end, and our immortal praise and glory.

Hauing thus said, and the signal of battell giuen, euery man hauing before by deuout praler commended himselfe vnto almighty God, he was the first that put spurs to his horse and took the riuer, after whom followed the rest, so close and forcibly, with such a terrible outcry, that the course of the water being by the force of their horses staid, and as it were beaten back toward the fountain, the whole army passed ouer with lesse trouble than was feared. And then charging the Turks, already discouraged to see them so desperately, and contrary to their expectation, to haue passed the riuer, after some smal resistance put them to flight, wherein such infinit numbers of them fel, the Christians like fierce lions pursuing the chafe, that all the val-

The Turkes  
ouertrowne by  
the Christians  
with a bloody  
slaughter.

lies ran with blood, and the fields were covered with the bodies of the dead. Many of the Italians were wounded with the Turks arrows, and but few or none slain: but what a multitude of the enemies there fell, the sundry and huge heaps of bones, to be compared vnto great hills, did long time after well declare; whereat every man that trauelled that way did worthily wonder, as did I my selfe, saith *Nicetas Choniates* in reporting this history. Not much unlike that, is reported of the Cimbers, slain by *Marinus* in such number, that of their bones the country people about *Marcellis* where the field was fought, long time after made walls for the defence of their vineyards.

*Nicetas Choniates Annali primorum a Manu I. Comitis Imperatoris gestat. fol. 139. Iconium in manu besieged by the Christians.*

After this so great a victorie, the Christians without resistance came to *Iconium* the chief seat of the Turkish Kings in the lesser Asia, which they hardly besieged: Neuerthelesse such was the strength of the city, being strongly fortified both by nature and art, together with the valor of the defendants, that lying there long they little prevailed, pressed in the meane time with greater extremities and wants in the camp, than were the besieged in the city: whereupon ensued such a mortality (people daily without number dying in the army) that the Emperor was glad to raise his siege and to return into his own country. The chiefe cause as wel of this so great a mortality, as of the ouerthrow of so notable an action, most men ascribe vnto the malice of the Greekes, who not without the priuie of their Emperor (as it was commonly bruted) mingled lime with the meale which they brought to sell into the army, whereof the hungry souldiers desirously feeding, were therewith poisoned, and so miserably died. Of the certain time of this journey of the Emperors into Asia, Authors agree not; howbeit wee must refer it vnto the year 1146.

1146

This expedition, though not so fortunat as it was at the first well hoped of, yet profited the Christian commonweal in this, that the Turkes therewith thoroughly busied, and doubtfull of the euent thereof, *Baldwin* in the meane time fortified *Gaza* (sometimes a famous city of the Philistims, but as then ruinous) which serued as a most sure bulwarke for the defence of that part of his kingdome towards Egypt; and also for the distressing of *Ascalon*, the only refuge of the Egyptians left in that country: which strong city standing vpon the sea side, hee with all the power of his kingdome afterward besieged both by sea and land: vnto the relief whereof the Caliph of Egypt (after he had bene five moneths by the Christians besieged) sent a strong fleet of seventy gallies. At which time also on the other side *Noradin* the Turke (who had now got into his hand all the kingdome of *Damasco*) to withdraw the Christians from the siege of *Ascalon*, besieged *Panadea*, from whence he was by the valour of the Citifens repulsed, as was also the Caliph's fleet at sea; and the siege at *Ascalon* continued. Where at length the Christians after long batterie had made a breach in the wall; but giuing thereunto an assault, they were with great losse of their men repulsed; and the breach again by the enemy repaired; who to the greater despight of the Christians, hanged ouer the walls in ropes the dead bodies of their slain: with which spectacle the chiefe commanders of the army were so moued, that they with all their power returned againe to the assault, with a full resolution to ingage thereon their whole forces; which they so courageously performed, that the besieged discouraged with the great slaughter of their men, and now with true valor overcome, craved parley, and so covenanted that they might with their liues in safety depart, agreed to yeeld vp the city, which they accordingly performed. The spoile of the city was giuen to the souldiers, and the gouernment thereof vnto *Almerick* the Kings brother, Earle of *Ioppa*. By this victory great securitie was gained vnto that side of the kingdome, the enemy hauing now no place left in those parts whereon to set his foot.

*The honorable expedition of Lewis King of France, by the malice of the Greekes, and enuy of other Christian princes of Syria, frustrated and brought to nothing.*

About the same time also (or as some write, euen at the same time together with the Emperor *Lewis* the French King the eighth of that name, took vpon him the like expedition for the reliefe of the Christians in the Holy land: who setting forward with all the Chualrie of France, and accompanied with diuers other great Princes, with a right puissant army came to *Constantinople*, where he was by *Emanuel* the Emperour honorably receiued with all the outward shew of feigned curtesie that could be deuised: but hauing passed the streit, and landed in Asia, he found nothing answerable to that the dissembling Greeke had before most largely promised. And to distress him the more, he was by false guides before corrupted by the emperor, conducted thorow the most desolate and barren countries, where by the way a wonderfull number of his Souldiers perished of hunger and thirst: many of them also being cut off in the

the streit and difficult passages, or as they strayed from the army by the Turkes themselves, appointed by the malicious Emperor for that purpose. Yet after many dangers passed, and his army forewaisted, he came at length into Syria, and laid siege vnto *Damasco* the royal seat of *Noradin* the Turkish King, which he so notably impugned, that the defendants were almost out of hope to be able for any long time to hold out. Neither had it otherwise hapned, had not Envy, the inseparable attendant of all honourable actions, frustrated so great a hope: for the besieged Turkes being brought to great extremitie, and now euen at the point to haue yeelded the city, certain of the Christian princes of that country, vnderstanding that the king had promised the gouernment of that so famous a City vnto *Philip* Earle of Flanders, if it should be won, and secretly grudging to haue a stranger preferred before themselves, corrupted also (as some say) with the Turkes gold, fraudulently perswaded the King to remoue from that part of the city where he lay, and might in fine haue taken the same, to another far stronger; where after he had lien a great while, struing with no small extremities, he was enforced for want of victuals, to raise his siege and depart. And so without any thing done worth the remembrance, returned again into France, detesting the very name of *Emanuel* the Greeke Emperor, by whose sinister dealing so notable an expedition was brought to be of none effect, to the great discouraging of all other Christian Princes for taking the like again in hand.

*Damasco in manu besieged by Lewis the French king.*

Now had the state of the Christians in Syria, for certain years after the aforesaid expeditions, rested in good peace: when *Noradin* the Turke, moued with some injuries done by the Christians vnto the Turkes and Arabians who by the leaue of *K. Baldwin* dwelt in the Forrest of *Libanus*, came and streitly besieged *Panadea* a city of the Christians there by: vpon whom the Christians in the city, now brought vnto great extremity, made a most desperat sally, and had with the Turkes a sharp and cruel fight; but oppressed with the multitude, and enforced to retire, they were so hardly pursued, that the Turkes together with them entred the city, and put to sword all that came in their way. Neuerthelesse the greater part of the Citifens (by good fortune) had in good time before retired themselves into the Castle, which was of great strength, and there stood vpon their gard. Of whose distresse, with the taking of the city, *Baldwin* hearing, raised a great army, and so set forward to relieue them. But *Noradin* hearing of his coming, and doubtful of his own strength, after he had taken the spoile of what he could, set fire on the city and so departed. The citifens thus deliuered, repaired again the walls of the city, the Kings power still defending them: *Noradin* with his power all the while lying close in the woods not far off, still awaiting the offer of some good opportunitie to take the Christians at aduantage: which shortly after fell out according to his owne desire; for the King doubting no such matter, but supposing him to haue bin quite gon, hauing at his returne sent away all his footmen, followed after himselfe, accompanied only with his horsemen, and they also not very strong: but as he was passing the riuer *Jordan*, he was suddenly set vpon by *Noradin* & the Turkes, and after a sharp conflict ouerthrown. The king himself with some few hardly escaped to *Saphet*, a town there by; most of his nobility being there either slain or taken prisoners: among the rest, *Bertrand* of *Blanquefort* master of the Templers, with diuers others of great name fel at that time into the enemies hands, and so were caried away prisoners.

1147

*Panadea taken and sacked by the Turkes.*

After this victory, *Noradin* strengthened with new supplies from *Damasco*, came againe and besieged *Panadea*, in good hope that the Citifens, discouraged with so great an ouerthrow of the King, and out of hope to be by them relieued, would now either yeeld the city, or else not be able long to hold it out. But the King contrary to his expectation, had in shorter time than was thought possible, raised a great power, and aided by the prince of *Antioch* and the Countie of *Tripolis*, was marching to the reliefe of the city. Of which approach *Noradin* vnderstanding, although he had made diuers breaches in the walls, and brought the citifens almost to vtter despair, rose with his army and departed. And so *Baldwin* hauing now twice relieued the besieged city, returned also to *Jerusalem*.

*Panadea again repaired by the Christians.*

Many an hard conflict with the Turkes had this yong King afterwards, during the fortunate time of his reign, wherein that troublesome Kingdome happily flourished amidst the misereants; all which to recount were long and tedious. Yet among other things it is worth the remembrance, how that *Noradin* the Turke, then King of *Damasco*, besieging *Sueta* a Castle belonging to the Kingdome of *Jerusalem*, was in a set battell by *Baldwin* ouerthrowne and put to flight, with the losse of the greatest part of his Army. King *Baldwin* had before married

ried *Emanuel* the Greek Emperors neece: and now the same Emperor, by *Guido Stephanus* and *Trifolius* his Embassadors, requested to haue giuen him again in mariage one of the Kings nigh kinswomen. Vnto whom the King, after mature deliberation had concerning the matter, offered him *Matilde*, an honorable Lady, the sifter of the Countie of Tripolis; whom the Emperour refused: and afterward by the consent of the King made choice of *Mary* the daughter of *Raimund* Prince of Antioch, lately dead. Which the Countie of Tripolis taking in euill part, in reuenge thereof, by certain men of war whom he put to sea, grievously infested the frontiers of the Emperours Dominions. Now during the time that the mariage was in solemnising, the King made his abode at Antioch, at which time he fortified the castle of Pontisfer vpon the riuier Orantes, against the incursions of the enemies. But lying there, he according to his wonted manner, to preuent sicknesse, vpon the approach of Winter tooke physicke of *Barac* a Jew, the Countie of Tripolis his Physitian. After the taking whereof he fell presently into the bloody flux, and afterward into a consumption: whereby it was verily supposed that hee was poysoned by the Jew; and the rather, for that some little part of the same medicine that was left, being giuen to a Dog, he thereof in short time died. The King thus languishing in pain, to change the aire, remoued first to Tripolis, and afterward to Berytus, where he departed this troublesome life, to liue with his Sauour Christ in blisse for euer. His dead body was afterwards with generall mourning of his Subjects conueyed to Ierusalem, and there solemnly interred by the body of his father. He departed the thirteenth of February, in the yeare of Grace 1163, when he had reigned 21 yeares. He was a man so gracious, that not onely his friends, but euen the Infidels themselues (as it is reported) lamented his death. Insomuch that *Noradin* King of Damasco, his ancient enemy, being incited by some of his Captaines to invade his Kingdome at such time as his funeralls were in solemnising, refused so to do; answering, That compassion and regard was to be had of the just sorrow of the Christians his subjects, for that they had lost such a King, the like was hardly againe to be found in the world.

The death of  
King Baldwin  
lamented by his  
enemies.

1164

But leauing the Kingdome of Ierusalem with the greater part of Syria thus victoriously gained from the Infidels; let vs for the orderly continuation of our History againe returne to see the proceedings of the Turks at the same time in the lesser Asia also: wherein they yet held the state of a kingdome, though not so great as before the comming of the Princes of the West into those countries. After the death of Sultan *Solyman* (with whom Duke *Gadfrey* and the other Christian Princes had much to do as they passed into Syria) as is aforesaid, one *Mahomet* succeeded him: betwixt whom and *Masut* Sultan of Iconium great discord arose, which at length broke forth into open war, to the further weakning of that late shaken kingdome. For the maintenance of which quarrell, as profitable for his state, *Iohn Comnenus* the Greeke Emperour gaue ayd to *Masut* against his enemy *Mahomet*. Neuerthelesse in short time the two Infidels (professing both one superstition) became friends, and joining their forces, ouerthrew the Emperour with his whole Army as hee lay at the siege of Iconium; at which time he himselfe with much ado escaped by flight. *Masut* afterwards hauing got into his hands the whole kingdome of the Turks, at the time of his death diuided the same among his three sons: Vnto *Clizastlan* his eldest son he gaue Iconium his chiefe city, with the towns and prouinces subject thereunto. Vnto *Iagupasan* his other son (or rather as some will haue it, his son in law) he allotted Amasia and Ancyra, with the fruitfull country of Cappadocia, and the places adjoining. But vnto *Dadune* his other son or son in law, he gaue the great cities of Casaria and Sebastia, with the large countries thereabouts, all sometime a part of the Greek Empire, but then a portion of the Turks. Long it was not after this diuision of the kingdom, but that these brethren after the manner of ambitious men, forgetfull of the bonds both of loue and nature, fell at discord among themselues: the Sultan seeking the destruction of *Iagupasan*, and he likewise of him, and that not by secret means, but euen by open force of armes. *Emanuel* the Greeke Emperour in the mean time wishing the destruction of them both, heartily rejoiced thereat, and by Embassadors secretly animating the one against the other, yet in open shew more fauouring the part of *Iagupasan* than of the Sultan, by whose aid he obtained against him many notable and bloody victories: insomuch that the Sultan being weary of the quarrell, was glad not onely by his Embassadors to seeke the Emperors fauor, but euen in person himselfe to go and meet him, as he came with his army out of Syria, and

Discord among  
the Turks in  
the lesser Asia.

Masut the Sul-  
tan diuides his  
kingdom among  
his three sons.

and so to accompanie him vnto Constantinople, where he was together with the Emperour most honorably receiued, with all the signes of joy and triumph that could possibly be deuised. The Emperour no lesse rejoycing to be sued vnto by so great a Prince, than did the Sultan at his so honorable entertainment.

Among other quaint deuises of many, for the solemnising of so great a triumph, there was an actiue Turke who had openly giuen it out, That against an appointed time he would from the top of an high tower in the tilt-yard flie by the space of a furlong: the report whereof had filled the city with a wonderfull expectation of so strange a noueltie. The time prefixed being come, and the people without number assembled, the Turke according to his promise, vpon the top of an high tower shewed himselfe, girt in a long and large white garment, gathered into many pleits and foldings, made of purpose for the gathering of the wind: wherewith the foolish man had vainely persuaded himselfe to haue howered in the aire, as do birds vpon their wings, or to haue guided himselfe as are ships with their sailes. Standing thus howering a great while, as ready to take his flight; the beholders still laughing, and crying out, Flie Turke, flie, how long shall we expect thy flight? the Emperour in the meane time still dissuading him from so desperate an attempt; and the Sultan betwixt feare and hope hanging in doubtfull suspence what might happen to his countryman. The Turke, after he had a great while howered with his armes abroad, (the better to haue gathered the wind, as birds do with their wings) and long deluded the expectation of the beholders, at length finding the wind fit, as he thought, for his purpose, committed himselfe with his vaine hope vnto the aire: but in stead of mounting aloft, this foolish *Icarus* came tumbling downe with such violence, that he brake his necke, his arms, his legs, with almost all the bones of his body. This foolish flight of the Turke gaue such occasion of sport and laughter vnto the vulgar people (alwaies ready to scoffe and jeast at such ridiculous matters) that the Turks attending vpon the Sultan could not walke in the streets vnderided; the artificers in their shops shaking their arms, with their spooles in their hands as did the Turke, and still crying out, Flie Turke, flie: whereof the Emperour hearing, although he could not choosethat therat smile himselfe, as not ignorant of the scoffes and taunts of the vulgar people, yet in fauour of the Sultan, who was not a little grieved therewith, he commanded such their insolencie to be restrained.

The solemnitie of the triumph ouerpassed (which by an ominous earthquake at the same time hapning, was somewhat obscured) the Emperour to shew his wealth, & to gratifie the Sultan, gaue vnto him many rich & royall presents, with such a masse of treasure, as that he much wondred thereat. In requitall wherof, and in token of his thankfulness, he again honored the Emperour with the name of his father, and terming himselfe by the name of his son, promised to restore vnto him the city of Sebastia, with the territory thereunto belonging, then part of *Dadune* his inheritance. Neuerthelesse, all this was nothing else but meere dissimulation, as afterward by prooffe appeared: for returning home, hee thrust *Dadune* indeed out of Sebastia, which he spoyle, with the country thereabout, and forgetfull of his promise, kept it wholly to himselfe, and by force tooke also from him the city of Casarca, with the country of Amasia, by him before but lately possessed. In like manner he bent his forces also vpon *Iagupasan* his other brother, who in the very preparation of those wars died: by whose vntime death the city of Ancyra, with all his dominions in Capadocia, fell into the Sultans hands. Who now possessed of all his fathers kingdome, and swelling with pride, forgetting all former curtesies, invaded the Emperors territories, and took from him the city of Laodicea in Phrygia; where he did great harme, as also in the country therabouts, killing the people as he went, or else carrying them away with him captiues. For the repressing of which outrages, the Emperour with a strong army passed ouer into Asia, and there in the frontiers of his territories fortified Dorileum against the incursions of the Turks. In performing whereof, he, to the example and stirring vp of others, carried the first basket of stones himselfe vpon his shoulders; and vsed such further diligence, that in short time the city was compassed about with strong walls, and deepe ditches, maugre the Turks, who ceased not with continuall alarmes and skirmishes to haue hindred the worke. With like care, and for like purpose he also fortified Subleum, another strong Hold; and leauing in either place a strong garrison, returned againe to Constantinople. Neuerthelesse the Turks ceased not with continuall inroades to doe what harmes they might vpon the frontiers of the Empire, although not altogether with so good successe as

And by Guido  
Stephanus.

Neuerthelesse  
the Turke, Icarus,  
did tumble downe  
with such violence,  
that he brake his  
necke, his arms,  
his legs, with  
almost all the  
bones of his  
body.

before,

Unkindnes be-  
twixt the Em-  
perour and the  
Sultan.

before, being many times cut off by the garrisons of the late fortified towns: which grieuan-  
ces still increasing, caused the Emperor to expostulate with the Sultan, as with an vnthankful  
man, and forgetfull of so great kindnes before done vnto him, as the establishment of him in  
his kingdome came vnto: who with no lesse vehemencie vpbraid him againe with incon-  
stancy & breach of promise, as wel for fortifying the aforesaid places contrarie to the league  
betwixt them, as for that hauing promised much more, hee had thereof performed nothing.  
Thus vnkindnes daily growing vpon euery trifles (as it commonly falleth out among men of  
great spirit, and jealous of their owne honors) it was daily expected, when the matter should  
fall out into open and bloody war, both of them being men of great valor, and apt to reuenge  
the least iniurie to them offered. Yet was it the Sultans manner, warily to mannage his warres  
by his politique and expert capitaines; whereas the Emperour being of an hotter nature, and  
courageous about measure, commonly in all his great expeditions aduentured his owne per-  
son, without respect what danger might thereof insue vnto himselfe or his state. Long it was  
not but that the Emperour, fully resolved to be reuenged of so many wrongs done to him and  
his subiects by the Turks, raised the whole power of his empire, both in Europe and Asia, in  
such sort as if he had therewith purposed, not onely to haue raised to the ground Iconium the  
regall seat of the Turkish Sultan, but even vtterly to haue destroyed the whole Nation of the  
Turks. Thus with a most puissant and populous armie, wel appointed of all things necessarie,  
he passed ouer into Asia, and so in good order marching through Phrygia, Laodicea, Chonas,  
(called in ancient time Passas) S. Archangel, Lampis, Caelanas, (where the head of the great  
and famous riuer Meander riseth, whereinto the riuer Marsyas falleth) and from thence to  
Chonia, he with euill lucke, and worse speed, passed by Myriocephalon, an old ruinous castle,  
ominous by the name thereof, as by the event in short time after it prooued. And albeit that  
he marched very circumspectly, still intrenching his armie in euery place where he lodged,  
yet could he make but small speed, by reason of the multitude of his cariages, and of the base  
people that attended the same. The Turks in the meanwhile oftentimes shewing themselves  
in troups, and in places of aduantage skirmishing sometime with one part of the armie, and  
sometime with another, but neuer daring to aduenture the fortune of a iust battell; yet by such  
meanes were the victuallers of the armie oftentimes cut off, and the passages for the Empe-  
rour made very dangerous. And the more to distresse the Christians in their long trauell, they  
found the country before them of purpose destroyed by the Turkes, and the water in many  
places poisoned, whereof the Christians vnadvisedly drinking, fell into many grievous dis-  
eases, especially the flux, & thereof died in great number. The Sultan in the mean time, although  
he had in readinesse a right puissant armie of his owne, and had procured great aid from the  
Persian Sultan his kinsman and chiefe supporter, yet fearing the doubtfull event of war, and  
loth to aduenture his whole estate vpon the fortune of a battell, fought by his Embassadors  
sent for that purpose, to grow to some peace with the Emperour, and that vpon such hono-  
rable conditions, as by the wiser sort were thought not to be at any hand refused: which large  
offers, the Sultan as desirous of peace, made vnto him not once, but againe and againe: which  
the Emperour neuertheless (reposing great confidence in his owne power, and prickt forward  
by the gallants of the court, better acquainted with the braue triumphs of peace, than the  
hard wars of the Turkes) proudly reiected, and so dismissing the Embassadors, scornfully wil-  
led them to tell their Master, That he would giue him answer to his requests, vnder the wals  
of Iconium. Which caused the Sultan, now out of all hope of any reconciliation to be made  
betwixt the Emperour and him, with all his power to take the straits of Zibrica, whereby the  
armie of the Christians, departing from Myriocephalon, must of necessitie passe. The en-  
trance into these straits was by a long valley, on either side inclosed with high mountains,  
which towards the North rising and falling according as the hills gaue leaue, opened into  
diuers large vallies, which by little and little growing againe straiter and straiter, with high  
and craggie rockes hanging ouer on either side, and almost touching one another, gaue vnto  
the painfull traveller a most hard and difficult passage.

A great over-  
sight of the  
Emperour.

Into this so dangerous a valley the Emperour, not fearing the enemies force, desperatly en-  
tered with his armie, hauing neither provided for the clearing of the passages, or safetie of his  
cariages, in no other order than as if he had marched through the plain and champain coun-  
trei, although it were before told him (that which he shortly after, but too late saw) that the ene-

enemie had strongly possessed both the straits and mountaines to hinder his further passage.  
The vauward of his armie was conducted by *Iohn* and *Andronicus* the sons of *Angelus Constan-*  
*tine*, accompanied with *Macroducus Constantine*, and *Lapardas Andronicus* in the right wing was  
*Baldwin* the Emperors brother in law; and in the left *Maurozomes Theodorus*: after them fol-  
lowed the drudges and scullions, with an infinite number of carters and other base people, at-  
tending vpon the cariages, with the baggage of the whole armie: next vnto these came the  
Emperour with the main battell, consisting for the most part of right valiant and worthy sol-  
diers: the reeward was shut vp by *Andronicus Comastephannus*, with a number of most resolute  
men. They were not far entred into these straits, but that the Turks from the mountaines and  
broken cliffes, shewed themselves on euery side, deliucring their deadly shot from the vpper  
ground, vpon the Christians below, as thicke as haile: neuertheless the sons of *Angelus* with  
*Macroducus* & *Lapardas*, and the vanguard, casting themselves into a three square battell in form  
of a wedge, with their targuers in manner of a penthouse cast close together ouer their heads,  
and their archers on euery side lustily bestowing their shot amongst the thickest of their ene-  
mies, by plain force droue them out of the straits they had before possessed, and caused them  
to retire farther off into the mountains, and so hauing made themselves way, with little or no  
losse passed those dangerous straits; till that at length hauing recovered the top of a hill very  
very commodious for their purpose, as the case stood, they there staid, & presently incamped  
themselves. And happily with like good fortune might the rest of the army haue passed also,  
had they in like order, & with like courage presently followed after: but failing so to do, and  
troubled with the multitude of their cariages, which could not possibly make any way  
through those strait & rough passages, (but troubled themselves one another, as also the whole  
armie) they were from the vpper ground miserably ouerwhelmed with the multitude of the  
Turkish archers, whose arrowes fell as thicke vpon them from the mountains, as if it had bin a  
perpetual tempest or shoure of haile, to the great disordering and dismay of the whole ar-  
mie: which the Turks quickly perceiuing, and therewith encouraged, in great numbers came  
downe from the mountains, where they had before howered ouer the heads of the Christians,  
and forcibly entering the plain ground, & comming to handy blows, first ouerthrew the right  
wing, where *Baldwin* himself seeking to restore his disordered companies, and to stay the furie  
of the enemy (now raging in the blood of the Christians) with a troupe of valiant horsemen  
breaking into the thickest of them, as became a worthie capitaine, was there compassed in  
with the multitude of his enemies, and slaine, together with all his followers, and the greatest  
part of the whole wing by him commanded: with this victorie the Turks were so encouraged,  
that comming down with all their power, they stopped all the waies whereby the Christians  
were to passe, who as men coup'd vp in those dangerous straits, were not able either to defend  
themselves, or to help one another: but inclosed as deer in a toile, and one troubling another,  
were the cause both of the destruction of themselves and others: for reason of the straitnes  
of the place, neither could they that were before, retire, neither they that were behinde in the  
reeward come forward to relieue the one the other, as need required: the cariages also, which  
were many, and in the midst of the army, seruing them to no other purpose, than to the hurt  
of themselves. There were the beasts that serued for burden, together with the soldiers, ouer-  
whelmed with the Turks shot, the vallies lay full of dead bodies, the rivers ran mingled with  
the blood of men and beasts, in such terrible manner as is not by pen to be expressed. For the  
Christians not able either to go forward or retire, were there in those straits slaine like sheeprif  
any courage or sparke of valour were by any shewed against the enemy, fighting at so great  
aduantage, it was but lost, seruing to little or no purpose. And to increase their miseries, the  
Turks in scorne shewed vpon the point of a lance the head of *Andronicus Bataza*, the emperors  
nephew, who comming with an army out of Paphlagonia, and Heraclea Pontica, against the  
Turks of Amasia, was now by the way by them ouerthrowne and slaine. The report whereof,  
confirmed by the sight of his head, and the consideration of the desperate danger wherein the  
whole army presently stood, so troubled the Emperour, that he was at his wits end; and with  
dolefull teares (if it may be so said) dissembeling his inward griefe, as one out of comfort, stood  
doubtfull which way to turne himselfe. For the Turks hauing suffered the vanguard to passe,  
with all their power charged the Emperors main battell, as his chief strength, nothing doub-  
ting, but that hauing once ouerthrowne it, they should easily & at pleasure ouerthrow the rest.

The miserie of  
the Christians,  
by the Turkes  
inclosed in the  
Straits.

The horror  
in great per-  
plexitie.

The desperate  
resolution of  
the Emperour.

Ofentimes had the Emperour attempted to haue driuen the enemy out of those straits, and G  
to haue opened a way for his army to haue passed, but all in vaine, the power of the Turkes  
stil increasing, and they at great aduantage notably maintaining the passages before by them  
taken neuertheless seeing no lesse danger in staying stil, than in going forward, he with a few  
of his best soldiery, armed with despaire, and resolved to die, (to which kind of men nothing  
is terrible) set forward directly vpon his enemies, willing the rest with like resolution euery  
man to make for himselfe the best shift he could. And so with many wounds & sturdy blows  
both giuen and receiued, he by plaine force and might of hand brake through the thickest of  
his enemies, and so escaped out of those straits as out of a trap: but yet not without many  
wounds receiued in his person, and himselfe so wearied, as that hee was not able to lift vp his  
helmet, being beaten close to his head, and in his target were found sticking 30 of the Turks  
arrows, or therabouts, the manifest tokens of his danger. The other legions seeking to follow  
the Emperour, (for other way they had none) were on euery side hardly assailed by the Turks,  
and infinit numbers of them slain, beside many others that perished in those straits, ouerborn  
and trodden to death by their owne fellows. Yea such as had the fortune to escape out of one  
of these perillous straits, were forthwith slaine in the next: for this so dangerous a passage  
through the mountains, was diuided (as is aforesaid into seuen vallies, which giuing fair and  
broad entrances, the farther a man went, grew stil straiter & straiter, al which straits the Turks  
had before strongly possessed. At which time also, the more to increase the terror of the day,  
the light sand raised with the feet of the men and horses, was by the violence of a most tem-  
pestuous wind which then blew, carried so forcibly and thicke, that both the armies grappling  
together, as if it had bin in the darknes of the night, killed whomsoeuer they met with, with-  
out respect of friend or foe; by which error many were euen of their owne friends slaine. In  
every place lay great heaps of Turks slain together with the Christians, and with them great  
numbers of horses & other beasts for earriage; so that those vallies where this bloody conflict  
was, seemed to be nothing else but a large burying place of the Turks & Christians with their  
horses: but the greatest number was of the Christians that perished, and they not altogether  
of the common sort, but euen of the brauest captaines, and the Emperours nearest kinsmen: the  
violence of the wind ceasing, and the day cleering vp, there was of all others to be seen (a most  
wofull spectacle) men yet aliue, some wounded, some whole, couered some to the middle,  
some to the neck, with dead carcasses, in such sort, as that they were not able with any strug-  
gling to get out: who with their hands cast vp towards heauen, with ruthfull voices cried out  
for help to such as passed by; but all in vaine, for euery man possessed with the common feare,  
and by their danger measuring their owne, passed by them without compassion, as more care-  
full of their owne safety, leauing them yet liuing, as men to be numbred among the dead.

Almost mis-  
erable specta-  
cle.

The Emperour  
in danger to  
haue been tak-  
en, but valiantly  
deliuered him-  
selfe.

The Emperour himselfe, as a man almost now spent, being got out of the danger, stood a  
while to breath himself vnder the shadow of a wild pear tree, without any page or man to at-  
tend him, whom a poore common soldier espying, and moued with compassion, came to him,  
and offering him the best seruice he could, helped him vp with his helmet, and buckled vp his  
armor, which before hung dangling here & there about him: when in the meanwhile a Turke  
comming in vpon him, had taken his horse by the bridle, in hope to haue led him away pris-  
oner: whom for all that, the Emperour as weary as he was, with the truncheon of his broken lance  
which he had yet in his hand, struck down to the ground, and so cleered himselfe of him. Pre-  
sently after came also another sort of the stragling Turks, ready also to haue seised vpon him;  
and to haue taken him prisoner, of whom he slew one with the aforesaid horsemans staffe, and  
with his sword struck off the head of another of them, and so kept them off, vntill that by the  
comming in of ten of his owne souldiers he was relieved. Departing thence with purpose to  
haue ioyned himselfe vnto the legions that were gon before in the vauward, he had not gone  
farre, but that he was much troubled by other Turks that he met, and the heapes of the dead  
bodies that lay in his way: yet at last, hauing with much labour and more danger passed the  
straits, and a riuer running thereby, being glad in many places to ride ouer the dead bodies of  
his own people, and some other of his owne soldiers now resorting vnto him, he there saw John  
Catacuzene, a noble and right valiant gentleman that married his neece, fighting alone against  
a great number of the Turks, to be compassed in and slaine; whom he was now able to re-  
lieue. Which Turks also seeing him passe by, followed after him, as after a most rich prey, in  
hope

hope to haue either presently taken or slaine him: whom neuertheless he (encouraging the  
small company he had about him) notably repulsed; and so sometime marching forward, and  
again as occasion required making a stand, came at length long looked for, but most welcom,  
vnto the legions that were gon before, not so sorry for their owne hard estate, as carefull of  
his danger.

But before he could come to those his legions, he ready to faint for thirst, commanded wa-  
ter to be brought him out of the riuer that ran fast by; which after he had tasted, & by the vn-  
pleasant tast thereof perceiued the fame to be infected, he fetching a deep sigh, said, *O how un-  
fortunately haue I tasted Christian blood!* whereunto an audacious and malapert souldier there  
present, and more bitter than the cruell time it selfe, replied, *Emperour, thou didst not now, thou  
didst not now I say first, but long since, and oftentimes drinke the blood of the Christians, euen vntill thou  
wast drunke againe, at such time as thou didst with most grieuous exactions vexe and deuoure thy poore  
subjects.* Which reproachfull speech the Emperour put vp in silence, making as if he had not  
heard it. With like patience he also forbore the same railing companion, at such time as hee  
seeing his treasures hardly beset, and in danger to be taken by the Turkes, to animate his sol-  
diers, willed them to do what they could to rescue the same, and to take it for their labor: *This  
treasure* (said this impudent fellow) *should before haue bin giuen vnto thy soldiers, rather than now,  
when as it cannot be recovered but with great danger and bloodshed: and therefore if thou be a man of  
valor, as thou wouldst be accounted, and as the present case requireth, valiantly charge the Turks (now  
ready to carry it away) thy selfe, and so recover thine euill gotten goods.* Whereunto the Emperour an-  
swered no more but, *Good words souldier, and so put it vp,* as did David the railings of Shimei.  
Shortly after the comming of the Emperour vnto those legions of his vauward (the only re-  
mainder of his army that was left whole and vnbroken) came also *Andronicus Contostephanus*,  
who had the leading of the rereward, with diuers other of great place, who had by good for-  
tune escaped the fury of the Turks. The miseries of that day (not well to be expressed) being  
ended by the comming on of the night, the Christians fate in the camp, oppressed with a ge-  
nerall heauinesse, leaning their heads vpon their elbows, and considering the present danger  
wherein they were, scarcely accounted themselues among the liuing: the Turks in the meane  
time to increase their feare, all the night running about the camp, and crying aloud vnto such  
of their countrey men in the camp, as had abused their religion, or for other respects had ta-  
ken part with the Imperials, that they should that night get them out of the camp, whereas o-  
therwise if they staid vnto the morning, they should be al but lost men. In this so great an ex-  
tremity the Emperour knowing not what to do, calling together his chiefe commanders, de-  
clared vnto them the desperate danger they were in, together with his resolution; which was,  
secretly himselfe to flie, and to leaue the rest, euery man to make what shift he could for him-  
selfe. Which his base determination, so foule as fouler could not be, they all wondering at, as  
proceeding from a distraughted mind, and by chance ouerheard by one of the common sol-  
diers that stood without the tent, the same souldier fetching a deep sigh, in detestation thereof  
cried out with a loud voice, *What means the Emperour?* And so turning himselfe vnto him, said,  
*Art not thou he that hast thrust vs into this desolate and strait way, and cast vs headlong into destru-  
ction? and hast as it were in a mortar inclosed vs in these rocks and mountains ready as it were to ouer-  
whelme vs. What had we to do with this vaine of mourning, and mouth of hell? Wherefore came we into  
these mischionous and rough straits? What can we particularly complaine of the Barbarians, which in  
these inextricable windings and straits haue thus intangled and beset vs? Was it not thou that broughtst  
vs hither? And wilt thou now, as sheep appointed to the slaughter, thy selfe betray vs?* With which  
so sharp a reprehension the Emperour thoroughly pierced, changed his former determination  
for sight, resolving now to stand by it, whatsoeuer hapned. But what should he now do, beset  
with his enemies still ready to deuoure him? Help he saw none, either in himselfe, or to be ex-  
pected from others, nought remained but death and despaire. In this extremity, al mans help  
now failing, it pleased the most mighty (which chastiseth & healeth again, which striketh, &  
yet giueth life, and suffereth not the staffe of the sinners alway to rage into the portion of the  
iust) with mercifull eye to looke down vpon these distressed men, and with an vnwonted kind  
of clemency to touch the Sultans heart, in such sort, as that he which but the other day stood  
in dread of the Emperour, and now hauing him as if it were in his power, was overcome with  
his misery: or as in times past he by *Husai* ouerthrew the counsell of *Achitophel*, and changed

The malapert  
speech of a  
souldier,  
to the Emperour.  
The great pa-  
tience of the  
Emperour.

The secret  
resolution of  
the Emperour.

A sharp re-  
prehension of a  
common souldier  
vnto the Em-  
perour.

the mind of *Abſalon* to follow ſuch aduice as ſhould bring him to deſtruction: ſo then alſo he turned the minde of the Turkiſh Sultan, that (perſuaded by certaine of the chiefe men about him, who in time of peace had vſed to receiue great gifts and Preſents from the Emperour) he of his owne accord by his Embaſſadors offered peace vnto the Emperour, before that he in ſo great diſtreſſe ſued vnto him for any; and that vpon the ſelfe ſame conditions they had made their leagues before. The Turks in the meane time ignorant of the Sultans reſolution, early in the morning were ready to aſſault the emperours camp, in hope at once to haue ouerthrowne his whole power; and with a barbarous outcry ſtill riding about it, came ſo nigh, that with their arrows they ſlew diuers of the Chriſtians within their own trenches: againſt whom the Emperor ſent out *Iohn* the ſon of *Conſtantine Angelus*, and after him, *Macrodonas Conſtantine*, a but to little or no purpoſe. In the meane time came one *Gabras*, a man of greateſt reputation among the Turks, Embaſſador from the Sultan; by whole commandement the Turkes ceaſed further to aſſault the camp. This *Gabras* comming vnto the Emperour, and after the manner of the Barbarians, honoring him with reuerence done euen down to the ground; firſt preſented him with a goodly horſe, whoſe furniture was all of ſiluer, as if it had bin for a triumph, and a rare two edged ſword: afterwards falling into a large diſcourſe concerning a peace to be made and with many kind words as with an inchantment appeaſing the Emperours heauineſſe conceiued of his late loſſe; he among other pleaſant conceits then vttered, ſeeing the Emperour in a rich robe of yellow ouer his armor, told him, that the colour was not fit for war, as ominous, and portending euil luck: whereat the Emperour a little ſmiling, gaue it him, with the fortune thereof; and receiuing the horſe and ſword ſent him from the Sultan, ſigned the peace. Amongſt other conditions of the peace (which the daungerouſnes of the time ſuffered not the Emperour curiouſly to examine) one was, That *Dorileum* and *Subleum*, before by him fortified, and the ground of this vnfortunat war, ſhould be againe raſed. Peace thus beyond all hope being concluded, and the Emperour deliuered of a great feare, purpoſed another way to return home, to auoid the fight of the ſlaine: yet was he by his guides, euen of purpoſe as it was thought, led backe the ſame way, to behold with his eyes thoſe miſerable ſpectacles of the ſlain, which could not with any tears be ſufficiently lamented: for the ſtraits were made plain, the vallies were raiſed into hills, and the foreſts lay couered with the carcaſſes of the ſlaine: no man paſſed by, but with heauines and grieſe, calling by name vpon their friends and familiars there loſt. Hauing againe paſſed thoſe dolefull ſtreits, the Turks were again in the taile of the army: for it was reported, That the Sultan repenting himſelfe to haue ſuffered his enemies fo to ſcape out of his hands, had giuen leaue to ſuch as would, to purſue them, but followed not himſelfe with his whole power, as before; for moſt of the better ſort of his ſoldiers loaded with the ſpoile, were now returned home. Yet theſe that followed after the army, ſlew many, eſpecially ſuch as were weak or wounded, and ſovnable to follow the reſt: although the Emperour to help the matter, had for the repreſſing of them placed the beſt of his captains and ſoldiers in the rereward. Being come to *Chonas*, and now out of feare of his enemies, he gaue vnto every one of his hurt ſoldiers money to pay for the curing of their wounds, and to bring them into their countries; and comming to *Philadelphias*, there ſtaid for the reſreſhing of himſelfe after ſo great miſeries. In his return he raſed *Subleum*, according to his promiſe, but not *Dorileum*: whereof the Sultan by his Embaſſadors complaining, he answered, That what he had enforced thereto by neceſſity, promiſed, he greatly forced not to performe: in reuenge whereof, the Sultan ſent out one of his moſt valiant captains, called *Atapac*, with 24000 good ſoldiers choſen out of his whole army, with ſtreit charge to waſt and deſtroy all the emperours provinces & towns euen vnto the ſea ſide, without ſparing man, woman, or child; and in token thereof, to bring with him ſome of the ſea water, an oare, and ſome of the ſea ſand: who according to his charge ſpoiled *Phrygia*, with the cities along the riuer *Mæander*, euen to the ſea ſide: and ſo returning with a rich prey, by the way ſpoiled what before he had left vntouched. But in paſſing the riuer *Mæander*, when he feared leaſt, he fell into the hands of *Iohn Batza* the Emperours nephew, and of *Ducas Conſtantine* a moſt valiant captain: of purpoſe ſent againſt him by the Emperour with a great power: where he was by them ſlain, together with all his army, and the rich booty he had taken, all againe recovered. Many other hard conflicts paſſed after this, betwixt the Imperials & the Turks, the one continually ſeeking to annoy the other; all which, for that therein nothing fell out much worth the remembrance, I for breuitie willingly

The Emperour  
reſtreined.

The Emperour  
altogether per-  
forms not what  
he had promi-  
ſed to the  
Sultan.

Atapac with  
all his Arme  
ſlaine.

lingly paſſe over. In theſe endles troubles did *Emanuel* the Greek Emperour, whom he had by the ſpace of eight and thirty yeares worthily gouerned that great empire, hauing in the time of his ſickeſſe but a little before his death taken vpon him the habit of a Monk, in token he had forſaken the world. All the time of his reigne he was no leſſe jealous of the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt, than of the Turks in the Eaſt; and therefore euer dealt with them vnkindly. In time of war he was ſo laborious, as if he had neuer taken felicity but in pain; and againe in peace ſo giuen over to his pleaſure, as if he had neuer thought of any thing els: after whoſe death the Turkiſh Sultan, without reſiſtance inuading the frontiers of the empire, tooke *Sozopolis*, with diuers towns thereabout in *Phrygia*, and long beſieged the famous city of *Atalia*, and ſo daily encroched more and more vpon the provinces of the empire, joining the ſame vnto his owne; which was no great matter for him to do, the Greek empire being then no better gouerned then was the chariot of the Sun (as the poets feigne) by *Phaeton*, far vnfit for ſo great a charge: for *Alexius Comnenus*, otherwiſe called *Porphyrogenitus*, being then but a childe of about 12 yeares old, ſucceeding his graue father in the empire, after the maner of children altogether following his pleaſure; his mother with his fathers kinſmen and friends, who about all things ought to haue had an eſpecial care of his education, neglecting the old Emperours truſt in them repoſed, followed alſo their own delights, without the regard of the ruine of the common-weale. Some enamored with the beauty of the young Empreſſe, gaue themſelues al to brauery, and the courting of her, other ſome in great authority, with no leſſe deſire in the mean time, with the common treaſures filled their empty coffers: and a third fort there was (of all the reſt moſt dangerous) who neither reſpecting their ſenſual pleaſure, nor the heaping vp of wealth, looked not ſo low, aiming at the very empire it ſelfe. As for the common good, that was of all other things of them all leaſt regarded. Among theſe third ſort of the ambitious, was old *Andronicus*, the couſin of the late Emperour *Emanuel*, a man of an haughtie and troubleſome ſpirit, whom he the ſaid Emperour *Emanuel* had for his aſpiring, moſt part of the time of his reigne kept in priſon, or elſe in exile, as he now was, being by him not long before, for fear of raiſing new troubles, conſin'd to liue far off from the court at *Oenum*: who now hearing of the death of the Emperour *Emanuel*, of the factions in court, of the childiſhneſſe of the young emperour *Alexius*, giuen wholly to his ſports; and the great men put in truſt to haue ſcene to his bringing vp, and to the gouernment of the empire, ſome like Bees to fly abroad into the country, ſeeking after mony as the Bees do after hony; ſome others in the mean time like hogs, lying ſtill and fattening themſelues with great and gainfull offices, wallowing in all exceſſe and pleaſure, to haue no regard of the honor or profit of the common-weale: thought it now a fit time (in ſuch diſorder of the ſtate) for him to aſpire vnto the empire after which he had all his life time longed. That he was generally beloued of the *Conſtantinopolitans*, yea and of ſome of the nobilitie alſo, he doubted not: for them he had long before by his popular behauior gained, together with the diſtruſt of the late Emperour, jealous of his eſtate; which as it coſt him his liberty, ſo miſſed it not much but that it had coſt him his life alſo: but now that he was dead, wanted nothing more than ſome faire colour for the ſhadowing of his foule purpoſe. Among many and right diuers things by him thought vpon, was a claule in the oath of obedience which he had giuen to the Emperour *Emanuel* and *Alexius* his ſon, (which oath he had deliuered vnto him in writing) That if he ſhould ſee, heare, or vnderſtand of any thing dangerous or hurtfull to their honor, empire, or perſons, he ſhould forthwith bewray it, and to the vttermoſt of his power withſtand it: which words (not ſo to haue been wreſted) as beſt ſeruing for his purpoſe he took firſt occaſion for to work vpon. And as he was a ſtout and imperious man, therupon writ diuers letters vnto the young emperour his couſin, to *Theodoſius* the Patriarch, and other ſuch as he knew well affected vnto the late emperour *Emanuel*: wherein among other things which he wiſhed to be amended in the preſent gouernment, he ſeemed moſt to complaine of the immoderate power and authoritie of *Alexius*, then preſident of the Councell, who in great fauor with the young emperour, and more inward with the empreſſe his mother than was ſuppoſed to ſtand with her honour, ruled all things at his pleaſure, in ſomuch, as that nothing done by any the great officers of the empire; or by the emperour himſelfe, was accounted of any force, except his approbation were thereunto annexed: whereby he was growne to ſuch an exceſſiue pride, hauing all things in his power as that no man could without danger, as vpon the venomous Baſiliſke, look vpon him. Of which his ſo

exceſſiue

*Andronicus*  
aſpireth.

Ambitious  
couered with  
the ſcale of the  
commonweale.

Andronicus de-  
parteth from  
Constantinople.

excessive and insolent power *Andronicus* by his letters now greatly complained, moued there-  
unto (as he would haue it beleueed) with the care he had of the yong Emperors safety, which  
could not (as he said) long stand with the others so great power, which he therefore (as in duty  
bound) wished to be abridged: aggrauating withall the infamous report of *Alexius* his too  
much familiarity with the emperesse, which first muttered in court, afterwards flew (as he said)  
throughout the whole world. The reformation of which things, as tending to the danger of  
the person of the Emperor, and dishonor of the state, he forsooth as one in conscience bound,  
with great grauity and eloquence (beeing a very learned man) both in open speech and wri-  
ting most earnestly desired: and thereby so wrought, as that he was generally accounted for a  
man of great experience (as indeed he was) and a faithful counsellor to the state, a thing much  
to haue bin wished. Wherefore leauing Oenum, the place whereto he was by the Emperour  
*Emanuel* in a sort banished, traueilling towards Constantinople, hee gaue it out in euery place  
where he came, what he had sworne, and what he would for his oaths sake do vnto whom men  
desirous of the change of the state, and such as gaue credit vnto the report long before giuen  
out. That he should at length become Emperor; flockt in great numbers, as birds about an  
owle, to see him, and with vain praises to chatter about him. In this sort he came as far as Pa-  
phlagonia; in euery place honorably receiued, as if he had bin a deliuer of his countrey sent  
from God. And in the imperiall city he was not longed for of the vulgar people only, as their  
light and load star, but diuers of the nobility also by secret messengers and letters, perswaded  
him to hasten his comming, and to take vpon him the gouernment; assuring him, that there  
would be none to resist him, or to oppose themselves against his shadow, but all ready to re-  
ceiue him especially *Mary* the yong Emperors sister by the fathers side, with her husband *Ca-  
sar*; who being a woman of great spirit, and grieuing much to see her Fathers Empire made a  
prey vnto *Alexius* the president, & the Emperesse her step mother, whom she naturally hated,  
had raised a great and dangerous tumult in the city against them both, which was not with-  
out much bloodshed appeased: and now ceased not by often and most earnest letters (to her  
own destruction, and her husbands, as afterwards it fel out) to prick forward *Andronicus* and to  
hasten his comming, who by letters and messengers daily comming vnto him from the court  
stil more and more encouraged, leauing behind him the countrey of Paphlagonia, came to He-  
raclea in Pontus, and stil on towards the imperiall city, with great cunning and dissimulation  
winning the hearts of the people as he went. For who was so stony hearted; whom his sweet  
words and abundant teares flowing from his gracious eyes, as from two plentifull fountaines  
down by his hoary cheeks, might not haue moued? All that he did or desired, was (as he said)  
for the common good and liberty of the Emperor. By which means he had drawne vnto him  
a wonderfull number of the rude countrey people by the way as he came. But comming into  
Bythia, he was by *Iohn Ducas* gouernour of the great city of Nice, shut out as an enemy to  
the state, and so at Nicomedia also. Neuerthelesse, passing by those cities, he held still on his  
way, vntil at length he was neer to a castle called Chatace, encountered by *Andronicus Angelus*,  
sent with a great power against him, by the great president *Alexius*, who otherwise as an effe-  
minat man, giuen ouer to his pleasure, spending the greatest part of the night in rooyoting by  
candle light, and most part of the day in his bed, with curtains close drawn, as if it had been  
night: yet doubtfull now of the comming of his enemy, left nothing vndon which he thought  
might help for the assuring of his state. Many of the nobility of whom he stood in doubt, he  
gained vnto him by means of the Emperors mother, who by her rare beauty, sweet words, and  
gracious behauiour, as with a line drew all men to her. Other some hee overcame with gifts  
and great summes of money, whereof he now made no spare: And so wrought the matter,  
that no man of any account or marke went ouer to *Andronicus*: Who neuerthelesse with  
such followers as hee had, ioyning battell with *Angelus* (sent against him, as is before said)  
overthrew him and put him to flight. Wherewith *Alexius* much troubled, in great displea-  
sure and without reason, called *Angelus* (now fled to Constantinople) to an account for the  
money deliuered vnto him for the defraying of the charges of that vnsfortunate warre: who  
seeing his misfortune to be so taken as if he had framed it himselfe and of purpose betraied the  
army committed to his charge; by the counsell of his six sons, being all men of great valur  
and wisdom, first tooke the refuge of his owne house: but finding himselfe there in no  
safetie, with his wife and his said sonnes (two of which came afterwards to be Emperours)  
presently

Andronicus en-  
campeth in  
sight ouer a-  
gainst Constau-  
tinople.

*Xiphilinus* sent  
ouer to *And-  
ronicus*, de-  
scribeth con-  
fessing his  
message.

The proud  
president  
*Alexius*.

*Contostephanus*  
remoueth to  
*Andronicus*.  
*Alexius* in de-  
spaire.

*Alexius* and  
his friends are  
prelaid.

A strange al-  
teration.

presently fled ouer the strait to *Andronicus*: who seeing of him comming towards him, is re-  
ported to haue vsed this text of Scripture, Behold I will send mine *Angel* before thy face to prepare  
thy wayes: alluding to his name of *Angelus*, as the preface of his good successe. Wherefore in-  
couraged with the comming of these noblemen his kinsmen, he without longer stay marched  
directly vnto the sea side, and there a little aboue Chalcedon encamped almost right ouer a-  
gainst Constantinople: causing many great fires (more than needed) to be made in his army, to  
make it seeme vnto them of the city greater than indeed it was; and with the sight thereof to  
keep the citizens in suspence, with the doubtfull expectation of some great matter to ensue.  
Wherein he was no whit deceived; for they hauing him now as it were in sight, leauing their  
worke, ran some to the sea side, some vp to the hills and high towers to behold his army a far  
off, willing with their friendly looks, if it had bin possible, to haue drawne him ouer the streit  
into the city. *Alexius* knowing himselfe not able by land to encounter with so strong an ene-  
my, (for now some which on foot could not go ouer to *Andronicus*, were secretly in heart al-  
ready with him; other some thought themselves sufficiently to shew their fidelity to the Em-  
peror, if sitting still at home, they should take part with neither: for so haue subtil heads and  
aspiring mindes, for the furtherance of their desires, taught the common people both to fay  
and think) thought it best by sea to auert the present danger: and therefore commanded all the  
emperors gallies (being before rigged vp and ready) to be strongly manned and put to sea, for  
the keeping of Propontis and the streit of Bosporus, that *Andronicus* should not that way  
passe: now had he determined to haue made especiall choice of some assured friend of his own  
to be General of this fleet, as he had done of the captains and masters, being all his own kinf-  
men or domestically seruants: but as he was about to haue so done, *Contostephanus* (surnamed the  
great captain) opposed himselfe against it, challenging that place as due vnto himselfe, before  
al others: so that overcome by his authority (which it was no time for *Alexius* now to dispute)  
he was glad to commit the charge and trust of the whole fleet vnto him, as General. Thus  
hauing (as he thought) made the sea sure, he sent ouer vnto *Andronicus*, as from the Emperor,  
(for al was done in his name) one *George Xiphilinus*, with letters and other instructions, whereof  
the effect was, to command him forthwith in peace to returne to the place from whence hee  
came, & not farther to trouble the state: promising him in so doing, the Emperors fauor, with  
many great honours and preferments to be afterward bestowed vpon him; which otherwise  
might turn to his vtter destruction. Which letters *Xiphilinus* hauing deliuered, and done his  
message, is reported to haue secretly aduised *Andronicus* to proceed in his purpose, and not  
in any case to yeeld to that which was of him required: wherewith *Andronicus* encouraged,  
proudly reiected the graces offered, and willed the messenger to tel them that sent him, that if  
they would haue him to returne to the place from whence he came, they should first displace  
the proud president *Alexius*; and call him to an account for the villanies he had done: then the  
Emperors mother they should deprime of her honors, & shut her vp as a Nun into some cloy-  
ster, there to learn to amend her life; and last of all, that the Emperor according to his fathers  
will, should take vpon himselfe the gouernment, and not be ouertopt by others, by whose too  
much authority, his maiesty and honor was (as he said) too much impaired. But within a few  
days after, *Contostephanus*, the great captain & General, caried ouer al the gallies to *Andronicus*  
leauing nothing but their names for the president in his rols to look vpon: whose reuolt about  
all other things encouraged *Andronicus*, & cast *Alexius* euen into the bottom of despair. For  
now *Andronicus* his friends flockt together in the city, not secretly as before, but openly in  
all places: and such as wished a change in the state, impudently scoffing at *Alexius*, passed ouer  
the streit to Chalcedon in great numbers to *Andronicus*, where hauing filled their eyes with be-  
holding of his goodly person, his cheerfull countenance, & reuerent age; and their cares with  
his sweet words & great promises, returned home merry & ioyfull, as if they had bin in some  
terrestriall paradise, filling the city with his praises. After that, *Andronicus* his 2 sons, *Iohn* &  
*Manuel*, with diuers others, whom the president had cast in prison, were set at liberty, & other  
of his chief fauorits laid fast in their rooms. As for *Alexius* the president himselfe, with all his  
friends & faction in the court, they were taken and committed to the keeping of the guard: a  
right strange alteration: but about midnight, *Alexius* himselfe was secretly creept out of the  
court to the Patriarchs house, & there kept with a stronger guard than before. A wonderfull  
change & worth marking, a man so honorably born, but yesterday in greatest honor, attended  
vpon

upon with many thousands, all at his command, hauing the power to spill or saue: to day in G bonds, in disgrace, in misery and dispaire, and not so much as a page to wait vpon him: which he taking very grieuously, yet complained of nothing more, than that they which had the keeping of him, would not suffer him to sleep or take any rest. Of whose misery, the Patriarch taking pity (although he had of him very euil deserved) yet cheered him vp with comfortable words, perswading him with patience to endure his hard fortune, and not with such speeches as fited not his present state, to prouoke his keepers to vse him euill: within a few daies after, early in a morning, he was brought out of the Patriarchs house, and set vpon a very little bad lade, and so with a ragged clout vpon the top of a reed, in manner of an ensigne, carried before him in derision, was brought to the sea side, and there cast into a little boat, was so brought to *Andronicus*, by whose command, with the generall consent of the nobility, he for his euill H government shortly after had his eyes put out. This was the miserable end of the immoderate power, or rather of the insolent foueraignty of *Alexius*: who, had he with more moderation and vigilancie gouerned, might both haue kept *Andronicus* out of the city, and himselfe from so great misery; hauing at his command all the Emperors treasure, his gallies, with most part of the strength of the empire. Now came the noblemen ouer apace to *Andronicus*: the last that came, was the reuerend Patriarch *Theodosius*, with the chiefe of the clergy: of whose approach, *Andronicus* hearing, went out of his tent to meet him, and falling downe (as great as he was) flat at his horses feet, and in a while after arising again, kissed the patriarchs foot, calling him, the Emperors Saurior, the louer of vertue, the defender of the truth; and comparing him with the famous father *Iohn Chrysostome*, omitted not any honorable title he could possibly deuise I to giue him. But the deuout patriarch, that had neuer seen *Andronicus* before, hauing now well viewed him, and marked his stern countenance, his subtile nature, his crafty and dissembling manners, his exceeding stature, being almost ten foot high, his stately gate, his proud looke, his continual ferocity, and melancholy silence; as it were pitying them that to their owne destruction had called such a man in, said, *Hitherto I haue heard, but now I haue also seen, and plainly knowne*: and fetching a deep sigh, adioyning thereunto that saying of the Prophet *David*: *As we haue heard so haue we also seen*: in which words, he covertly quipped the dissembling meeting and submission of *Andronicus*: and withall called to remembrance the words of the Emperor *Emanuel*, wherewith he had many times so painted forth *Andronicus* vnto the Patriarch, as if he would most liuely haue represented him vnto his view.

All things in the city and in the palace set in order according to *Andronicus* his mind, by his two sons, and leaue giuen vnto the Emperors friends to come ouer vnto him, and to be acquainted with him; at length *Andronicus* himselfe departing from Damalun, in a gally crossed the strait, oftentimes by the way merily singing that saying of the heauenly Psalmist: *Returne my soule into thy rest, because the Lord hath done well vnto thee, hauing deliuered my life from death, mine eyes from teares, and my feet from falling*. The Emperor with his mother *Xene*, then lay not in the palace at Constantinople, but at another princely house of his in the country neer vnto Philopatium, as *Andronicus* had appointed: whither *Andronicus* first went, and comming vnto his presence, most humbly prostrat before him, with sobbing and teares, as his deceitfull manner was, kissed his feet. As for the Emperesse his mother, he lightly saluted her, and as it were but for fashion sake, not dissembling in his countenance the old grudge hee bare against her. And so without longer stay went vnto his tent provided for him not far off; round about which all the great noblemen had pitched their tents also, flocking vnto him as chickens seeking for refuge vnder the hens wings. Hauing there staid with the Emperor a good while, he was desirous to go vnto the imperiall city, and to see the late Emperour *Emanuel* his cousins graue. Where entering into the monasterie of our Lady, where he was buried, and comming to his tombe, he wept bitterly, and roared as it were mainly out. So that diuers of the standers by, ignorant of his dissembling nature, by way of admiration said; *O what a wonderfull thing is this! O how hee loued the Emperour, his cousin, although his fierce and cruell persecutor!* And when one of his kinsmen would haue pulled him from the tombe, saying that hee hadorrowed for him enough; he would not be remoued, but requested them to suffer him yet a little to tarry by the tombe, for that he had something in secret to say vnto the dead: and so with his hands cast vp, and close together, as if he had prayed, and his eyes fast fixed vpon the tomb, he moued his lips, and secretly said something, but what, no man could tell. Some said it was

*Alexius brought to Andronicus, hath his eyes put out.*

*The meeting of Andronicus hearing, went out of his tent to meet him, and falling downe (as great as he was) flat at his horses feet, and in a while after arising again, kissed the patriarchs foot, calling him, the Emperors Saurior, the louer of vertue, the defender of the truth; and comparing him with the famous father Iohn Chrysostome, omitted not any honorable title he could possibly deuise I to giue him.*

*Andronicus gaffeth ouer the priests.*

was some charme or incantation. But others more pleasantly conceited, said, and (as it afterward appeared) more truly, that *Andronicus* did triumph ouer the dead Emperor *Emanuel*, and reuell with his ghost, with these or like words: *I haue thee now fast, my cruell persecutor, by whom I haue bin driuen to many great extremities: and hauing wandred almost all the world ouer, haue thereunto bin made by thee a common by-word. But now this tombe rising vp with seuen tops, & prison, out of which thou canst not start, holdeth thee oppressed with a dead sleep, out of which thou shalt not be awaked, but by the sounding of the last trumpe. And now will I be reuenged of thy posteritie, and satisfie my selfe as a Lyon with a fat prey, and take sharpe reuenge of all the wrongs thou hast done me, when I haue once possessed my selfe of this royall citie.*

After that, visiting all the Emperors stately houses, but staying in no place long, he disposed of all matters of state, according to his owne pleasure. To the young Emperor he allowed hunting, and other his vain delights, with keepers ioined to him, to watch not only his going in and out, but also that no man should talk with him of any matter of importance: for all the gouernment of the state he took vnto himselfe; not for that he wished so well thereunto aboue others, but so to driue from the court all them of the contrarie faction to himselfe, that were able to do any thing, and had before borne some sway. The soldiers, whose help he had vsed in aspiring to the gouernment, he rewarded with great bounty, all their offices & preferments he bestowed either vpon his own children, or other his great fauorites; diuers of the nobilitie of whom he liked not, were by him in short time driuen into exile: some were by him deprived of their sight, and some others cast in prison, not knowing any cause why, more than that they were by him secretly condemned, for that they were of the nobilitie, or had done some good seruice for the state, or exiled for their personage, or some other thing that grieved *Andronicus*; or els for the spark of some old displeasure which yet lay hid as fire raked vp in the ashes: so that the state of that time began to grow most miserable: & the trechery euen of men neereft in blood, seeking the destruction one of another, for to serue their owne turns, or to gratifie *Andronicus*, most horrible: not only one brother betrayd another, but euen the father his son, and the son his father, if *Andronicus* would haue it so. Some accused their neereft kinsmen, that they derided *Andronicus* his proceedings; or that without regard of him, they more fauoured *Alexius* the yong emperor, then a great offence. Yet such was the mischief of the time, that many in accusing others, were themselves accused; and charging others of treason against *Andronicus*, were themselves charged by them whom they accused, and so clapt vp both together in one prison: neither were they of the nobility onely (enemies to *Andronicus*) thus hardly dealt withall, but euen some of his great fauorites and followers also: for some whom but yesterday he had vied most kindly, and enrolled among his best friends, vpon them to day he frowned & tyrannized most cruelly: so that you might haue seen the same man the same day (as it is reported of *Xerxes* his admirall) to be crowned and beheaded, to be graced and disgraced: in so much that the wisest sort dectmed *Andronicus* his prailings, the beginning of a mans disgrace; his bounty, his vndoing; & his kindnes, his death. The first that tasted of his tyranny, was *Mary* the daughter of *Emanuel* the emperor, who for the hate she bare to *Alexius* the late president, & the empres her mother in law, had (as is aforesaid) aboue all other, wisht for his comming; but was now by one *Pterigionites* (sometime an Eunuch of her fathers, corrupted by *Andronicus*, hauing in his aspiring mind purposed the vtter destruction of all *Emanuel*s posteritie) cunningly poisoned, as was her husband *Cesar*, who liued not long after her, poisoned also (as was supposed) with the same cup that his wife was. Now among others of the late emperors house, none had euer stood more in his light, than had the fair empres *Xene*, the yong emperors mother, whom now he ceased not most bitterly (though wrongfully) to accuse, as an vtter enemy both to the emperor & the state, making as if he would leaue all, & again depart, if she were not remoued from the emperor her son: & by his cunning so incensed the giddie headed vulgar people against her, that they came flocking to *Theodosius* the good patriarch, ready to tear him out of his cloths, if he consented not to the remouing of the empres, as *Andronicus* had desired: so a counsell being called of such his fauorites & others, as were not like indifferently to heare her cause, but assuredly to condemne her; the guiltles empresie after many things falsly laid to her charge, was accused of treason as that she should by her letters haue solicited *Bela* K. of Hungary, her brother in law, to inuade *Brantzoba* & *Belligrade*, two strong places belonging to the empire: whereupon she was condemned, and shamefully

*Andronicus setteth vpon him the gouernment*

*Andronicus tyrannizeth*

*A mistrustful state of a commonwealth.*

*Mary the daughter of Emanuel, with her husband Cesar poisoned by Andronicus.*

*Xene the Emperesse accused of treason, and condemned.*

cast

Dangerous to  
speak the truth  
to a tyrant.

A wicked  
counsel.

The miserable  
death of the  
Empresse.

cast into a most filthy prison neere vnto the monastery of *S. Diomedes*. Amongst other noble men cast vnto this wicked counsell, were *Leo Monasteriotes*, *Demetrius*, *Tornisius*, and *Constantinus Petrenus*: who not yet altogether deuoted to *Andronicus*, being asked their opinions concerning the Empresse, said, They would be glad first to know, Whether that counsell against his mother, were called by the Emperours consent or not? With which speech, *Andronicus* pierced to the heart as with a sword, in great rage start vp and said, These are they which encouraged the wicked President to all his villanies, lay hands vpon them. Whereupon they of his guard in threatening manner shooke their weapons and swords at them, as if they would euen presently haue slain them: and the tumultuous common people, catching them by their cloaks as they came out, pulling them some one way, some another, were so fierce vpon them, as that they had much ado to escape out of their hands with life. Now lay the faire Empresse (but the other day one of the greatest princes of the East, and honored of all her subiects) in great miserie & despaire, scorned euen of her base keepers, euery houre expecting the deadly blow of the hangman. Yet was not the crueltie of *Andronicus* against her, so any thing asswaged, but pricking that she yet breathed, shortly after assembled the former counsell, the ministers of his wrath, demanding of them, What punishment was by law appointed for such as betrayed any towne or prouince of the Empire? whereunto answer being giuen in writing, That it was by the law, death; he could no longer hold, but that he must in great choler break forth against the poore Empresse, as if it had bin she that had done it: and thereupon the wicked counsellors crying out with one voice, That she was to be taken out of the way, as they had before agreed, by and by without longer stay, a damned writing was subscribed by the young Emperour her son, as if it had bin with the blood of his owne mother, whereby she was (I abhor to write it) most vnworthily condemned to die. The men appointed to see this most horrible and cruell execution done, were *Manuel*, *Andronicus* his eldest son, and *Georgius Augustus*, his neer kinsman, who both dismaied at the very mentioning of the matter, not regarding the Emperours command, said plainly, that they neuer before consented to the death of the Empresse, but had clean hands of so hainous offence, and therefore would now much lesse see her innocent body dismembred in their sight. At which vnexpected answer *Andronicus* much troubled, with his fingers oftentimes pluckt himselfe by the hoarie head, and with burning eyes casting sometime vp his head, and sometime downe, sighed at his owne most miserable tyrannical estate, fretting inwardly, that they which were neere vnto him, whom he thought he might euen with a becke haue commanded to haue don any mischief, abhorring his crueltie, should refuse to do the thing he so much desired to haue don: yet repressing his anger for a while, within a few daies after, he againe commanded her to be strangled; which was accordingly done by *Constantinus Triplicus*, and *Pterigionites* the vngenerous eunuch, by whose help he had before poisoned *Mary* the Emperours daughter, with *Cesar* her husband, as is before declared. Thus perished this great Empresse, cruelly strangled in prison, by these two wicked men, the mercilesse executioners of *Andronicus* his wrath. Her dead body lately adorned with all the graces of nature, euen to the admiration to the beholders, was without more ado secretly raked vp in the sand fast by the sea side: a poore sepulchre for so great a person.

What might not *Andronicus* now do to others, that durst thus cruelly to deale with the young Emperours owne mother, and neere friends? yet was all couered vnder the pretence of the common good & safety of the state and empire. And the more to shadow *Andronicus* his secret purposes, as not proceeding of any priuate or hidden malice, or aspiring humor, from which he of all men would seem most free; and the more to manifest his deuotion & loyalty to the young Emperour his cousin, he was the only persuader to the rest of the nobility, to haue him solemnly crowned (which as yet by reason of his tender age he was not; and at the time of his coronation, with his own shoulders supported him vp, as he was (after the manner of that solemnitie) carried vnto the great Church, and so back again; the Crocodiles tears still plenteously running down his aged face, as if it had bin for exceeding ioy: which many of the meaner sort beholding, & deeming thereof the best, highly commended his kindnes, accounting the young Emperour thrice happy, in so graue a gouernour, and faithfull counsellor; who in loue and kind affection towards him, seemed not inferior to his natural father: so cunningly had he vnder the vaile of pietie, shadowed his most execrable treacherie; as that in the very plotting thereof, he was accounted most louing and kinde. But hidden treason, be it neuer so

The praise of  
Andronicus  
in opposing  
the Empire.

so well dissembled, must at length shew it selfe. So *Andronicus* hauing got into his power both the Emperour and the empire, and the chiefe friends of the late Emperour *Emanuel* being taken out of the way, or els driuen into exile, thought it now high time for himselfe to aspire vnto that high soueraigntie, after which he had so many yeres longed. Wherefore calling together a counsell of his flatterers and fauorites, whom he had for such purpose promoted vnto the highest places of state (al or most part of the graue counsellors & friends of the late emperour *Emanuel* being now displaced, or otherwise taken out of the way) he as a man only careful of the common good, declared vnto them the dangerous state of the Empire, by reason of a rebellion raised in Bythynia at Nice, by *Isaac Angelus*, and *Theodorus Catacuzenus*; and another at Prusa, by *Theodorus Angelus*; requiring their graue aduice for the suppressing thereof: who not ignorant of their lords purpose (as thereof before sufficiently instructed) answered with one consent, That of such great mischiefs there would be no end, except hee were joyned in fellowship of the Empire together with *Alexius*, by his grauitie and deepe wisdom to supply what wanted for the good gouernment of the State in the young Emperour his cousin. At which speech the by-standers (being in number many, and for the most part the followers of *Andronicus* his flatterers) gaue a great shout, as if it had bene already granted, with one applause crying out, *Long live Alexius and Andronicus the Greeke Emperors*; and that with such vehemencie, as if they would therewith haue rent the very heauens. The bruit thereof flying abroad into the city, forthwith you might haue scene euery street and corner of the city full of the vulgar people, with some also of better sort, swarming together like Bees, and sounding the praises of *Andronicus* (who now was come out his house into the court, with a world of people following him) and crying out, *Long live the Emperors Alexius and Andronicus*. With which loud acclamation, mixt with the heavy sighings of many good men, (for all were not mad of that frenzie) the yong Emperour awaked, and seeing the court full of people, and *Andronicus* by them saluted his fellow in the Empire, knowing now no other remedy, thought it best to yeeld vnto the time, and so with the rest flattering the old tyrant, welcommed him full fore against his will, by the name of his friend and companion in the empire: which he now in dissembling manner seeming vnwilling to take vpon him, and refusing the place offered, was by the rout of his flattering fauorites enforced to his own great contentment, to yeeld to their request: some of them with both their hands carrying him vp, vntill they had as it were against his will placed him in the imperiall seat, prepared for him fast by the yong Emperour: others in the meane time no lesse busied in pulling off his priuat attire, and putting vpon him the imperiall robes.

The next day, when this participation of the empire should be published, & they both proclaimed emperors, the name of *Andronicus* was set before the name of *Alexius*: whereof his fauorites (though some others interpreted it otherwise) gaue this reason, that it fitted not with the majesty of the empire, that the name of a boy should be set before the name of so reuerend graue, wise, and excellent a man as was *Andronicus* his companion in the empire. Shortly after, *Andronicus* being brought into the great temple to be crowned, then first began to shew to the people a cheerfull countenance, and setting aside his sterne look, after his long deuotion done, filled the vaine peoples heads with many large promises of a more happy form of gouernment than before. All which proued nothing but meere dissimulation and deep deceit, that cheerfulness of countenance & speech seruing but for a while to couer his inward, secret, & most inhuman cruelty. And the more to deceiue the world, the ceremonies of his coronation past, at such times as he should for consummation & confirmation of all, receiue the sacred & dreadfull mystrie, the pledge of our redemption, not without due reuerence to be named, much lesse with impure hands touched: after he had receiued the bread, and taken the cup in his hand, he with a most deuout countenance framed of purpose to deceiue, & his eyes cast vp to heauen, as if his soule had there already bin (the fairest maske of hypocrisie) swore by those dreadful mysteries, & most deeply protested in the hearing of the people standing by, that he had taken vpon him the fellowship of the empire for no other end or purpose but to assist *Alexius* his cousin in the gouernment, and so strengthen his power: whereas his secret meaning was nothing lesse, as shortly after appeared. For after a few daies spent in feigned deuotions for the prosperous beginning of his Empire, he forthwith turned his mind vnto other his more secret, but most wicked and execrable designs. And hauing aboue all things purposed the death of the yong

Emperour,

Emperor, he called together them of the Councell, his owne creatures and corrupt ministers G  
of his wickednesse, who had now oftentimes in their mouthes that saying of the Poet,

*Est mala res multos dominari: unicus esto  
— Rex dominusque.*

An euill thing it's to be rul'd by many:  
One King and one Lord, if there be any.

*Alexius de-  
prived of the Em-  
pire.  
Alexius con-  
demned.*

*Alexius the Em-  
peror cruelly  
strangled.*

*An ungenall  
marriage.*

*Andronicus se-  
cels by tyranny  
to establish his  
estate.*

and that the old age of an Eagle was better than the youth of a Larke. So by the generall con-  
sent of that wicked assembly (vnworthy the name of a graue councell) a decree was made, That  
*Alexius* should (as a man vnfit to gouern the State) be deprived of all imperiall dignitie, and H  
commanded to liue a priuat life. Which disloyall decree of the conspirators was yet scarcely  
published, but that another more cruell came out of the same forge, That he should forthwith  
be put to death, as one vnworthy longer to liue. For the execution of which so horrible a sen-  
tence *Stephanus Hagiochristophorites* (one of the chiefe ministers of *Andronicus* his villanies, and  
by him promoted euen vnto the highest degrees of the honours of the court) with *Constantinus*  
*Tryplicus*, and one *Theodorus Badibrenus*, captain of the tormentors) were sent out; who entering  
his chamber by night, without compassion of his tender age, or regard of his honour or inno-  
cency, cruelly strangled him with a bow string, which detestable murder so performed, *An-  
dronicus* shortly after coming in, spurned the dead body with his foot, railing at his father  
the late Emperor *Emanuel*, as a forsworne and injurious man; and at his mother, as a common I  
whore. The head was forthwith strooke off from this miserable carkasse (the mirror of honors  
vnstable) and left for the monstrous tyrant to feed his eies vpon: the body wrapped vp in  
lead, was in a boat carried to sea by *Io. Camaterius*, and *Theodosius Chumenus*, two of *Andronicus*  
his noble fauorits; who with great joy and glee returned with the same boat to the Court, as  
if they had done some notable exployt. But long continueth not the joy of the mischieuous,  
vengeance still following them at the heeles; as it did these two, who not long after, with the  
rest that conspired the innocent Emperors death, all or most part of them came to shamefull  
or miserable ends. Thus perished *Alexius* the Emperor, not yet full fifteene yeres old, in the  
third yere of his raigne: which time he liued more like a seruant than an Emperor, first vnder  
the command of his mother, and afterwards of the tyrant which brought him to his end. K

Who joyeth now but old *Andronicus*, made yong again, as should seem, by his new gained  
honors? for shortly after the murder committed, he married *Anne* the French Kings daugh-  
ter (as some report) before betrothed to yong *Alexius*; a tender & most beautiful lady, not yet  
full 11 yeres old, an vnfit match for threescore and ten. And in some sort as it were to purge  
himself & his partakers of the shameful murder by them committed, and to stop the mouths  
of the people, he by much flattery & large promises procured of the bishops a general absolu-  
tion for them all, from the oath of obedience which they had before giuen vnto the Emperor  
*Emanuel*, and *Alexius* his son. Which obtained he for a while had the same Bishops in great  
honor, & shortly after in greater contempt, as men forgetfull of their duties and calling. After  
that, he gaue himself wholly vnto the establishing of his estate, neuer reckning himself ther-  
of assured, so long as he saw any of the nobility or famous captains aliue, that fauored *Emanuel* L  
the late Emperor, or *Alexius* his son: of whom some he secretly poysoned, as *Mary* the Em-  
peror *Emanuel*s daughter, with her husband *Cesar*; some for light occasions bee deprived of  
their sight, as he did *Emanuel* and *Alexius* the sons of that noble captaine *Iohn Comnenus*; *An-  
dronicus Lapardus*, whose good seruice he had oftentimes vsed; *Theodorus Angelus*, *Alexius*  
*Comnenus* the Emperor *Emanuel*s base son: some he hanged, as *Leo Synesius*, *Manuel Lachanas*,  
with diuers others: some he burnt, as *Mamalus* one of the Emperor *Alexius* his chiefe Secreta-  
ries; all men of great honor and place. For colour whereof he pretended himselfe to be forie  
for them, deeply protesting that they died by the seueritie of the law, not by his will, and by  
the just doome of the Iudges, whereunto he was himselfe (as he said) to giue place; and that M  
with tears plentifully running down his aged cheekes, as if he had been the most sorrowfull  
man aliue. O deepe dissimulation, and Crocodiles teares, by nature ordained to expresse the  
heauinesse of the heart, flowing from the eies as showers of raine out of the Clouds: in good  
men the most certaine signes of greatest griefe, and surest testimonies of inward torment:  
but

but in *Andronicus* you are not so, you are far of another nature, you proceed of joy, you promise  
not vnto the distressed pittie or compassion, but death and destruction! how many mens eies  
haue you put out? how many haue you drowned? how many haue you deuoured? Most of the  
nobilitie that fauored the late Emperor *Emanuel* and *Alexius* his son, thus taken out of the way  
by *Andronicus*, strooke such a feare into the rest, that for safeguard of their liues they betooke  
themselves to flight, some one way, some another, neuer thinking themselves in safety so long  
as they were within the greedy Tyrants reach; whereof shortly after ensued no small trou-  
bles, to the shaking of the state of the whole Empire. *Isaac Comnenus* the Emperor *Emanuel*s  
nigh kinsman, took his refuge into Cyprus, and kept that Island to himselfe. *Alexius Comnenus*,  
*Emanuel*s brothers son, fled into Sicilia, and there stir'd vp *William* king of that Island against  
*Andronicus*, who with a great army landed at *Dyrachium*, tooke the city, and so from thence  
without resistance passing thorow the heart of *Macedonia*, spoiling the country before him as  
he went, met his fleet at *Thessalonica*, which famous city he also took by force, & most mise-  
rably spoiled it, with all the country thereabout, so that he brought a great feare vpon the im-  
periall city it selfe. Vnto which so great euils *Andronicus* (intangled with domestick troubles,  
and not knowing whom to trust) was not able to giue remedy, although for shew he had (to no  
purpose) sent out certain of his most trusty ministers with such forces as he could well spare.  
For the majesty of his authority growing stil lesse & lesse, and the number of his enemies both  
at home & abroad daily increasing, and the fauor of the vnconstant people (who now began to  
speake hardly of him) declining, he vncertain which way to turn himselfe, rested wholly vpon  
tyranny, proscribing in his feare, not only the friends of such as were fled, and whom he distru-  
sted, but sometimes whole families together, yea and that for light occasions, sometime those  
who were his best fauorits, whose seruice he had many times vied in the execution of his cru-  
eltie, so that now no day passed wherein he did not put to death, imprison, or torture one great  
man or other. Whereby it hapned that the imperiall city was filled with sorrow and heauines,  
euery man hanging the head, & with silence couering his inward griefe, not without danger to  
haue bin then vttered. Among many others appointed to this slaughter, was one *Isaac Angelus*  
a man of great nobility, whom *Hagiochristophorites* (the chiefe minister of *Andronicus* his tiran-  
nie, and for the same by him highly promoted) suspecting, as one that bare no good wil to the  
emperor (cause enough of death) came to his house to apprehend him; & finding him at home,  
after a few hot words commanded him to follow him: whereat the noble man making some  
stay, and abhorring the very sight of the wretch, as vnto him ominous & fatal, *Hagiochristopho-  
rites* himselfe began to lay hands on him, reuiling his followers, that they had not forthwith  
drawn him out of his house by the haire of his head, vnto the prison by him appointed. For  
they, touched with the honor of the man, & moued with pittie, forced him not, but stood stil as  
beholders. *Isaac* seeing himselfe thus beset, and no way now left for him to escape, resolving  
rather there presently to die, than shortly after to be murdred in prison, drew his sword as the  
rest were laying hands vpon him, and at the first blow cleft the wicked head of *Hagiochristopho-  
rites* down to his shoulders; and so leauing him wallowing in his own blood, and like a despe-  
rate man laying about him amongst the rest, made himselfe way through the midst of them.  
And so embred with blood, with his bloody sword yet in his hand, running thorow the midst  
of the city, told the people what he had done; and crying vnto them for help in defence  
of his innocencie, fled into the great temple, there to take the refuge of the sanctuary: where he  
had not long sit (in the place where the guilty flying thither for refuge vsed to sit, & confessing  
their offence, craue pardon of such as go in & out) but that the temple was filled with the mul-  
titude of people flocking thither out of all parts of the city, some to see the nobleman, some to  
behold what should become of him: for all men thought that he would before Sun set (not  
withstanding the reuerence of the place) be drawn thence by *Andronicus*, & put to some shame-  
full death. Thither came also *Iohn Ducas*, *Isaac*s vncke, and his son *Isaac*, to increase the tumult;  
not for that they were any thing guilty of the death of *Hagiochristophorites*, but for that they  
had before become sureties vnto the suspitious tyrant, for their kinsman *Isaac*, and he likewise  
for them, by whose trespass they well knew themselves now brought into no lesse danger than  
if they had bin abettors therunto. And beside them also, many other there were, which doub-  
ting of their owne estate, and fearing the like might happen to themselves, pricked forward  
with hard speeches, the common people flocking thither, instantly requested them to stay  
there,

*Exceeding cru-  
eltie.*

*Isaac Angelus  
taketh Sanctu-  
arie.*

Isaac in  
the tumult  
of the  
city.

Andronicus  
in  
the tumult  
of the  
city.

Isaac  
in  
the tumult  
of the  
city.

there, and to stand by them now at their need, being so injuriously wronged; whose pittifull complaints moued many to take part with them. At which time also, no man yet comming from the Emperor (being as then out of the city) to repress the sedition, nor any of the Nobilitie opposing themselves, no friend of *Andronicus* appearing, none of his bloody ministers or officers shewing themselves, nor any that did so much as speake a good word in his behalfe, or in dislike of the tumult, the boldnes of the seditious people increased, euery man in so great liberty saying what he list, and after their rude maner one encouraging another. So spent *Isaac* that long night, not thinking (God wot) of an Empire, but stil expecting the deadly stroke of *Andronicus*. Yet had he with great intreating so preuailed, that diuers of the assembly shutting the church doores, and bringing lights into the church, staied there with him all night, and by their example caused some others to stay also. The next morning by breake of day were all the citizens flockt againe to the temple, cursing the tyrant to the deuil, as the common enemy of mankind, wishing vnto him a shameful death, & the honor of the empire vnto *Isaac*. At that time by fortune, or rather God so appointing it, *Andronicus* was out of the city at his palace of Meludinum, on the East side of Propontis, where he was by nine a clocke at night certified of the death of *Maginobrisphorites*, and of the tumult of the people: yet that night stirred he not, neither did any thing more, but by short letters aduised the people to pacifie themselves, and not by foolish rebellion to cast themselves into further danger. In the morning *Andronicus* his fauorits began to shew themselves, and to doe what they might to haue appeased the tumultuous multitude; yea, and presently after came *Andronicus* himselfe, and landed with his imperiall galley at the great pallace in the city. But with the enraged people nought preuailed either the persuasions of the one, or report of the presence of the other: for they all, as vpon a signall giuen, and as men inspired with one spirit, or stirred vp with the same fury, flocked together into the temple of S. Sophia, one encouraging another, and scoffing at such as stood by as idle lookers on, without weapons in their hands, reuiling them and calling them rotten lymmes that had no feeling of the common harme. After that, they broke open the prisons, and set at liberty the prisoners, as fittest instruments to increase the tumult, who were not all notable offenders of the dregs of the people, but many of them borne of good houses, and for some light fault, or inconsiderate word (whereof euery man was in those times bound to giue an account) or for some friends offence against *Andronicus*, there laid fast. These of all others most animated the people, in such sort, as they which before for feare of the danger did but softly murmur to themselves against *Andronicus*, did now openly joyne with the rest of the base seditious. Then might you haue seen some with their swords & targets, some also in their armour, but the greatest part armed but with clubs and stauces, and other such like rude weapons, armes of fury, hastily taken vp in their shops as by chance they came first to hand, running forth in euery place. By this assembly of the most furious and promiscuous people was *Isaac* boysted vp, and with a generall applause saluted Emperor. At which time one of the Sextons of the church, with a ladder tooke downe *Constantine* the great his crowne of gold, (which for a monument hung ouer the holy altar, and set it on *Isaacs* head: which he at the first seemed vnwilling to weare, not for that he was not desirous enough of the Empire, but for that hee feared the extreame danger of the matter, and thought those things that were then done to be but as it were a sicke mans dreame, like enough straitway to vanish: besides that, he feared in so doing, the more to exasperate *Andronicus*. Which his vncle *Iohn Ducas* (as is said before standing by him) perceiuing, plucking off his own cap, and shewing his old bald head, requested the people, That if his nephew did refuse it they would set it vpon his: whereunto they with a great outcry answered, That they would no more yeeld their obedience to an old bald man, as hauing received many harmes from the hoary haire of old *Andronicus*; and therefore for his sake hated euery old man, more fit for *Charons* boat, and his coffin, than for an Empire; and especially if he had a forken beard and bald head, as had *Andronicus* and this *Ducas*. Thus was *Isaac* by the tumultuous multitude inuested in the Empire; and so royally mounted vpon one of the Emperors horses, richly furnished with a saddle and trappings of gold, which they had by chance gotten, was by them brought from the temple to the court; *Basilus Camaterus* the Patriarch waiting vpon him, whom the headstrong people had inforced against his will to confirme with his authoritie what was by them done for the establishing of *Isaac* in the Empire. *Andronicus* at his comming to the palace, perceiuing first by the confused cry of the tumultuous

Andronicus  
foraken of his  
flattering fauorits.

A strange change

Andronicus the  
Emperor taken  
and brought in  
hands to Ang-  
lus.

Andronicus the  
Emperor hanged  
up by his  
heels.

multuous multitude, and afterward by that which he saw with his eyes, how the world went; calling vpon his old friends and flattering fauorits, thought first by their help to haue repressed the fury of the rebellious: who as friends of his better fortune, and not of himselfe, were now for the most part shrunk from him, and those that were left so faintly comming on, as if in his quarrell they had had no mind to spend their liues: with which heartlesse company *Andronicus* fearing to oppose himselfe against the fury of the multitude, with his bow and arrows in his hand got him vp into the highest tower of the palace, called Centenaria, and from thence bestowed certaine shot among the people. But seeing that to be to no purpose, and better persuaded to do more with them by faire words, than such vain force, he from the top of the tower cried aloud vnto them, That if they would be quiet and depart, he would by their consent resigne the Empire vnto his son *Manuel*: wherat the people more enraged, spared not to poure forth most reprochfull words in contempt both of himselfe and his son; and so furiously brake into the court by one of the gates called Carea. Which *Andronicus* beholding, and now out of all hope, casting from him all his habiliments of honor, and disguising himselfe fled againe to his gally, accompanied only with *Anna* his wife, and *Maraplica* his minion, and so returned to Meludinum, his place from whence he came. *Isaac* but yesterday in the bottom of dispaire, & shadowed as it were with the hand of death, by the strange change of fortune to day mounted vnto the highest type of worldly honour; entering the palace, was there againe with the greatest applause of the people that might be, saluted Emperor. From whence he forthwith sent out certaine companies of his most assured friends and followers, to apprehend *Andronicus*; who now as a man at once forsaken both of his friends and of his better fortune, secretly fled with his wife and his paragon, before remembered, to Chele, attended vpon only with a few of his trusty seruants, which had a long time serued him before he was Emperor. There taking ship, with purpose to haue fled vnto the *Taurosythes* (as not thinking himselfe safe in any Prouince of the Empire) he was twice or thrice by foule weather put backe againe, the wrought sea abhorring (as it seemed) to carry him that had so polluted it with the dead bodies of the innocent by him slain, and stil threatening (as it were) to deuoure him. Thus strangely staied by foule weather, or more truly to say, by the reuenging hand of the Highest, he was found by such as were sent to seek out after him, & being by them apprehended, was with two great yron chains fast locked about his proud necke, and heauy gyues vpon his legs, cast into the castle of *Amena*; and in that miserable habit shortly after presented to the Emperor *Isaac*, yet busied in appeasing and reforming the disordred city: where by the way as hee went, he was by the people most shamefully reuiled, and injuriously viled; some plucking him by the beard, some by the haire of the head, some other in the meane time playing with his nose, and bobbing him in the face, with a thousand other despights done vnto him; especially by such women, as whose husbands he had before murdered or depriued of their sight. Afterward being committed to the hateful fury of the people, he had his right hand cut off, and was againe committed to the same castle, without meat, drinke, or other comfort: where after he had lien a few daies, hauing one of his eyes put out, he was set vpon a foule leane camel, with his face toward the taile thereof, and so (as it were in triumph) led through the Market place, his bald head all bare, as if it had been a dead mans skull taken out of a charnell house; in a short old coat, so miserable a spectacle, as might haue expressed a fountaine of teares out of the eyes of a right hard hearted man. But the bedlam and most insolent citisens, especially they of the baser sort, as cookes, cobblers, cutriers, and such like, flocking about him like Bees (without regard that he had but the other day wore vpon his head the imperiall crowne, then honored by them as a god, and extolled vnto the heauens; that they had not long before solemnly sworn vnto him obedience and loyaltie) ran now as men out of their wits, omitting no kinde of villanie they could deuise to do vnto him: some thrust nailes into his head, some cast dirt in his face, some the dung both of men and beasts, some prickt him in the sides with spurs, some cast stones at him as at a mad dog, and other some opprobrious and despightfull words, no lesse grieuous vnto him than the rest: amongst others, an impudent drab comming out of the kitchen, cast a pot full of scalding water in his face; and in brieft, their outrage so exceeded, as if they had striuen among themselves, who should doe him the greatest villanie. Hauing thus shamefully, as in a ridiculous triumph, brought him into the Theatre, they there betwixt two pillars hanged him vp by the heeles: where hauing suffered all these despightfull indignities,

with many moe, not without offence to be named, he with an inuincible courage yet still held his patience, not giuing one euill word, but sometimes saying, *Lord haue mercy vpon me*; and otherwhiles, *Why do you breake a bruised reed*? Yet the furious people nothing moued with the calamity of so great a man, (of al others now the most miserable) stript him of his bad clothes as he hung, and cut off his priuities. One among the rest, to make an end of him, thrust his sword in at his throat vp to the twist as he hung; other two with their long swords proued their strength, who could strike furthest into his buttocks. Thus miserably perished this famous Emperor, after he had reigned two yeares. That which was left of his body (for many had carried away some pieces thereof) being taken downe from the place where he hung, was cast in to a base vault in the Theatre, where it for a space lay, as the loathsome carkasse of some wilde beast, and the miserable spectacle of mans fragilitie; for *Isaac* the Emperor would not suffer it to be buried. Howbeit afterwards (the fury of the people ouerpasse) it was by some more charitable men remooued thence, and layd in a low vault neere vnto the monasterie of the *Epbori*: which as *Nicetas Choniates* (author of this history, speaking of the time wherein he liued) saith, is yet there vndissolued to be seene. Hee was a man most honorably descended, of stature tall, and well proportioned; in his countenance sate a certaine reuerend maiestie, adorned with such notable vertues, as might haue made him worthily to haue bin compared vnto the greatest Emperors of his stocke and familie, had he not obscured the same with too much ambition and cruelty; whereof the one caused him to lead the greatest part of his life in prison or exile; the other brought vnto him a most shamefull end.

Nicetas Choniates, Ann. l. lib. 1. fol. 161. col. 4.

Isaac Angelus the Emperor tyrannicall.

Isaac the Emperor thrust from the Empire, and deprived of his sight by his brother Alexius.

Clizasthan the Turks Sultan increaseth vpon the Greeke Empire in the lesser Asia.

Clizasthan diuideth his name amongst his four sons.

*Isaac Angelus* his successor, by the fauor of the people thus exalted vnto the Empire, at the first gouerned the same with great lenitie and moderation, as if he had altogether abhorred from the effusion of his subjects blood; but afterwards not a little troubled both with forrein enemies, and domesticall rebellion, besieged in the Imperiall City by such of the Nobilitie as thought themselves no lesse worthy of the Empire than himselfe: for repressing of which insolencies, and the assuring of his State, he became so seuer in chastising the offenders, and such others as he had in distrust, that he was counted of most men not inferiour in crueltie to *Andronicus* his predecessor; few daies passing without the condemnation or execution of one great man or other, besides them of the meaner sort, of whom hee seemed to make no great reckoning; whereby he in few yeares lost the loue and fauour of his Subjects, who before had him in great honour, and became vnto them no lesse odious than was before *Andronicus*. Vpon which generall dislike of the people, his ingratefull younger brother *Alexius* (by him before for a great sum of mony redeemed from the Turks) tooke occasion to rise vp against him, and by the fauour of the souldiers deprived him together both of the Empire and his sight: and hauing put out his eyes, thrust him into a Monastery, there to liue as it were out of the world, as a man condemned to perpetuall darkenesse, after he had reigned nine yeares and eight moneths, being not yet full forty yeares old. Whether it were the reuenging hand of God, for the hard measure vsed to *Andronicus*, or not, I leaue it to the wiser to consider; who in his deepe prouidence, wherewith he best gouerneth all things, would haue a moderation vsed in punishment of our most capitall enemies, as hauing alwaies before our eyes the slippery state of power and authoritie: and that as all worldly things are subiect to change, so by the just judgement of God it oftentimes falleth out, that what hurt we doe vnto others, the same wee may receiue againe from others. In these so great and strange mutations of the Constantinopolitan Empire (which I haue somewhat more at large prosecuted, not so much for the novelty of the matter, although it were right strange, as for that out of the losses and ruine thereof, the greatnes of the Turks for the most part grew) *Clizasthan* Sultan of Iconium, after the death of the Emperor *Emanuel*, found meanes to take from the Empire diuers strong Townes and castles in the lesser Asia, together with a great part of the country of Phrygia: *Alexius*, *Andronicus*, and *Isaac* the succeeding Emperours, troubled with dangers neerer home, hauing nothing to oppose against him, but faire intreatie and rich presents; so redeeming for a while an vnsecure peace, with no lesse charge in short time to be renewed againe. This victorious Sultan (for so he may of right be called) holding in his subiection a great part of the lesser Asia, now a man of great yeares, dying, left behind him foure sonnes, *Masus*, *Coppatine*, *Reucratine*, and *Caschofoes*, all men growne. Amongst whom he diuided his Kingdom: vnto *Masus* he bequeathed *Amafia*, *Ancyra*, *Doryleum*, with diuers other pleasant Cities of Pontus: vnto

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vnto *Coppatine* he assigned *Melyrene*, *Cæsarea*, and the colonie now called *Taxara*: vnto *Reucratine* he allotted *Aminum*, *Docca*, with some other Cities vpon the sea coast: but vnto *Caschofoes*, he left *Iconium* his regall seat, and with it *Lycaonia*, *Pamphilia*, and all the countries thereabouts as farre as *Cortianum*. Of these foure, *Coppatine* long liued not after his father; for whose inheritance *Reucratine* Prince of *Docca*, and *Masus* Prince of *Ancyra* (his two brethren) fell at variance, and so at last into open warre. But *Masus* finding himselfe too weake for his wariike brother *Reucratine*, yeelded vnto him the territories which hee saw he must needs forgoe; and glad now to keepe his owne, so made peace with him. *Reucratine* being a man of an ambitious and haughtie spirit, with his forces thus doubled, denounced war vnto his brother *Caschofoes*; who doubting his owne strength, fled vnto the Emperour *Alexius Angelus* for aid, as had his father done before him the vnto Emperour *Mmanuel*, although not with like good fortune. For the Emperour but of late hauing obtained the Empire, by the deposing of his brother, and altogether giuen to pleasure, reputing also those domesticall warres of the Turks, some part of his owne safety; sent him home without comfort, as one strong enough of himselfe to defend his owne quarrell against his brother.

The sonnes of Clizasthan at variance amongst themselves.

Howbeit, he was scarcely come to *Iconium*, but he was by *Reucratine* expelled thence, and driuen to fly into *Armenia*, where he was by *Zebune* King of that country, a Turke also, honourably receiued and courteously vsed, but yet denied of the aid he requested: the King pretending that hee was already in league with *Reucratine*, and therefore could not, or as some thought, fearing the dangerousnesse of the matter, would not intermeddle therein. Wherewith the poore Sultan vtterly discouraged, returned againe to *Constantinople*, and there in poore estate, as a man forlorne, passed out the rest of his daies.

Now hauing thus passed through the Turkish affaires in the lesser Asia, together with the troubled estate of the Constantinopolitan Empire, no small cause of the Turks greatnes; the course of time calleth vs backe againe before we passe any further, to remember their proceedings also at the same time, and shortly after, in *Syria*, *Iudæa*, *Egypt*, and those more Southerly countries, where these restless people ceased not by all meanes to enlarge their Empire, vntill they had brought all those great kingdoms vnder their obeyfance.

After the death of *Baldwin* King of *Ierusalem*, of whom we haue before spoken, *Almericus* his younger brother, Earle of *Ioppa* and *Ascalon*, beeing then about seuen and twentie yeares old, was by the better good liking of the clergie and people, than of the nobilitie, elected King; not for that there wanted in him any good parts worthy of a kingdom, but for that some of them enuied vnto him so great an honour. Neuertheless he was (as we said) by the generall consent of the people, elected, proclaimed, and by *Almericus* the Patriarch with all solemnitie crowned, the 17 day of February, in the yeare of Grace, 1163. To begin whose troubled reigne, the Egyptians first of all denied to pay vnto him their wonted tribute. In reuenge whereof, he in person himselfe with a puissant army entred into *Egypt*; and meeting with *Dargan* the Sultan, ouerthrew him in plaine battell, and put him to flight: who to stay the further pursuit and passage of the Christians, cut the banks of the riuer *Nilus*, and so drowned the country, that the King was glad to content himselfe with the victory he had already gotten, and so to returne to *Ierusalem*.

Almericus first King of Ierusalem.

The next yeare *Almericus* was againe drawne downe with his power into *Egypt*, by *Dargan* the Sultan, to aid him against *Saracen*, whom *Noradin* the Turke, King of *Damasco*, had sent as Generall with an army, to restore *Saracen* the Sultan before expelled, and to depose *Dargan*. In which expedition *Dargan* being slaine, and *Saracen* hauing won certaine Townes, kept them to himselfe: *Saracen* doubtfull of his good meaning, joynd his forces with *Almericus*, and by his helpe expelled *Saracen* out of *Egypt*. But whilst *Almericus* was thus busied in *Egypt*, *Noradin* the Turk making an inroad into the frontiers of the Christians neere vnto *Tripolis*, was by *Gilbert Lucy*, master of the Templars in those quarters, and the other Christians, when he least feared, so suddenly serpon, that he had much adoe by flight to saue himselfe, halfe naked for haste, most of his followers being at the same time slaine. In reuenge of which disgrace, he not long after with a great power came and besieged *Arcthusa*: for reliefe whereof, *Bohemund* Prince of *Antioch*, *Raymond* the younger, Earle of *Tripolis*, *Calamon* gouernour of *Cilicia*, and *Toros* Prince of *Armenia*, came with their power. Of whose coming the Turk hearing, raised his siege and departed. After whom these Christian Princes eagerly

Noradin the Turke discomfited by the Christians.

gerly following, were by the Turkes shut vp in certaine deepe and rotten fennes (whereinto they had vnadvisedly to far entred) and there with a great slaughter ouerthrowne. In which conflict all the chiefe commanders of the army were taken, except the Prince of Armenia, who foreseeing the danger, had retired, after he had in vaine dissuaded the rest from the further pursuit of the flying enemy. The Prince of Antioch there taken, was about a yere after for a great sum of money redeemed; but the Countie of Tripolis was after eight yeres straight captiuitie hardly deliuered. *Noradin* after this victory returning againe to the siege of *Aretusa*, in few daies won the towne: and encouraged with such good successe, and the absence of the King, laid siege to the city of *Pancade*, which was also deliuered vnto him, vpon condition that the citifens might at their pleasure in safetie depart.

At the same time *Saracón* Generall of *Noradin* his forces, tooke from the Christians two castles; the one in the country of *Sidon*, the other beyond *Jordan* vpon the borders of *Arabia*, both in the custody of the *Templars*: twelue of whom the King at his returne hanged vp for treason.

Shortly after *Saracón*, King *Noradin* his great man of war, with all the power of the Turkes, came downe againe into *Egypt*, with purpose to haue fully subdued all that notable kingdome vnto his Lord and Master. Of whose power, *Samar* the Sultan standing in dread, praied aid of *Almericus*, promising vnto him beside his yerely tribute, the summe of forty thousand ducats for his paines. The matter fully agreed vpon, and all things now in readinesse, *Almericus* set forward with his army, and encountering with *Saracón* and his Turkes at the riuer *Nilus*, ouerthrew him in a great battell: yet not without some losse, for the Turkes in their flight fighting vpon the Kings cariages with the whole baggage of the army, & ouer-running them that had the charge thereof, carried away with them a most rich prey, wherby it came to passe that as the Christians had the victory, so the Turkes enjoyed the spoile.

*Saracón* after this ouerthrow hauing againe gathered together his dispersed soldiers, tooke his way to *Alexandria*, where he was by the citifens receiued: after whom the King following, gaue no attempt vnto the city, for that he knew to be but vaine, but incamped close by the side of the riuer *Nilus*, from whence the city was chiefly to be victualled. Whose purpose *Saracón* perceiuing, and betime foreseeing the distresse of his whole army for want of victuals, if he should there long stay: leauing there his son *Saladin* (or as some call him his nephew) with a thousand horsemen for the keeping of the city, secretly by night departed thence himselfe with the rest of his army: and passing through the deserts, did great harme in the vpper parts of *Egypt*. Of whose departure *Almericus* vnderstanding, was about to haue followed him, but that he was otherwaies perswaded by the *Egyptian* captains to continue his former purpose for the gaining of the city: wherefore now after the departure of *Saracón* he began to approach the wals, and with diuers engines of war to disturbe the defendants: wherewith the citifens (better acquainted with the trade of merchandise, than the feats of war) discouragedly began now to consult amongst themselves for the turning out of those troublesome guests whom they had so lately receiued: which *Saladin* perceiuing, certified *Saracón* his vncke thereof, requesting his speedy reliefe in that his so dangerous estate, & with much intreaty perswaded the citifens for a while to hold it out, vntill he might from him receiue answer of al which the Christians and *Egyptians* without, hauing intelligence, laid so much the harder vnto the city. Gladly would *Saracón* haue done what he was by his nephew requested: but perceiuing it to be a matter of no lesse danger than difficultie, he by the means of *Hugh*, Countie of *Caesarea*, and one *Arnolpbus* another noble Christian, both then prisoners with him, concluded a peace with the King, whereupon the city was forthwith yielded vp, and *Saladin* with his Turkes suffred in safetie to depart. At which time also all prisoners were on both sides freely and without ransom set at liberty. Thus *Saracón* for this time disappointed of this his purpose for the conquest of *Egypt*, returned backe againe to *Damasco*: and *Almericus* with great glory to *Ascalon*, where he arrived with his army the 21 of September in the yere 1167.

In this late expedition, *Almericus* on the one side enflamed with the wealth of *Egypt*, and on the other encouraged with the weaknes of that effeminate people, resting for the most part vpon forraigne strength; had purposed himselfe to inuade the kingdome, and so if possible he might, to ioine it to his own. For color wherof, it was pretended that the Sultan contrary to his faith before giuen, had secretly fought to ioine in league and amity with *Noradin* the Turke King

*Saladin* left in *Alexandria* by *Saracón*, vntill he should be called.

*Alexandria* yet not so diuinit.

1167

King of *Damasco*. The chiefe stirrer vp of the King vnto this war, was one *Gerbert*, master of the *Templars*; who in respect of the aid by them of his order to be giuen, had obtained of the King, after the victory gained, to haue the city of *Pelusium* with all the rich country about the same, giuen vnto him and his brethren the Knights of the order for euer: vpon which hope, he contrary to the mind of many of the Knights, for the furtherance of that war, gaged his whole wealth and credit, with all the treasure of his house. So all things now in readinesse for so great an enterprize, *Almericus* with his army set forward in October, and hauing in ten daies passed the sandy desert, came to *Pelusium*; which City he (after three daies siege) tooke by force, and put to sword all them that were therein, without respect of age, sex, or condition: which city, he according to his promise before made, gaue vnto the *Templars*. After that, he began also to besiege *Caire*, at which time his fleet sacked the city of *Tapium*. In the meane time, *Samar* the *Egyptian* Sultan, considering the danger he was in, to satisfie *Almericus* his greedy desire, offered to pay him twentie hundred thousand ducats to withdraw his forces: and forthwith sent him one hundred thousand, for the ransom of his son and his nephew taken prisoners at *Pelusium*: and for the rest to be paid within five daies after, hee gaue two of his nephewes hostages. Neuertheless the payment he deferred from day to day, of purpose in the meane time to raise the whole power of *Egypt*, as also to receiue aid from the Turkes by *Saracón*, which he daily expected: of whose speedy coming, *Almericus* vnderstanding, left part of his army at *Pelusium*, and with the rest went to haue met him: but missing him by the way, *Saracón* with his Turkes came in safetie to *Caire* vnto the Sultan, as he had desired. Wherefore *Almericus* dismayed with the multitude of two so great armies now joyned together, retired backe againe to *Pelusium*, and there taking with him the garrison before left, returned home to *Ierusalem*: hauing in that expedition (begun with the breach of faith) laid the foundation of the ruine of his kingdome, as in few yeres after, it by prooffe appeared, by the euill neighbourhood of the Turkes, by that meanes brought downe into *Egypt*.

*Saracón* the Turke after the departure of *Almericus*, easily perceiuing a most fit time and opportunitie to be offered for him now to obtain that, which he had in vaine before both sought and fought for, encamped with his army neere vnto *Caire*, and notably counterfeited himselfe of all others the most deuoted friend of the Sultans: so that betwixt them two passed all the kind tokens of loue and friendship, that could possibly be deuised; the Sultan oftentimes feasting the Turke, and in kindnesse likewise being feasted of him: but at length going as his manner was, vnto the campe to visit him, he was by the Turkes slaine. So *Saracón* hauing brought to passe what he desired, and entring the city with his army, was by the great Caliph (from whom the *Egyptian* Sultans, as from their superiors, the true successors of their great Prophet *Mahomet*, tooke their authoritie) appointed Sultan, the first of the Turkes that euer enjoyed the same: which royall dignitie he had not possessed fully a yere, but that he was taken away by death. In whose stead *Saladin* his brothers son, by and by stepped vp: who altogether a martiall man, not regarding the reuerend Majesty of the Caliph (as had his vncke *Saracón*, and all the *Egyptian* Sultans before him) with his horsemen made struck out his brains; and not so contented, vtterly rooted out all his posteritie, the better to assure himselfe and his successors the Turkes in the possession of his new begotten kingdome; and after that diuided the great treasures of the *Egyptians* among his Turkes, to encourage them the more to follow him in his warres against the Christians.

This glorious kingdome so much spoken of in holy Scripture, and renowned of the learned historiographers of all ages, after the ruine of the Roman Empire, was sometime part of the *Constantinopolitan* Empire, and a notable member of the Christian commonweale; vntill that about the yere of our Lord 704, the *Egyptians* weary of the pride and couetousnes of the *Grecians*, reuolted from them to the *Saracens*, whose superstition they also receiued: and so vnder the gouernment of the *Saracen* Caliphs, the successors of the false prophet *Mahomet*, liued about 464 yeres, vntill that now being inuaded by *Almericus*, they praied aid of *Noradin* the Turke, Sultan of *Damasco*: who to their reliefe sending *Saracón* with an army, repulsed indeed the Christians, but oppressing their libertie, took to himselfe the kingdome, which he left vnto his nephew *Saladin*, in whose posteritie it remained vntill it was from them again taken by the *Circassian* slaues the *Mamelukes*: vnder whose seruile gouernment it was holden of long time, till that by the great Emperor of the Turkes, *Selymus* the first, it was again conquered, and

*Pelusium* taken by *Almericus*.

The Sultan of *Egypt* vnder the colour of friendship slain by *Saracón*.

How the Kingdome of *Egypt* first fell into the hands of the *Saracens*, with the antient alterations thereof.

the



are to looke about them. Yet shortly after, a peace was for a time concluded betwixt the Sultan and the King: whereby their troubled estates breathed themselves almost the space of two yeares.

But this so welcome a calme was by domesticall troubles againe by the Kings friends suddenly troubled: for the Countie of Tripolis, to whom the government of the kingdome was committed, coming towards Ierusalem, being by the suggestion of his enemies brought into suspicion with the King, as if he had affected the Kingdome, was to his great disgrace by the way commanded to stay. The chiefe authors of which discontentment, were the Kings mother, a woman of a turbulent nature, and her brother the Kings Steward, who in the absence of the Earle, had wrought the Kings sicke mind according to their owne appetites. But the rest of the nobilitie wisely foreseeing vnto what great danger that discord might tend, in despite of them, with much labor, caused him to be sent for againe, and so reconciled vnto the King: by which meanes that dangerous fire of dissention was for that time appeased, which afterwards brake out againe to the vtter ruine of that kingdome.

Saladin with  
out of Egypt  
to Damasco.

Saladin now weary of the league he had before made with King Baldwin, as no longer standing with his haughty desires, renounced the same, and raising a great power in Egypt, set forward toward Damasco. Of whose coming King Baldwin hauing knowledge, with the whole power of his kingdome went to haue met him, not farre from the dead Sea, and there encamped at an old towne called Petra. But Saladin turning out of the way, into the Kings territory, came and encamped before Mount Roiall, a castle which Baldwin had giuen vnto the Templars, about three daies march from the place where the King lay.

Galilee spoiled  
and the castle  
Burie taken by  
the Turkes.

There Saladin with the spoile of the country refreshing his army, now weary of long trauel, set forward againe, and so without resistance arrived with his army at Damasco. At the same time, the Turks Captaines about Damasco, Bostrum, and Emiffa, perceiuing the frontiers of the Christians thereabout to be kept with small strength, passed ouer Iordan, and spoiling a great part of Galilee, besieged the castle of Burie, at the foot of Mount Tabor, not farre from the citie of Naim; which castle they in few daies tooke, and hauing there made a great slaughter, carried away with them about five hundred prisoners. Saladin being come to Damasco, called together all the garrisons of that Kingdome, and joyning them vnto the forces hee brought out of Egypt, entred into the Holy Land: at which time the Countie of Tripolis, Governour of the Kingdome, lay sicke of burning feauer. Neuerthelesse the King encouraged by the Knights of the order, went out with his army against him; and encountering with him neere vnto a village called Frobolet, ouerthrew him in a great battell; wherein, and afterward in the flight, most part of the Sultans armie perished: Saladin himselfe being glad by speedie flight to escape the danger, and so by long marches to get hither againe to Damasco.

Saladin came  
out of Egypt  
to Damasco.

In reuenge of this ouerthrow, Saladin hauing repaired his Army, and sent for his fleet out of Egypt, came and besieged Beritus both by sea and land: at which time also his brother, whom he had left gouernour in Egypt, besieged Darum, a strong Towne in the vttermost bounds of the Kingdome of Ierusalem towards Egypt: both whose forces Baldwin being not able at once to repress, by the counsell of the nobilitie, thought it best first to relieue Beritus, as the place of greatest importance. And for that purpose set forward with his armie by land, hauing also rigged vp three and thirtie gallies at Tyre, for the reliefe thereof by sea. Of which preparation Saladin vnderstanding, as also of the Kings coming (by letters intercepted by his scouts, directed to the besieged, for the holding out of the siege, with promise of speedy reliefe) he presently rose with his army, and departed: whereof the King being aduertised, retired to Sephor.

Saladin inuading  
the Kingdom  
of Ierusalem.

Not long after, Saladin according to his ambitious nature, desirous about measure to extend the bounds of his Kingdome, and seeing the success of his attempts against the King of Ierusalem not answerable to his desire, conuerted his forces vnto the Countie more Eastward; and passing the riuer Euphrates, and entering into Mesopotamia, partly by force, partly by corruption, got into his hands the Cities of Edeffa, Carras, and diuers others. And which time the King of Ierusalem tooke occasion first to spoile the Countie about Damasco, and after that diuers other places of the Sultans Kingdome, making haue of whatsoeuer came in his way, and so laded with the spoile of the Turks, retired to Ierusalem.

Saladin

Saladin with victorie returning out of Mesopotamia, in reuenge of the injuries done vnto him in his absence, marched directly to Aleppo, the strongest city of the Christians in that part of Syria, which about all other he longed after: where hee had not long lien, but that it was by the treason of the Gouernour deliuered into his hands, with all the Countie therabouts; wherewith the Christian Princes were so discouraged, that they euen then began to fear greater matters to ensue. The Prince of Antioch sold Tarsus the metropolitane city of Cilicia, to Rupinus Prince of Armenia, for that he saw it was not without great charge & danger to be by him defended, being so far from him, and Saladin as it were now steep in betwixt him and it.

Aleppo betrayed  
to the Turkes.

At the same time King Baldwin at Nazareth fell sicke of a feuer, the leprosie also his old disease growing daily more and more vpon him: in somuch as despairing of his life, he called vnto him Guy Lusignan Countie of Ioppa and Ascalon, vnto whom he had before espoused Sybel his eldest sister, and in the presence of his mother, the Patriark, and all the chief commanders of the soldiers of the sacred war, appointed him Gouernour of the kingdome, reseruing vnto himselfe onely the title of a King, with the City of Ierusalem, and a yearly pension of ten thousand ducats: all which was done to the great disgrace and discontentment of the Countie of Tripolis the old gouernour.

It was not long, but that Saladin hauing breathed himselfe a little, after so great labours, came again into the Holy land, where he took many castles, and did infinit harm; in somuch that the country people were glad for fear, to forsake their houses, & fly into cities: the Christian army in the mean time lying fast by at Sephor, not once moving, although many a faire occasion were offered. For the chiefe commanders affectionated vnto the Countie of Tripolis, and enuying at the preferment of Guy the new gouernour, were vnwilling to fight, but finding one excuse or other, suffered the enemy at his pleasure to spoil the country, and so in safety to depart; which he had neuer before done in those quarters.

Within lesse than a month after, Saladin with a great army well appointed with all the habiliments of war needful for the besieging of a city or strong castle, came again into the land of Palestine, and passing thorow the country beyond Iordan, late down at last before Petra, in hope by the taking thereof to haue made his passage betwixt Egypt and Damasco more safe. Of which his purpose king Baldwin hauing knowledge, and taught by the euil success of late, to what small purpose it was to commit the managing of his wars vnto a Generall so euil behaved, and lesse regarded, as was Guy his brother in law; sent against him with his army Raymond the Countie of Tripolis the old gouernour, whom he had again restored vnto the gouernment, and displaced Guy. Of whose coming Saladin hearing, raised his siege after he had lien here a moneth, and so departed.

Petra in ruine  
besieged by the  
Turkes.

A little before this expedition, the King still growing sicker and sicker, his foul disease still increasing, by the common consent of the nobilitie, he appointed Baldwin his nephew by his sister Sybel, a child but of five years old, to succeed him in the kingdome; and the Countie of Tripolis to haue the gouernment of the State during the time of his minority. This Sybella the Kings sister was first married to William the younger, Marquis of Mount Ferrat, who dying within three moneths after, left her with child of this his posthumous son Baldwin, now by his uncle deputed vnto the hope of the Kingdome. After whose death she was married vnto Guy Lusignan Countie of Ioppa and Ascalon the late Gouernour: who taking in euill part this the Kings desinement, especially for the gouernment of the Kingdome by the Countie of Tripolis, departed from the Court as a man discontented, vnto his City of Ascalon. Whereof the Patriark and the Princes of the sacred war fearing (and not without cause) great danger to inue, came to the king, then holding a Parliament in the city of Acon, most humbly requesting him, for auoiding of further danger, and the safety of his kingdome, to receiue againe into his honour the Countie Guy his brother in law, and to make an attonement between him and the Countie of Tripolis. But this their requestorted to no purpose: so that the Parliament at that time was dissolved without anything for the good of the Commonweale in that point concluded.

Dissention in  
the Court of  
Ierusalem.

After that time the kingdom of Ierusalem began still more and more to decline. In the old King Baldwin (sicke both in body and minde) was almost no hope: in the young King (yet vnto so for great a burthen) much lesse: and the dissention betwixt the two Counties Guy and

G

Ruyman

Raymond with their favorites, was like enough to bring great harme vnto the State. Besides that, the County of Tripolis fearing the power of *Guy* his enemy, was thought to haue secret intelligence with *Saladin* the Turk: insomuch as the King was almost in purpose to haue proclaimed him traitor. Wherefore the King now rested only vpon the counsel of *William* Archbishop of Tyre, and the Masters of the Knights of the sacred war: by whose aduice hee sent *Heracles* Patriark of Ierusalem, *Roger Molins* Master of the Knights of *S. Johns*, and *Arnold* master of the Knights Templers vnto *Lucius* the third then Pope, vnto *Fredericke* the Emperour, *Philip* the French King, and *Henry* the second, King of England, to declare vnto them the dangerous estate of that Christian kingdome, and to craue their aid against the Infidels. These Embassadors comming vnto the Councell then holden at Verona, with great grauitie and diligence, in the presence of the Pope and of the Emperour, declared the hard estate of the Christians of the East, with their humble petition vnto them for aid; in such sort that they moued them with all the Princes there present, to compassion. From thence they were by the Pope directed vnto *Philip* the French King, with whom hauing dispatched their affaires, they from him passed ouer into England, and afterward into Germany: and had at length brought their negotiation to so good passe, that in euery place great preparation was made for a great expedition to be made against the Turkes, for reliefe of the Christians in the East. With which good newes the Embassadors returning to Ierusalem, filled the sicke King with hope of great matters. But greater quarrels shortly after arising betwixt the Pope and the Emperour, and sharp war likewise betwixt the French King and the King of England, and the other Christian Princes also being at no better quiet; the notable expedition that had with the expectation thereof so filled the whole world, was again laid aside and quite dashed. Whereof *K. Baldwin* vnderstanding, both by messengers and letters from his friends, oppressed with griefe and heauiness more than with the force of his disease (a man for his prowesse and painfulness not inferior to any his predecessors) died without issue the 16 day of May, Anno 1185, being but 25 years old, whereof he had reigned twelue. His body was afterward with the general mourning of his subjects, solemnly buried in the Temple neer vnto mount Calvary, together with his predecessors the Kings of Ierusalem.

King *Baldwin* thus buried, *Baldwin* the fift of that name, yet but a boy, was crowned King. But then began the sparks which had of long lien raked vp and hidden in the ashes, to breake out into a great fire for *Raymond* County of Tripolis pretended the whole gouernment of the kingdom and the tuition of the king to be due vnto him, by appointment of the late king, and consent of the nobilitie: and did so much, that he had almost obtained it to haue bin confirmed vnto him in open parliament. But *Sybella* a woman of a most haughty spirit (sister to the late King, and mother vnto the yong King yet liuing) prickt forward her husband *Guy*, in no case to giue place vnto his competitor *Raymond*; and so animated him, that by the help of his own favorites, and the countenance of *Boniface* Marquis of Mount Ferrat (who euen then was come with a great power into Syria) he extorted from the Nobilitie whatsoeuer hee desired. But seuen moneths were scarce well passed, but that this yong King *Baldwin* was dead and buried, poisoned (as was reported) by his mother, for the desire she had of the kingdom, her selfe. Whose death she with all secrecie concealed, vntill she had obtained of the Patriark & other princes of the kingdom, that *Guy* her husband might be proclaimed King. So by her means it was so wrought, that vpon one and the selfe same day, the yong King *Baldwin* was buried by his vnckle, and *Guy* the County crowned. This yong King *Baldwin*, by reason of his tender yeres and short reign, is of some not reckoned amongst the Kings of Ierusalem: howbeit, seeing he was by his vnckle and the princes of that time thought worthy of the kingdome, let him also haue his place amongst the rest, as the eighth King of Ierusalem.

When *Guy* was thus possessed of the kingdom, the County of Tripolis seeing himselfe out of all hope of the gouernment, and highly therewith discontented, did what hee might by all means to crosse the doings of the King: whose sicke and aspiring minde *Saladin* prickt dayly more and more forward, promising him his helping hand whensoever he should need; which curtesie the County desirously embraced. For now the fatal period of the Kingdome of Ierusalem, grew fast on, and all things tended to destruction, discord reigning in euery place: which *Saladin* well perceiuing (after he had compacted with the County) by messengers sent of purpose, inuited the Turkes, Saracins, and Egyptians, as men agreeing in the same Religion,

gion, generally to take vp arms in so fit an opportunitie of the discord of the Christians, assuring them of great prey and spoil, besides the honor of the conquest. The city of Ptolemais was the place by him appointed, where all this power should meet: whither such a multitude of the barbarous Mahometans (partly for the hatred of the Christian Religion, partly for the hope of the rich spoile which *Saladin* had promised them) came flocking out of all places, that in short time there was met together about fiftie thousand horsemen, besides an infinite number of foot: and vnto such as could not safely passe by the borders of Ierusalem, to them the false County gaue safe conduct by the countries of Tyberias, Nazareth and Galile.

All the power of the Infidels thus assembled, *Saladin* laid siege vnto the city of Ptolemais; which the Templers and Knights Hospitalers had notably fortified and strongly manned (as before vnto them given by the King of Ierusalem to defend against the Infidels) and therein now were both the Masters of both those honorable Orders, with the whole floure of Knights of their profession. Vnto this City *Saladin* gaue a most terrible assault vpon May day in the morning, Anno 1187, which was by the Christians notably defended, & the enemy with great slaughter still beaten down. In the heat of this assault, the two great Masters falling with certain troupes of their most ready horlmen, assailed the enemies camp, & bearing down al before them, raised there a great tumult; and by and by turning vpon the backs of them that were assaulting the city, made there an exceeding great slaughter. Insomuch that *Saladin* dismayed, first with the confusion in his camp, and now with the sudden danger behinde him, was glad to giue ouer the assault, and to turn his whole forces vpon them, where was fought a most bloody and terrible battell. Amongst others that there fought, the County of Tripolis, now an enemy vnto God and his country, disguised in the habit of a Turk, notably helped the Infidels, and meeting with the Master of the Knights Hospitalers, vnhorrid him; who, surcharged with the weight of his armor, and oppressed with the multitude of his enemies, there died. Neuertheles such was the valor of these worthy men, and new succor still comming out of the city, that *Saladin* hauing in that battell and at the assault lost 15000 of his Turkes, was glad with the rest to betake himselfe to flight. Neither was this so notable a victory gained by the Christians without blood, most part of the worthy Knights Hospitalers being together with their grand Master there slain.

*Saladin* by this cuerthrow perceiuing, that by open force he should not be able to do much against the Christians, thought it good vnto his forces to join also policie. Wherein the false County of Tripolis was the man he thought best to make choice of, as his fittest instrument to work by. Him he compacted withall, to seek for grace at the King of Ierusalem's hand, as of his dread Soueraign, and after so long discord, to sue to be reconciled vnto him, as now weary of the Turkes amity, with whom he should make shew to be vtterly fallen out. At which time also, to giue the matter the better grace, *Saladin* of purpose with a great army came and besieged Tyberias, a city of the Counties jurisdiction: for the reliefe whereof the traitorous County craued aid of the King and the other Princes of the sacred war. Who with an army, though not great, yet very well appointed, came according to his desire, and incamped neer vnto the fountain of Sophor: where they had not long staid, but that they met with the huge army of the Turkes, beeing in number six score thousand horse and eight score thousand foot, with whom they joined a most sharp and terrible battell, which by reason of the extremity of the heate of the weather (it then beeing the twelfth of Iuly) and the approach of the night, was again giuen ouer, both armies as if it had bin by consent retyring. The next day the battell was again begun, wherein the Turkes, by the treason and shameful flight of the false County of Tripolis, gained the victory. In this battell, *Guy* the King himselfe, with *Gerard* master of the Templers, *Boniface* Marquis of Mount Ferrat, and diuers others, men of great rank, were taken prisoners. And to say the truth, In this battell was broken the whole strength of the Christians in the East.

The Christian commonweal by the treason of the false County thus betrayed to the Infidels, *Saladin* without any great resistance, had the cities of Ptolemais, Biblis, and Berithus deliuered vnto him: in all which places hee vsed his victorie with great moderation, not inforcing any Christian (more than the Latines) to depart thence, but suffering them there still to remain as before, yeelding vnto him their obedience, with such tribute as he had imposed vpon them. With like good fortune he within the space of one moneth tooke all the port Townes

*Saladin* upon the discord of the Christians, takes occasion to invade the holy land.

Ptolemais besieged by *Saladin*.

1187

*Guy* the ninth and last King of Ierusalem.

*Guy* King of Jerusalem takes prisoner.

betwixt Sidon and Aſcalon alongſt the ſea coaſt, excepting only the ancient city of Tyre: vnto the city of Aſcalon alſo hee laid ſiege by the ſpace of nine daies : but loth to ſtay the courſe of his victory, by the valor of the defendants reſolved there to ſpend their liues, he departed thence, and marched directly vnto Ieruſalem the chiefe city of that kingdom : and approaching the ſame, gaue ſummons therunto, perſuading the citifens yet whilſt they had time, to yeeld themſelues together with the city vnto his mercy. Which they reſuſing to do, he incloſed the ſame with his army, and by the ſpace of 14 days layd hard ſiege vnto it, leauing nothing vndone or vnattempted, that might ſerue for the gaining thereof. At which time the citifens conſidering the danger they were in, and that the ſtrength of the kingdom, with the flour of their Chivalry were in the late battell loſt, and that they were not now to expect any forſein aid; agreed vpon certain conditions to yeeld vp the city : which were, That ſuch Chriſtians as would, might remain ſtill with their libertie and goods; and that ſuch as would not might in ſafety depart with ſo much of their goods as they could carry vpon their backs. Theſe conditions being by *Saladin* granted, the holy city was vnto him deliuered the ſecond of October, Anno 1187; after it had been by the Chriſtians holden from the time that it was by *Godfrey* of Buillon and other Chriſtians won, about 89 years. *Saladin* entring into the city, prophaneſt firſt the Temple of the Lord, conuerting it vnto the vſe of his Mahometan ſuperſtition : the other churches he vſed as ſtables for his horſes, only the temple of the Sepulchre was by the Chriſtians for a great ſum of mony redeemed, and ſo kept vndefiled. The Latine Chriſtians he thruſt out of the city, yet with leaue to cary with them ſuch things as they were able themſelues to bear: who trauellling with heavy burthens, but much more heavy hearts, ſome to Tripolis, ſome to Tyre, and ſome to Antioch (for only theſe three cities were now left vnto the Chriſtians) were by the falſe Countie of Tripolis by the way lighned of their burthens, to the increaſing of the heauineſſe of their hearts, moſt of them being by him and his followers ſpoiled of that little they had by the mercy of their enemies ſaued in the ruine of their ſtate.

Vnto the other Chriſtians that were naturall Syrians, Greeks, Armenians, Georgians, and ſuch like, *Saladin* appointed certain places of the city for them to dwell in, where ſome of their poſteritie were long time after to be found. All the monuments of the Chriſtians were by the barbarous Mahometans and Turks defaced; onely the ſepulchre of our bleſſed Sauour Chriſt, with the monuments of *Godfrey* of Buillon and his brother *Baldwin*, for the reuerence of the men, were by them ſpared. In theſe ſo great troubles about 20000 of the Chriſtians periſhed. Among the reſt, the Countie of Tripolis was ſhortly after found dead in his bed, and as ſome ſay, circumeiſed; a manifeſt token of his reuolt, not from the King only, but from the Chriſtian ſaith alſo.

Ieruſalem thus won, *Saladin* returned again to the ſiege of Aſcalon, which after hee had by the ſpace of ten daies moſt ſtreitly beſieged, was to him by compoſition deliuered: wherein amongſt other things agreed vpon for the ſafe departure of the Citifens, was comprifed alſo, That he ſhould freely ſet at liberty *Guy* the King, and *Gerard* maſter of the Templers, both before taken priſoners, as is before declared; which he afterward performed.

Thus the victorious Turk ſtil vrging his good fortune, departing thence, attempted to haue taken Tripolis: but hauing made ſome prooſe of his owne forces, and the valour of the defendants, he was glad to giue ouer the ſiege, and to depart as he came. Marching thence with his army, becauſe he would leaue no place vnattempted, he laid ſiege vnto the city of Tyre, where *Conrade* Marquis of Mont-Ferrat was a little before arrived with *Iſaac Angelus* the Greek Emperors fleet, and a ſupply of certain companies of good ſoldiers. Vnto which place were come great numbers of the poor diſtreſſed Chriſtians, fled from Ieruſalem and other places, ſo that the city was full of men.

This city *Saladin* moſt furioſly aſſaulted, but was by the Chriſtians notably repulſed, not without the great loſſe of his beſt ſoldiers. At which time alſo the Admirall of Sicilia diſcomiſed his fleet at ſea, and landing his forces came vnlacked for vpon the back of him. So that hauing his hands full before by them of the town, and charged behind by theſe new come enemies, he was glad to retire in ſuch haſt, as that hee left his Tents, with all that therein was, vnto the ſpoile of the Chriſtians.

Within a few dayes after, *Saladin* hauing againe repaired his army, inuaded the Countrey about

about Antioch, with fire and ſword deſtroying whatſoeuer was ſubje& to his fury, euen to the gates of the city. But knowing that ſo ſtrong a city was not without great charge and a long ſiege to be won, he thought good to make prooſe if it might by policie or corruption be gained. Wherein he ſo cunningly dealt with the Patriark, that he had by his meanes the Caſtle (otherwiſe almoſt impregnable) for gold betrayed to him. By means whereof he in ſhort time became lord & maſter of that famous city (about 90 years before hardly gained by the whole power of the Chriſtians, after eleuen months ſiege) and with it twenty ſiue cities moe, that depended of the fortune thereof, with all the prouinces belonging thereunto, alwaies deemed to haue bin the third part of the kingdom of Ieruſalem.

The loſſe of ſo great a city, together with the ruine of the whole kingdom, had in a ſhort ſpace filled every corner of Chriſtendom with the heauy report thereof. Wherewith the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt (namely *Frederick* the German Emperour, with *Frederick* his ſonne Duke of Suevia, *Philip* the French King, *Henry* the ſecond, King of England, *Otto* duke of Burgondie, *Leopold* Duke of Auſtria, with many other great Princes and Prelats of Germany, Italy, and other places) not a little moued, as alſo with the pittifull complaints of the Embaſſadors at the ſame time ſent from the diſtreſſed Chriſtians, and the effectuell perſuaſions of *Clement* the third, then Pope; promiſed, and all or moſt part indeed made great preparations: which they afterward, though not all at once (as letted by other occaſions) but at diuers times employed, for the moſt part with the danger of their own perſons, againſt the Turkes, for the reliefe of the poor oppreſſed Chriſtians, and recouery of the Holy land: but with what ſucces ſhall hereafter (God willing) be declared.

Of which ſo great preparations made againſt him, *Saladin* not ignorant, ſet at liberty *Guy* King of Ieruſalem, who contrary to his promiſe made at Aſcalon, he had now detained a year in priſon; yet before his enlargement exacting of him an oath, Neuer by force of arms afterwards to ſeek to recouer his kingdom, or to reuenge the wrongs he had ſuſtained, hoping thereby to ſtay the coming of the other Princes in his quarell. Which oath for all that, the Pope diſpenſed withall, as extorted by constraint from him, at ſuch time as *Saladin* had longer detained him in priſon than of right he ſhould.

*Guy* now at liberty, and yet in mind a King, came to Tyre, but could not be there receiued, the Citifens hauing before ſworne their obedience to *Conrade* Marquis of Mont-Ferrat, who had notably defended them againſt the fury of *Saladin*. Wherefore departing thence with ſuch power as he had, and the diſperſed Chriſtians daily repairing vnto him out of all parts of Syria, he came and beſieged Ptolemais: where he had not long lien, but firſt came vnto him the Venerian fleet, with them alſo of Piſa, and after them the Flemings with a fleet of fifty ſaile, who all joined their forces together for the winning of the city. But whileſt the Chriſtians thus lay at the ſiege of Ptolemais, came *Saladin* with a great army for the reliefe of the beſieged; where betwixt him and the Chriſtians was fought a great battell, wherein the Chriſtians at the firſt had the better, but afterward fainting, and ready to fly, had there vndoubtedly receiued a great ouerthrow, had not *Iefferey Luſignan* the Kings brother (left for the garding of the campe) in good time come in with new ſupplies, and not only ſtayd their flight, but alſo repreſſed the further purſuit of the fierce enemy, now almoſt in poſſeſſion of the deſired victory. Neuertheleſſe there were 2000 Chriſtians there ſlain, and amongſt them *Gerard* Maſter of the Templers. *Saladin* by that which was now done, perceiving how hard a matter it would be for him by land to relieue the city, ſent for the fleet which hee had ſtrongly rigged vp at Alexandria, and ſo by force put new ſupplies both of men and victuals into the beſieged city. Wherewith the Turkes encouraged, made often ſallies vpon the Chriſtians, and in deſpight of the Chriſtian religion, whipped the image of Chriſt crucified, which they had for that purpoſe in the ſight of the Chriſtians ſet vp vpon the top of the wall. With the ſaid fleet alſo he ſo ſcoured the ſeas, that no victuals or new ſupplies of men could that way without great danger be brought vnto the campe: wherby ſuch ſcarcitic and want of all things began ſhortly after to ariſe among the Chriſtians, that ſome of them not able longer to endure the famine, fled vnto the Turkes camp, then lying not far off, crying out for bread. Of which diſtreſſe in the campe of the Chriſtians *Saladin* knowing right well, both by ſuch fugitiues as dayly came ouer vnto him, and by his own eſpials, yet made ſhew as if he vnderſtood nothing thereof, but ſuddenly riſing with his army, as doubtfull of his own ſtrength, departed, leauing

The famous city of Antioch betrayed vnto the Turke.

Ieruſalem beſieged.

Ieruſalem taken by Saladin.

The death of Raymond the traitorous Countie of Tripolis.

his camp full of all maner of victuals: whereof the Christians vnderstanding, and supposing him for fear to haue bin gon indeed, in great numbers hasted vnto the forsaken camp as vnto a most desired prey: where whilest they were gorging themselves, *Saladin* suddenly returning, and getting betwixt them and home, made of them a great slaughter. Neuertheles the Christians hauing now lien before the city six months, continued the siege all the Winter, ouercomming with patience the hardest difficulties, in hope of aid from the other Christian princes, whole comming they expected with the first of the next Spring: during which time many an hot skirmish passed betwixt them and the Turks both by sea and land.

1160

*Frederick the Emperour sets forward towards the Holy Land.*

Whilest the Christians thus lay at the siege of *Ptolemais*, *Frederick* the Emperour, with diuers of the great German princes and others, before resolved vpon an expedition for the recovery of the Holy land, and the reliefe of the distressed Christians in Syria: hauing now raised a great army, furnished with all things necessary for so long a journey, set forward from *Ratisbone*, and so comming to *Vienna*, and passing thorow *Hungary*, *Bulgaria*, and *Thracia*, arrived at length at *Constantinople*; where he was by *Isaac Angelus* the Emperour that then reigned, honorably entertained, but indeed more for feare and fashion sake, than for any loue or good wil: for that he, after the suspicious manner of the Greeks, hauing in distrust so great a power of the Latine Emperours, wished rather for his absence than his presence; and therefore ceased not in what he might, to hasten his passage ouer into Asia, pretending for the colour thereof, the necessitie the Christians had of his present aid. So the Emperour with his army passing ouer the streit, and without resistance marching thorow the greatest part of the lesser Asia, entered into *Lycania*, where meeting with a great power of the Turks, who were come from the Sultan of *Iconium* to stay his further passage, he ouerthrew him in a great battell, and so marching directly on to *Iconium*, took it by force, and gaue the spoile thereof vnto his souldiers, in reuenge of the injuries before done vnto his vncle the Emperour *Conrade*, by the Souldan of that city. Departing thence, and marching thorow *Cilicia*, hee in another battell ouerthrew the Turks, that hauing taken the streits of the mountains, had thought to haue stayd his further passage into Syria. After that he took the city *Philomela* (which the Sultan had strongly fortified) and raised it to the ground, putting to the sword all the people therein, for that they contrary to the law of Nations, had slaine such messengers as hee had sent vnto them for the summoning of the city. In like manner he entered into the lesser Armenia, where he tooke the city *Melitene*, and subdued all the country thereabouts: vnto the relief whereof the Turks comming with a most huge army, were by him with an exceeding great slaughter ouerthrown and put to flight. After that, entering into *Comagena*, and meeting with *Saphadin*, *Saladin* his son, with a great Army of the Turks, he ouerthrew him in the plain field, and discomfited his whole army. But whilest he too eagerly pursueth his enemy hee had then in chase, his horse foundring vnder him as he passed the riuer *Saleph*, hee was so ouerthrown, and his foot hanging fast in his stirrop, drawne thorow the deepe riuer, and almost drowned; and at the farther side of the riuer was so plunged by his horse at his landing, that he was taken vp for dead: yet breathing a little, and casting vp his eyes to heauen, with much adoe hee vttered these few words, *Lord rescue my Soule*; and so in the hands of them that tooke him vp, gaue vp the ghost, vnto the great griefe and hinderance of the Christian commonweal. For *Saladin* hearing of his approach, was so afraid of him, as that he began to doubt, not how to keepe that hee had before got in Syria, but how to defend himselfe in Egypt. Thus miserably perished this worthy Emperour the tenth of Iune, in the yeare of Grace 1190, being then of the age of seuentie yeares, whereof hee had with much trouble reigned eight and thirty. His dead body was carried along with the army, and afterward with all funeral pomp buried in the cathedral church at Tyre.

*Frederick the Emperours son chosen General of the Christian Army.*

*Frederick* the Emperour thus dead, *Frederick* his son Duke of *Suevia*, was by the general consent of the Princes in the army chosen General in his stead: vpon whom, with the rest of the army, yet mourning for the death of the Emperour, the Turks gaue a sudden and fierce charge, in hope so to haue ouerthrown them; but finding greater resistance than they had before supposed, and hauing lost some of their men, they with like speed that they came, retyred againe. Now began famine (one of the ordinarie attendants of great Armies) to encrease in the Campe: for why, the Turks for that purpose had before destroyed or carried away all that was in the country, leauing nothing for the Christians more than the bare ground. Wherefore

*Frederick*

*Frederick* turning a little out of the way, came to *Antioch*, which was easily deliuered to him, and his hungry souldiers well refreshed by the citicens, being as yet for the most part Christians. But he had not there stayd past fifteen dayes for the refreshing of his army, but that the plague (the hand-maid of Famine, and another scourge of the greatest multitudes) began to rage among his souldiers in such sort, that he was glad with his army to forsake the city, & to get him abroad again into the open field: where forthwith newes was brought vnto him, that *Dodequin* General of such forces as *Saladin* had sent for out of Egypt (which were not small) was by great journies comming towards him. Against whom he in good order set forward, with his fathers Corse still carried in the midst of his army. These two armies meeting together, and both willing to fight, joined a great and doubtfull battell, fortune now inclining to the one side, and by and by to the other; the Christians exceeding their enemies in valor, and they them again in number. At length the Christians in the vanguard began to retyre, & they that seconded them were also hardly charged: when *Frederick* inndfull of his fathers valour, with a troupe of valiant horsemen brake into the enemies battell with such force, that the Turks were glad to giue ground: after whom *Leopold* Duke of Austria comming presently on with his footmen, brought such a feare vpon the whole army of the Turks, that they betook themselves to speedy flight. In this battell were 4000 of the enemies slain, with small losse of the Christians; and about 1000 more taken prisoners, with 15 of their ensignes. After which victorie, *Frederick* marching further into *Coelo-Syria*, pacified *Laodicea* then in mutinie, and like to haue bin deliuered to the Turks. He also with a little labor took *Berythus*, with diuers other cities of Syria, which before belonging vnto the Kings of *Ierusalem*, were now revolted vnto the Turks. So afterward comming to Tyre, he there solemnly buried his father, (dead as is before said) and from thence certified *Gay* the King (still lying with the other Christian Princes at the siege of *Ptolemais*) of his comming: who forthwith sent the Marquis of *Mont-Ferrat* with part of the fleet, to transport him with his people that were left, by sea; for that by land he could not so safely haue come, being now but weake, for meeting with *Saladin*, who with a great army lay still houering about his besieged city, intentiue to all opportunitie. So was Duke *Frederick* with his souldiers yet left, safely by sea conducted from Tyre to the camp at *Ptolemais*, and there joyfully receiued by the King and the other Princes, with the general applause of the whole camp.

*A great battell betweene the Turkes and the Christians.*

In the mean time the Turks fallying out of *Ptolemais*, had done great harme amongst the Christians, by whom they were not without some losse againe repulsed. But after the comming of duke *Frederick*, it was thought good by the general consent of all the great commanders in the army, that the city should be assaulted round, and to that purpose was euery mans regiment appointed what place to assail. The King himselfe with the Templers and the Italians from *Pisa*, vndertook that part of the city which was toward the sea: vnto duke *Frederick* and his Germans was allotted all betwixt the bridge ouer the riuer *Bele*, and the Bishops palace: the Venetians, Genoa's, and Knights Hospitallers were appointed vnto the rest of the wall as far as the court of *Raymond*: the Friselanders, Flemings and Hollanders tooke vp all the rest of the wall vnto the sea side. Thus was the City at once on euery side assailed by the Christians, with such fury, as if they had thereon purposed to ingage their whole forces, seeking by a thousand wounds, and a thousand kinds of death, to haue by their scaling ladders gained the top of the walls; the Turks with no lesse courage still beating them down again. But in the heate of this so dreadfull and desperat assault, *Saladin* still houering aloof, came now vpon the sudden and assailed the camp of the Christians, filling the same with fear and tumult: whose charge they that were left for the defence of the same, at the first notably receiued; but finding themselves too weak, began to giue ground: by which means the Turks took certain tents with some ensignes, and fired some other of the pauilions of the Christians, hauing slain about an hundred of the defendants.

*Ptolemais assaulted by the Christians.*

The Christians in the mean time little preuailing in the assault, and troubled with the danger of their camp, retyred to the reliefe thereof. But the Turk perceiuing himselfe too weake for the whole power of the Christians, retyred also; yet not with such hast but that hee had there almost lost himselfe. This notable assault was giuen the fourteenth of October: after which many light skirmishes passed betwixt the Christians and the Turks, but more for booty than for any other great purpose.

In

In the meane time diuers great Princes of the West that had vowed themselves to this sacred war, came thither, whose number rather increased the want of victuals, than furthered the service. At which time also, the discord betwixt *Guy* the King (whose wife and children were now dead) and *Conrade* Marquis of Mont-Ferrat (who had married *Isabel* the late queens sister, by whom he pretended a claim unto the title of the imaginary kingdom) did much harm unto the proceedings of the Christians: so pleasing a thing these haury stiles be unto the lofty minds of the ambitious. Shortly after, the Christians yet lying at the siege, the contagion and famine still increasing, it fortuned that duke *Frederick* fell sick of the plague, whereof he died, and with the great mourning of the whole army was afterward solemnly buried fast by his father, in the Cathedral Church at Tyre; after whose death the Christians attempted no great matter against the city, although they were by the Turks often prouoked, but lay still strongly intrenched, expecting some greater aid from the Princes of the West.

Now all the hope of the Christians affairs in Syria and in the land of Palestine, rested vpon the coming of the two mighty Princes, *Philip* the second of that name, King of France, and *Richard* the first, King of England: who hauing agreed betwixt themselves, with their combined forces to relieue the distressed Christians of the East, and again (if it were possible) to repair the broken state of the kingdom of Ierusalem, were now met together at Marseilles in Prouence. From whence the French King first departing with his fleet for Sicilia, and with a prosperous gale for certain daies holding on his course, and now come nigh vnto the Island, was by force of a furious tempest suddenly arising, so tossed and tumbled in the deep, that many of his ships there perished, eaten vp of the sea; others by force of weather driuen vpon the sands and rocks, were broken all to pieces; and the rest, some with their masts broken, some with their tackling and sails rent, & all in generall fore weather-beaten, with much ado arrived at Messina the desired Port. At which place King *Richard* also (but with better fortune) arrived with his fleet also. Both the Kings now met together, resolved there to winter, the French King enforced by necessitie so to do, for the repairing of the late losses he had receiued, as well in his people and prouision, as in his shipping; all which was to be relieued by new supplies out of France: and the King of England staying to take order for the dowry of his sister *Joan* (widow of *William* the late King of Sicilia) with *Tancred* the base son of *Roger*, who had now aspired vnto the kingdom of that Island. About which matter great stirs arose betwixt King *Richard* the Queens brother, and *Tancred* the new king; insomuch that it was like to haue broken out into open war, had it not to the good contentment of King *Richard* bin otherwise taken vp, and so the controuersie ended. But whilst these two great Kings thus wintred in this fruitfull Island, and oftentimes as good friends met together, somtime for their disport, and somtime to confer of their so weighty affaires, (the way as was thought to haue appeased all former displeasure, and to haue encreased loue) it fell out cleane contrary, jealousy and distrust not only reuiving the old, but also still raising new quarrels betwixt them, to the great hindrance of the Common good by them intended. Which may serue for a warning to all great Princes, willing to continue in amitie, and to hold a good opinion one of another, neuer to see one the other, or comming so to an interview, nor to conuerse or stay long together: which as it is not often done without the danger of their persons, so can it not possibly be long continued, but that it will ingender in themselves, as well as in their followers, jealousy, envy, hatred and distrust, as we haue before said, and hereafter in the course of this historie may appeare.

There was an old quarrell betwixt these two great Kings, *Richard* and *Philip*, about *Adela* the French Kings sister, whom *Richard* hauing before (his father yet liuing) affianced, had now rejected, as her whom his aged father *Henry* the second had too familiarly vsed: and in stead of her, to the great disgrace of the French, espoused the Lady *Berengaria*, daughter to the King of Navar. Which indignitie with diuers others then arising betwixt the French and English, as then with great heart-burning smouldred vp in respect of the common cause then in hand, afterwards brake out again to the shamefull ouerthrow of this most honorable expedition, and lamentable disturbance of both realms.

Winter past, and the Spring now come, the French King not altogether the best pleased, first loosed from Messina, and with his fleet in safety arrived at Ptolemais, where hee was by the Christians, now the third year lying at the siege, so joyfully receiued, as if he had been

to them sent with succors from heauen. After whom shortly after followed also king *Richard*, of whose fleet (by force of weather fore beaten and disperfed) two ships by the rage of the tempest driuen aground vpon the coast of Cyprus, were by the Island people spoiled, and the men that in them had hardly escaped the danger of the sea, with most barbarous inhumanity, some slain, and some taken prisoners: the rest of the fleet arriving there also, were with like inuilitie forbidden to land; the Cypriots ready at hand in all places to keep them off. With which so great an indignitie the King justly moued, and by force landing his people, with incredible celeritie and successe ouer-ran the whole Island, neuer ceasing vntill hee had made a full conquest thereof, and taken *Isaac Comnenus* (commonly called the king of that Island, and of some, for what reason I know not, Emperor of the Griffons) prisoner: yet was hee indeed neither King nor Emperor, but being a man of great nobilitie and power, and of the honorable stock of the *Comneni*, had in the troublefom reign of *Andronicus Comnenus* the Emperor his cousin, laid hold vpon that fruitfull Island, and there tyrannised as a reputed King, vntill that now he was by King *Richard* taken prisoner, and for his vnfaithfull dealing sent fast bound in chains of siluer into Syria. The King thus possessed of the whole Island, there at Limozin married the Lady *Berengaria* the King of Navars daughter, brought thither by *Joan* late queen of Sicilia, the Kings sister. And so disposing of all things as he thought best, for the safe keeping of the Island, set forward again with his fleet towards Syria: where by the way hee light vpon a great ship of the Sultans, laded with victuals and warlike prouisions for the relieue of the besieged; all which became a prey vnto him. So holding on his course, he at length arrived at Ptolemais, where he was by the French King and the rest of the Christians there lying, most honorably receiued.

Now had the city of Ptolemais bin three yeares besieged by the Christians, and notably defended by the Turks: during which time, many an hot assault and bloody skirmish had passed betwixt them. And now the eies of all men were fixed vpon the two Kings of England and France, vnto whom all the rest offered their obedience and seruice. The Christian campe was great, composed especially of Englishmen, Frenchmen, Italians, and Almanes; nor them that were left of the Emperor *Fredericks* army, (for they were for the most part dead, or els returned home again into their countries) but of such, as moued with the zeal they bare to this religious war, came daily in great numbers thither, as did also many others of diuers nations, desirous in some measure to be partakers of so honorable a war.

These religious and worthy Christians thus lying at the siege, had with much painfull labor vndermined one of the greatest Towers of the city, called the accursed Tower, with some part of the wall also; by means whereof they were in hope to find a way into the city. Wherefore all things being now in readinesse for the firing of the mine, it was thought good by generall consent, that an assault should also at the same time be giuen vnto the city: and there vpon euery regiment was by lot appointed which part of the wal to assail, which they all with great courage vndertook. In the heat of which assault, the aforesaid vndermined tower, with some part of the wall (the timber whereon it staid, now burnt) fell down with a great fall, laying open a fair breach for the Christians to enter: wherewith the Turkes dismayed, forthwith craued to come to parley, which granted, they for safeguard of their liues yeelded forthwith to giue vp the city, and to restore to the Christians the holy Crosse, with two thousand captiues and 200000 horsemen, such as they should require of all them that were in the power of *Saladin*; besides 200000 Constantinopolitan ducats to be by him giuen to the two Kings, for the cost by them bestowed in the siege. For payment whereof the Turkes in the city were to remaine as hostages vnder the safe keeping of the Christians: so that if all the couenants aforesaid were not within forty days performed by *Saladin*, they should all for their liues be at the kings merce. So was this strong city, after it had bin almost three yeares besieged, deliuered vp vnto the Christians the 12 of Iuly, Anno 1191. The first that entred were the Germanes of Austria, who as if they had bin the only men by whose valor the city was won, at their first entry presumptuously aduanced their ensignes vpon the top of the wals, to the great offence of all the rest of the Christian Princes, but especially of King *Richard*, who (not vnworthily for his princely courage, commonly called *Richard Cœur de Lyon*) not brooking so proud an indignitie, caused the ensignes of *Leopold* their Duke to be puld down and soiled vnder foot; which shortly after gaue him occasion of repentance, as shall hereafter be seen.

The

K. Richard re-  
neweth the in-  
jury done to his  
people by the  
Cypriots.

K. Richard ar-  
rives at Ptole-  
mais.

At old graue  
Lemini Philip  
the French king  
and Richard  
K. of England.

1191

The two Kings possessed of the city, diuided the same, with all the people and spoil thereof betwixt them, without regard of the rest of the other noble Christians that had sustained the whole trauel of that long siege: for which cause most of them, seeing themselves so deluded, withdrew themselves from them, & with one consent sent them word, that they would forsake them, except they were made partakers of the gains, as they had bin of the pains. Which the two Kings to content them promised they should; howbeit they so long delayed their promises, that many worthy men, constrained by poverty, departed discontented from them, into their own countries.

But long it was not that this one city so lately gained could contain these two kings, whom two large kingdoms could not retain in peace: for albeit they were in body together present, and in one, and that a most honourable action, combined, yet were they in hearts far asunder, and their secret designs much different; envy and distrust still reuiuing vnkindnes past, and ministering new matter of greater discontentments. King *Richard* according to his noble nature, was of nothing more desirous, than to haue had the war continued vntill they had made a full conquest of Syria and the land of Palestine; and for that cause requested the French king to bind himselfe together with him by solemne oath, there to stay yet three years, for regaining those countries. But he in mind long before estranged from King *Richard*, and in his deep conceit plotting matters neerer home better fitting his purpose, would by no means be persuaded to do so, but still found one occasion or other for to colour his departure. And shortly after (as the French Chronicles report) falling extremely sicke, he requested King *Richard* and the other Christian princes to come vnto him: vnto whom being come, hee in few words declared his purpose of return, as followeth:

*I cannot (my Lords) longer endure the inclemencie and intemperature of the aire in this extreme hot season. If my death might profit the Christian Religion, or any one of you, or the Christian Commonwealth, there should be no distemperature whatsoever, that could separate me from you, or could draw mee from hence. But more may the life of one absent, serue and profit you, than the death of him present. I must of necessity depart; yet at my departure I will leave you five hundred men at armes, and ten thousand footmen, the flower and choice of all the Forces of France, vnder the conduct of my Cousin Odo duke of Burgundie, vnto whom I will giue pay and entertainment, with a continuall supply of all things for them necessary.*

This excuse of the French Kings, King *Richard* could not take in good part: but said, That it was apparant to all men, that he abandoned the wars in Syria, to return into France, for no other end or purpose but the more easily to invade the provinces of Guyen and Normandy, now disurnished of their garisons, and so subject to his malice. Which point hee so vrged, that the French King could haue no leaue with his honor to depart, vntill such time as he had by solemne oath bound himselfe vnto King *Richard*, nor to attempt any thing either by force or fraud, against him or any thing of his, vntill fifty daies were expired after King *Richard* his return home: which how well it was by the French King obserued, I leaue to the report of the histories of that time. And so the French King, not to be intreated any longer to stay, leaving behind him the aforesaid number of men he had promised, imbarcking the rest of his army, and accompanied with three tall ships of the Genoa's his friends, and *Ruffin Volta* their Admiral, departed from Ptolemais to Tyre, the first of August, and two daies after loosing thence, sailed alongst the sea coast of Asia, and cutting through the Mediterranean, arrived at length in the mouth of the riuer of Tyber, and from thence went to Rome; where after hee had visited Pope *Celestine*, and the famous places of that most renowned city, hee returned again vnto his fleet, and so by sea arrived safely in France; hauing in that great expedition, so honorably by him vnderaken, performed nothing answerable to that the world looked for.

After the French King, followed *Leopold* Duke of Austria, with his Germans: and not long after him the Venetians also, with them of Pisa and Genoa. Of whose departure *Saladin* vnderstanding, & that the Christian forces were thereby much impaired, refused either to pay the money, or to restore the prisoners, as was promised at the giuing vp of Ptolemais; threatening moreover to chop off the heads of all such Christian captiues as he had in his power, if the King should shew extremity to the pledges of the city. Neuertheles shortly after he sent his Embassa-

ambassadors with great presents vnto the King, requesting a longer time for the sparing of his pledges: which his request, together with his gifts, the King refused to grant or accept. Whereupon *Saladin* forthwith caused such Christian captiues as were in his power, to be beheaded: which albeit King *Richard* vnderstood, yet would he not preuent the time before agreed upon for the execution of his prisoners, being the twentieth day of August; vpon which he caused the Turks prisoners (to the number of 2500 (or as the Germanes and French write, to the number of 7000) in the sight of *Saladin*'s army to be executed.

The losse of the strong town of Ptolemais much impaired the reputation of *Saladin*, even among his own people: as it commonly falls out, that the euill successe of a great Commander in his affaires, altereth the good will, affection, and opinion, especially of the vulgar sort, which iudge of all things by the event. And albeit that his losses were great, and such as much grieved him; yet he thought it best, as the case then stood, to make them greater, and with his own hands (as it were) to ruinate and ouerthrow such towns and cities as as he saw he could not keep, rather than to suffer them whole and vndamaged to fall into the enemies hand. So careful headlong with dispaire, he caused all the towns he had along the sea coast in Syria and Palestine, to be sacked and ruinated, and their walls ouerthrown; especially such as were of most importance, and like to stand the Christians in stead, namely Porphiria, Cæsarea, Ioppa, Scalon, Gaza, and Elam, with diuers other castles and citadels in the countries thereabouts; most part whereof were again by King *Richard* and the Templers fortified and repeopled, although *Saladin* in the mean time did what he might to haue letted the same.

Nothing more hindered the good proceeding of the Christian Princes in this and other their most honorable expeditions against the Infidels, than the discord amongst themselves, he still enuying at anothers honour, and euery one jealous of his owne. Great strife and contention had there been betwixt *Guy* the late King of Ierusalem, and *Conrade* Marquis of Mont-Ferrat, about the title of that lost kingdom; whereby the whole power of the Christians in Syria was diuided into two factions. *Richard* King of England, *Baldwin* Earle of Flanders, *Henry* Earle of Champaign, the Knights Hospitallers of *S. Iohn*, the Venetians, and others, taking part with *Guy*; and *Philip* the French King, *Odo* Duke of Burgundie, *Rodolph* Earle of Claremont, the Templers, the Genoa's, the Landtgraue of Thurin, *Leopold* Duke of Austria, and *Robert* County of Nassau, taking part with *Conrade* the Marquis. But *Conrade* shortly after the taking of Ptolemais being slain by two of the desperat Assassines, or (as some others say) by two desperat russians, (suborned therunto by the Prince of Tyrone, in reuenge of the despight done vnto him by the said Marquis, by taking from him *Isabel* his espoused wife) as he was walking in his city of Tyre, and doubting no such treason: King *Richard* seeing a fit occasion offered for the vtter extinguishing of that claime, and how to intitle himselfe vnto that kingdom; persuaded the aforesaid *Isabel* (the widow of the late Marquis, and whose right he had laid claim vnto the Kingdom) to relinquish that so troublesome a title, and to take to her husband *Henry* Earle of Champaign his nephew, vnto whom he gaue the city of Tyre: *Guy* the King exclaiming to the contrary, as of a wrong done vnto himself. Shortly after he began also to temper with *Guy*, persuading him to resigne vnto him that little right and interest he had in the kingdom of Ierusalem, and in lieu thereof to receiue at his hands the kingdom of Cyprus: which his offer the poore King was glad to accept. By which exchange, *Guy* became King of Cyprus, and *Richard* King of Ierusalem; which honorable title afterwards (as some report) vsed in his stile, as did some others his successors, the Kings of England after him. So *Guy* with all his wealth passing ouer into Cyprus, took possession of the kingdom, where he liued not long. Neuerthelesse that pleasant kingdom continued in the family of the Lusignans by the space of about 283 years after: vntill at length that famill failing in the poorthumous sonne of *James* the bastard, last King of that Island, it fell into the hands of the Venetians; by whom it was holden as a part of their seigniorie almost an hundred yeares, vntill it was in our fresh remembrance again from them taken by *Selymus* the second, great Emperor of the Turks, in the year 1571, as in the proces of this historie shall in the place (God willing) be declared.

Now was King *Richard*, for the increase of his honor, more desirous than before of the city

*King Richard*  
marched with  
his army to-  
wards Ierusalem.  
of them.

of Ierusalem, as the most pretious and honorable prise of all that religious war. And thereupon with all the power of the Christians then at his command, set forward from Ptolemais, and was come on his way as far as Arsua, a towne situated betwixt Cæsarea and Ioppa. In the vauward was King *Richard* himselfe with the Englishmen: after whom followed *Odo* Duke of Burgondie, with his French: and in the rereward *Jaques de Auenes*, with the Flemings, Brabanders, and Vallons, who after the death of their Countie *Philip* at the siege of Ptolomais, had put themselves vnder his regiment. *Saladin* with a great army stil at hand, and as it were tending vpon them, first with certain ambuscado's charged the rereward, and so afterwards came on with his whole power: vpon whom *Jaques* turning himselfe, with his Flemings received the charge with great assurance, and so long themselves endured the same, vntill the French came in to their succours, and after them the English also. There was fought a notable battell, and great valour shewed both on the one side and on the other, but especially by them of the Turks part, who knew well the purpose of the Christians for the besieging of Ierusalem, and that thereon depended their onely hope, and that hee that could hold the same might almost assure himselfe to carry away the glory of that war. The French and English in that battell honorably stroue who might shew the greatest valour: neither would the Low-Country men vnder *Jaques* their Generall seem to be any thing behind them. This sharpe conflict began about noone, and continued vntill the going down of the Sunne. King *Richard* (as some write) was there wounded with an arrow: and *Jaques* valiantly there fighting, was slaine, hauing sold his life deare, to the great admiration of the Infidels, and dying left the victory vnto the Christians. It is reported, That in this battell was slaine more Turkes and Sarafins, than in any one battell within the memory of man before. Of the Christians were not lost any great number, either any man of name, more than the aforesaid *Jaques* the valiant General of the Flemings.

The next day the Christians remoued to Bethlem, a town about the mid way betwixt Ioppa and Ierusalem. But Winter now comming fast on, and want of victuals like enough to increase, the King changing his mind for the siege, returned with the greatest part of the army to Aicalon, which hee that Winter newly fortified, the walls thereof beeing before by *Saladin* in his dispaire demolished. The Duke of Burgondy with his French men all that while quietly wintering at Tyre. In the mean time the power of the Christians was greatly diminished, some oneway departing from the camp, and some another. The Italians for the most part, with them of Pisa (who in these three yeares was had striuen with the Venetians for the honor of their seruice) were now returned home, as were the Venetians themselves also. Next the selfe, Winter now past, and the Spring time come, King *Richard* tooke the field again, charged with great store of victuals and munition, sent by *Saladin* out of Egypt to Ierusalem, all which he took: but purposing to haue gon on to the siege of Ierusalem, he was by the backwardnesse of the French glad to change his purpose, and to returne to Ptolomais. For the French men, perswaded by the Duke their Generall (who well knew the French Kings mind) that if any thing worth remembrance were done, it was to be done by them, and that the glory thereof should wholly redound vnto the King of England, as there in person present, and to his English men; shewed themselves so vnwilling to the siege, as therein was nothing done, to the great griefe of that worthy Prince. At which time also newes was brought vnto King *Richard*, how that *Philip* the French King (forgetfull of his solemne promise made before his departure out of Syria) had now inuaded the Countrey of Normandie, and excited *Earle Iohn* the Kings brother (a man of an haughty and aspiring nature) to take vpon him the kingdom of England in his absence; as had before in like case *William* the younger brother serued Duke *Robert* his eldest brother, then absent at his father the Conquerors death, in the first sacred expedition vnder *Godfrey* of Buillon. Wherefore King *Richard* besides the present difficulties, fearing lest while he was so far off in wars for defence of the Christian commonweal, he might lose his kingdom at home; thought it best to grow to some good end with *Saladin*, and so to make his return. But the politike and wary Sultan, not ignorant of the discord of the Christians, and that their forces daily decayed in Syria: either of the troubled estate of the Kings affairs at home in his own kingdom, or of his desire to returne, would not hearken to any other conditions of peace, but such as might both for the present weaken the forces of

Christians in Syria, and discourage others that had a mind to come thither afterward, when they should see that for nought they should trauell to conquer that, which in the end by must of necessity restore againe. The conditions he offered, were, That the Christians should forthwith restore whatsoeuer they had woon in those three yeares wars, Ptolemais only excepted; and from thenceforth for the space of five yeares, the Turkes should not in any thing molest the Christians, but to suffer them in peace to liue by them: which hard conditions (for no better could be had) the King was glad to accept, and so concluded a peace. Whereby labor and trauell of the two great Kings, and so many nations with them, were all become vaine and vaine; hauing now to no purpose lost their men, their mony, their time, their hope, their blood, their long trauell, to gaine that they must now in one houre forgo; nothing more vnto the poore Christians in Syria, than the cities of Antioch, Tyre, and Ptolemais.

This done, King *Richard* leauing the affaires of Asia vnto the charge of *Henry* Countie of Champagne his nephew, shipping the greatest part of his people, with his wife *Berengaria*, first Sicily, and from thence for England, (where they in safety at length arriued) followed shortly after with some few himselfe; whereby the way, by extremitie of weather he was in the Adriatique driuen to land vpon the coast of Histria: where traueilling with a small retinue newwards in the habit of a Templar, he was discovered and taken prisoner by *Leopold* duke of Austria, whom he had before disgraced at the winning of Ptolemais, as is before declared: so now glad to haue him in his power, made prise of him, and sold him to *Henry* the Emperour, for forty thousand pounds; by whom he was kept prisoner by the space of a yere and three moneths, and then ransomed for the summe of an hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

About this time died the great Sultan *Saladin*, the greatest terrour of the Christians: who full of mans fragility, and the vanity of worldly honours, commanded at the time of his death no solemnity to be vsed at his buriall, but only his shirt in manner of an ensigne, made vnto the point of a lance, to be carried before his dead body as an ensigne, a plaine Priest going before, and crying aloud vnto the people in this sort: *Saladin* Conqueror of the East, of all greatnesse and riches he had in his life, carrieth not with him after his death any thing more than his shirt. A fight worthy so great a King, which wanted nothing to his eternall commendation, more than the true knowledge of his saluation in Iesus Christ. He reigned about fixteene yeares with great honour, and dying left nine sonnes, which were all murdered by *Saphradin* their vnkle, excepting one called also *Saphradin* Sultan of Aleppo; who by the fauor and support of his fathers good friends, saued himselfe from the treacherous praictises of his vnkle. Of his *Saphradin* the vnkle, descended *Meladin* Sultan of Egypt, and *Coradin* Sultan of Damascus and Ierusalem: *Saladin* his great Kingdome being by them now againe rent in peeces.

The death of *Saladin* in short time bruited abroad, with the discord amongst the Turkes and Sarafins about his dominions, put *Celestinus* (then Pope) in good hope, that the city of Ierusalem might in that change and hurly be easily againe recouered, and that kingdome established. But when he had in vaine dealt to that purpose with the Kings of France and England, then altogether busied in their wars the one against the other) he perswaded *Henry* the sixth, then Emperour, to take the matter in hand: who (for that he well could not, or else would not himselfe in person vndertake that long expedition) sent *Henry* Duke of Saxonie his Lieutenant, with a great army into Asia: vnto whom were joyned two Legats, *Conradus* Archbishop of Mogunsa another of the Electors, and *Conradus* the Bishop of Herbilpolis. At which time so many other great Princes tooke vpon them that holy war; namely, *Herman* Landgraue of Turin, *Henry* Palatine of Rhine, *Henry* Duke of Brabant, *Conradus* Marquess of Moravia, *Fredricke* Duke of Austria, and *Albertus* Hapsburgensis, with some others: vnto whom also joyned themselves the Bishops of Rheme, Halberstat, and Ratisbone, with diuers other great Prelats. Who hauing passed thorow Hungary and Thracia, and by the Greeke Emperour *Alexius* Angellus relieved with all things necessary, were by the Greeke ships transported vnto Antioch, and so by land came to Tyre, and from thence to Ptolemais, with purpose to haue gone to relieue the Germans besieged in Ioppe; who before their comming were all by treason slaine, and the city rased: wherefore being come to the ruines thereof, they departed thence to Sion, which they found also abandoned by the Turkes. After that, they tooke Berithus, which city they fortified, and so went to besiege Torone; which city when they had brought to the extremity, as that it must needs (as it was thought) either yeeld or be taken, the Turkes came

King Richard returning out of the Holy-land taken prisoner by Leopold duke of Austria.

A notable battell fought betwixt King Richard and Saladin.

King Richard purposing to besiege Ierusalem, was by the backwardnesse of the French forced to retire.

King Richard offered on hard conditions to conclude peace with Saladin.

on so fast to the reliefe thereof, that the Christians were glad to raise their siege and to be gone: which they in garrison at Berithus perceiuing, and seeing the enemy to approach them, they abandoned the city, and joyning themselves vnto the rest of the army, marched all together to Ioppe, a little before ruined, which they now againe fortified. But the enemy coming to Berithus, and finding it forsaken, rased it downe to the ground, and so in few moneths space was Berithus both repaired and rased, in the yere 1197.

1197

The Turks ouer-  
throwne by the  
Christians.

But whilst the Christians were repairing the city of Ioppe, the Turkes proud of that they had done at Berithus, came now to disturbe also the fortifying of that place. Of whose coming the Christians vnderstanding, removed by night about fise miles from the city, of purpose to draw the Turks vnto a conuenient place for battell. The Turks thinking them to haue been fled for feare, sent part of their army to assaile the city, and with the other followed after them disorderly, as if it had bin after men they had had in chase. Vpon whom the Christians turning, had with them at the first a sharpe encounter, but afterwards put them to flight: in which confli& certain thousands of the Turks fell, of whom the Christians taking the spoile, and hauing put the rest to flight, returned againe vnto the fortifying of the city. But the joy of this victory was by the sudden death of two of the greatest Princes in the army greatly diminished: for the Duke of Saxonie hauing in the battell taken great paines in performing the parts both of a worthy Generall and valiant souldier, had ouer-heated himselfe, and there-upon without regard of his health taken cold, died of a feuer the fourth day after. The Duke of Austria mortally wounded in the battell, died also the night following.

Ioppe repaired  
by the Christians.

About this time or not long after, died *Celestinus* the Pope, author of this expedition, and *Henry* also the German Emperour: after whose death great troubles began to arise in Germany about the chusing of a new Emperour. Whereof the Bishop of Mogunsia (then chiefe Commander of the Army of the Christians in Syria) one of the Electors, and the other German Princes with him, hauing intelligence, could not by any intreaty of the poore Christians (in whose quarrell they were come) be perswaded longer to stay, but that needs home they would, and indeed home they went the same way that they came. After whose departure the Turkes tooke Ioppe, hauing one of the ports betraied vnto them by one of the City, at such time as the Germans there in garrison, after the manner of their country, vpon *S. Martin* day were carelesly making merry together in their pots: vpon whom so surcharged with wine, the Turks entring by the port giuen vnto them, put them all with the rest of the Christians to the sword, and so afterward rased the city downe to the ground. Of which victory they became so proud, that they had thought without stop to haue driuen the Christians quite out of Syria: but by the coming of *Simon* Countie of Mont-Fort (a most valiant and expert captain, sent thither by *Philip* the French King, with a regiment of tall soldiers, at the instance of *Innocentius* 3, that succeeded *Celestinus* in the Papacie) and by ciuill discord then reigning amongst the Turks themselves for soueraigntie, their fury was repressed, and a peace betwixt them and the Christians concluded for the space of ten yeres; during which time the Turks promised not to molest the Christians in Tyre or Ptolemais: which hapned in the yere 1199, or as some others say, 1198. After which peace so concluded, the worthy Countie returned againe with his souldiers into France: with whom we also will repaire vnto the lesser Asia.

1199

(whither the course both of the time and of the History now calleth vs) to see the other great affaires of the Turks in those Easterne countries, leauing for a season these poore remainders of so many Christians in Tyre and Ptolemais now for a while in peace, but to be ere long deuoured of the Infidels their enemies, as in the proces of this History shall in due time and place appeare.

The Germans  
returne home.

## The ruine of the Turks first Empire in PERSIA: with the successe of their second Kingdome in the lesser Asia, vnder the Aladin Kings.



NO Kingdome or Empire vpon earth (were it neuer so flourishing or great) was euer yet so assured, but that in the reuolution of time, after the manner of other worldly things, it hath as a sicke body bene subiect vnto many strange innouations and changes, and at length come to nothing: so fared it now with the Turkish Empire, which first planted by *Tangrolipix* in Persia, and the other farre Easterne Countries, increased by *Axan* his sonne, and so by the Turkish Sultans their Successours (although their names and doings, as too farre off, be not vnto vs all knowne) for the space of one hundred and seuentie yeres continued, must now (I say) giue place vnto a greater power, and settle it selfe elsewhere, the ineuitable destiny thereof so requiring. It fortuned, that about this time when in the space of a few yeres such mutations as had not before of long bene seene, changed in diuers great Monarchies and States) that the Tartars, or rather Tatars, inhabiting large, cold, and bare Countries in the North side of Asia (of all others a most barorous, and needy Nation) stirred up by their owne wants, and the persuation of one *Zingis* (or as some call him, *Cangis*) holden amongst them for a great Prophet, and now by them made their Leader, and honoured by the name of *Ylan-Chan*, that is to say, The mighty King, (commonly called the great *Cham*) flocking together in number like the sand of the sea, and conuincing first their poore neighbours, of condition and qualitie like themselves, and easie enough to be entreated with them to seeke their better fortune, like swarmes of Grasshoppers at out to deuoure the world, passed the high Mountaine Caucasus, part of the Mountaine *Arurus*, of all the Mountaines in the world the greatest; which beginning neere vnto the *Aripelago*, and ending vpon the Orientall Ocean, and running thorow many great and famous Kingdomes, diuideth Asia into two parts: ouer which great Mountaine, one of the most assured bounders of nature, that had so many worlds of yeres shut up this rough and sauage people, they now passing without number, and coming downe as it were into another World, all of such Natures pleasant delights as neuer were to them before seene, bare downe all before them as they went, nothing being now able to stand in their way. Old *Zingis* their fortunate Leader dead in this so great an expedition, *Hocata* his sonne, eldest of his twelve brethren, a man of great wisdom and courage, tooke vpon him his fathers place: who sending out of his great Army for the subduing of the Countries Westward, turned himselfe with a world of people toward the East: where hauing subdued the *Bactrians* and *Sogdians*, with others, he entred into India, and subduing that rich country on both sides the river *Indus*, euen to the East Ocean, there in the country of *Cathai* built the famous city of *Cambalu* in circuit eight and twenty miles about; for pleasure and plenty of all things necessary for the life of man, of all the cities of Asia the chiefe: where the great *Cham* of Tartarie still liueth, as in his Imperiall City, commandeth ouer one of the greatest and strongest Empires in the World. In whose Kingdome also, in the Prouince of *Mangy* more towards the East, there hath another most famous City called *Quinlay*, of all the Cities in the world the greatest, in circuit an hundred miles about, as *M. Paulus Venetus* writeth, who himselfe dwelt therein about the yere 1260. It is situate in a lake of fresh water, and hath in it twelue thousand bridges; of which some are of such an heighth, that tall Ships with their sailes may easily passe vnder them. In this populous city the great *Cham* hath for the keeping thereof alwaies thirty thousand men in garrison. The Tartar Kingdome thus planted in *Cambalu*, *Hocata* continuing

Kingdomes after  
the manner  
of other things,  
haue but their  
time to flourish  
in, and so againe  
decay.

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The Turkes driven out of Persia by the Tartars.

ting himselfe with the rich pleasures of India, afterward managed his wars by his lieutenants, being for the most part his brethren, or other his nigh kinsmen, of whom he sent out with his armies some Northward, some Westward, and some toward the South: by whom he subdued the Arachosians, Margians, and diuers other great nations; and entring into Persia, subdued the country, with all Parthia, Assiria, Mesopotamia, and Media. At this time in the city Balch or Belch in the country of Chorasán in the farthest part of Persia, reigned ouer the Turkes one *Cursumes*, of the Greekes called *Corfantes*, who finding himselfe farre too weake to stand before the Tartarians, fled with all his people, leauing vnto them both the city and the country, which hee and the Turkes his predecessors had euer since the time of *Tangrolipix* possessed; which city the Tartars rased, and tooke the Country vnto themselves. In this generall flight of the Turkes, when as euery man was glad to make what shift he might for himselfe, *Cursumes* their Sultan died, the last of the *Seluccian* family that reigned ouer the Turkes in Persia: whose sonne *Vgnan-Chan* taking vpon him the leading of such multitudes of Turkes as followed his father, seised vpon the great city of Babylon, now called Bagadat, nere vnto the ruines of the old Babylon: where hauing put to the sword all the inhabitants thereof, he there and in the country thereabout seated himselfe with the Turkes his followers: but long he had not there rested, but that the Tartars hearing thereof, pursued him, tooke him prisoner, and expulsed thence all his people. There was at the same time also another kingdome of the Turkes at Nachan a city in Persia, giuing name vnto the country wherein it stood, not farre from Chorasán: wherein then reigned one *Solyman*, of the *Oguzian* family, as had diuers other of his progenitors before him; who terrified with this dreadfull storme so suddenly risen out of the North, and warned by the sudden fall of the *Seluccian* Sulcan and his kingdom, of far greater fame and power than himselfe or his, fled also with such his subjects as would follow him, into the lesser Asia. But of him and his proceedings more shall be said hereafter in the rising of the victorious *Othoman* family, as descended from him. After this, the Tartars together with their good fortune still extending the bounds of their Empire, conquered Armenia the greater, with the Countreies of Colchis and Iberia: so that now their Empire was become of all others the greatest and most flourishing. This great Conquerour the Tartar, had in his proud conceit purposed to haue subdued all Asia, and to haue made the sea the only bounder of his Empire: but ouercome with the delicacies of India, hauing diuided amongst his people those great provinces and fruitfull countries, with the rich cities & pleasant fields, he so rested, embracing the manners and superstition of the people he had ouercome. Long it were, and far from our purpose, to recount all the famous victories and conquests of this bare Northerne people: suffice it to the History we haue in hand, that the Turkes were by them then driuen out of Persia, with the countries thereabouts, and their *Togran* kingdome (as they call it) first founded by *Tangrolipix*, there extinguished, about the yere of our Lord 1202. The Turkes thus driuen out of Persia, and their kingdome ouerthrowne, retired themselves into the lesser Asia, possessed by the Turkes their country-men, long before brought thither by *Cuslu-Mus* and his sons, (as is before declared) and by them euer since in some part, though with diuers fortune holden. Where these Turkes now arriued out of Persia vnder the leading of *Aladin* the sonne of *Kei Hufren*, descended also of the *Seluccian* family in Persia, and taking the opportunitie offered them by the mortall discord of the Latines with the Greekes, and the Greekes among themselves, seised vpon Cilicia with the countries thereabouts, and there first at Sebastia, and afterward at Iconium, erected their new Kingdome; which of this *Aladin* is by the Turkes called the Kingdome of the *Aladin* Kings, although their names were not all so.

The beginning of the Aladinian kingdome in the lesser Asia, at Sebastia and Iconium.

Now about this time, and within the course of some few yeres after, such great and strange mutations happened in the Constantinopolitane Empire, as had not therein any time before bin seene: whereby the whole estate of that great Empire, which sometime commanded ouer a great part of the world, was almost vtterly subuerted, and a fit opportunity giuen vnto the Turkes and infidels for the sure setting of themselves, and establishing of their kingdoms both in Syria and the lesser Asia: which briefly to run thorow shall not be from our purpose; these affaires prospering by these troubles, and their proud and stately Empire that now brauetted the rest of the world, being raised out of the ruines of that Christian Empire; and at this present triumphing euen in the same Imperiall city wherein these so great innovations hapned through

ough the working of ambitious heads, to the lamentable ruine and destruction of a great part of the Christian Common-weale.

*Alexius* the younger, but now Emperor, not contented (as is before declared) traiterously to deprive *Iuan* his elder brother of his Empire and sight together, sought also after the death of the young Prince *Alexius* his brothers son, and heire apparant of the empire, who seeing a villany committed in the person of his father, saued himselfe by flight from the fury of his father, and so accompanied with certaine great Lords of the Greekes his fathers friends, fled to the aid of the Christian Princes of the West, whom the Greekes commonly call the Latins. And first he took his way to *Philip* the German emperor, who had married *Irene* his sister, Emperor *Iuan*'s daughter, by whom he was most honourably receiued & entertained. This lady not a little moued with the misery of her father, and the flight of her brother, could not most instantly to sollicit the Emperor her husband, not to leaue vnreuedged so great a villany, by the example thereof dangerous vnto himselfe, and others of like majesty and state. He declared to him what an execrable indignity it was, to see her father the Emperor vnworly imprisoned, deprived of his empire and sight, and of the societie of men, by his brother that had by him receiued and recovered his life, his light, and his liberty: and to see the heire apparant of the Empire banished by the wickednes of his vnle, to wander vp and down here there like a begger: a great part of which disgrace, as she said, redounded vnto her selfe the daughter of *Iuan*, and sister to the young wandering Prince, and to himselfe also, the son in law to the vnfortunat Emperour her father. Moreover she said, that the murdered *Alexius* durst not haue bin so hardy as to commit so great and detestible a villany, if he had not lightly reuedged and contemned the majesty of the said *Philip*; whom if he had had in any reuerence or fear, or at all feared, he durst not haue attempted so villanous an act. This Greeke lady, moued with just griefe, with these & such like complaints so preuailed with her husband, that he promised her to be in some part thereof reuedged, which he could not for the present performe, by the wars he then had with *Otho* his competitor of the Empire. At the same time it was, that great preparations were making in France and Italy, and diuers other places of Christendome, for an expedition to be made against the Turkes into the Holy land. The chiefes wherein were *Theobald* Countie of Champagne, (a man of great fame, and General of the Christian army) *Boniface* Marquess of Mont-Ferrat, *Baldwin* Earle of Flanders and Henaule, *Henry* his brother Earle of S. Paul, *Henry* Duke of Louain, *Gualter* Earle of Breame, with diuers other noble gentlemen, which to name were tedious: vnto whom resorted also many valiant and deuout Christians out of diuers parts of Christendome, ready to haue spent their liues in that so religious a warre: that now the number of them was great, and the army right populous. But being thus assembled together, they thought it not best to take their way to Constantinople, thorow Hungary and Thrace, and so to passe ouer into Bythinia, for that the Turkes had still in all former times shewed great vncourtesie vnto the Latines, in passing with their armies that way: and therefore they thought it much better now by the way of Italy to passe their journey by sea into the Holy land, and for their transportation, especially to vse the aid of the Venetians, whom they found much the easier to be intreated, for that by the aid of so great an army, they were in hope to scoure the Adriaticke (then much infested by the Dalmatians) as also to recouer Iadera, with some other cities vpon the coast of Sclauonia, more tenolted from their state to the Hungarians, as indeed they afterwards did. But by the time as this army was marching out of France, and come into Piemont, the noble Countie of Champagne Generall thereof, there fell sicke & died, to the exceeding griefe & sorrow of the whole army: in whose stead, the Marques of Mont-Ferrat, a man of great nobility, and well acquainted with the wars of the East, was chosen Generall. This great army, transported by the Venetians into Sclauonia, tooke Iadera, with diuers other port townes along the sea coast, and being there done what the Venetians most desired, was about again to haue bin imbarckt for Syria, & so into the Holy land. But the young Prince *Alexius* in the mean time had by himselfe the noble Greeians (fled with him for feare of the tyrant) so wrought the matter with the Latin Princes of the West, especially with *Innocentius tertius* the Pope, with *Philip* the emperor his brother in law, & *Philip* the French king, that they pitying his estate, & induced also with some other considerations more proper to themselves, tooke him as it were into their protection, commending by letters & messengers for that purpose sent vnto the army, (which they

*Alexius* the young Prince craveth aid of *Philip* the Emperour and the Latine Princes, against his vnle the Tyrant.

Great preparations made by the Christians, for an expedition into the Holy Land.

Alexius com-  
mends vnto the  
Army.

might command) the defence both of himselfe and his cause: who with the commendation of three so great Princes, comming to the army yet lying at Iadera (expecting but a faire way to haue passed into Syria) was there of them all most honorably received, as the son of an Emperor, and as became one to them so highly commended. And he himself also, as one knowing his good, was not wanting vnto himselfe, but recommended his person to their protection: a poore exiled Prince in distresse, yet was he of a lively spirit, gracious in speech, beautiful to behold, and very young, and withall fully instructed by the noble Grecians that were with him, in all things that might serue to further his purpose. And forasmuch as this great Army consisted of diuers nations, specially of the French, Italians, & Venetians, not all to be by one mean moued; he fitted euery one with such motiues as he thought might best perswade with them: Vnto the French he promised to pay the great sums of money they had borrowed of the Venetians for the furnishing of themselves in this war: Vnto the Venetians he promised recompence for all the injuries they had sustained by the late Constantinopolitan Emperor, especially by the Emperor Emanuel (who for that they refused to aid him in his wars against William king of Sicily, did in one day confiscat all the goods of the Venetian merchants within his empire, of a great value; and afterwards contrary to the law of nations, shamefully interested their ambassadors sent vnto him, amongst whom was Henry Dandulus, now by fortune generall for the Venetians in the army, who moued as well with the wrong in particular done vnto himselfe, as with the common, desired to be reuenged both of the one and the other, which although he could not haue of Emanuel himselfe, being long before dead, yet was he still desirous to haue it of some one of the Greeke Emperors, who (soeuer he were) Vnto the Pope and the Italians, both he and the noble men with him, had before promised, that the Greeke church should euer acknowledge the supremacy of the Church of Rome, and from thenceforth submit it selfe therunto, as vnto the soveraign iudge of all the Christian Churches, which caused the Pope Innocentius, by letters, by legats, by ambassadors, and by all other means possible, to further the cause of the yong Prince Alexius; so combined with his own, alledging the diversity of opinions in matters of religion, betwixt the Greeks and the Latines, to haue beene the chiefe cause that the Mahomerans had not been long agone by their united forces subdued, or vnterly rooted out. In briefe, the yong Prince spared not to promise most bountifull rewards in generall, to all that should take his part against his vncle the vsurping Emperor.

By this means, the deubar war taken in hand for the reliefe of the poore Christians in Syria, was laid aside, and the same forces that should haue bin therein imploid, now conuerred against the Greeke empire, to the great weakening of that side of the Christian commonweale, and advantage of the common enemy, who might then easily haue beene oppressed, had he with the united forces of the Christians bin on this side charged home, as he was one the farther by the Tartars. The Grecian war thus resolued vpon, it seemed best vnto the great Commanders of the army, to march directly to Constantinople, as to the head of the Grecian state, and place where the tyrant whom they sought after was resident. In the meane time it was by them giuen out thorow all the Greeke cities which the Emperor had strongly manned and fortified for the staying of their passage, that their purpose was not to make war against the Grecians their friends, but only to restore their lawfull Emperor vnto his former state and honor: And that forasmuch as euery city and town in antient Greece had appointed rewards, and almost diuine honours vnto such as had deliuered them from tyrants, they should now more fauourably receiue and intreat them that came to restore vnto euery city, and to euery man in generall, their former liberty and honor. And so vpon the resolution for Constantinople, imbarcking their army, and passing thorow the Ionian sea into the Egeum, and so without let thorow the straits of Helespontus into Propontis, and entring the straits of Bosphorus Thracicus, which diuide Europe from Asia, they came to an anchor euen in the face of the city. In this fleet were one hundred and forty saile of tall ships, sixty gallies, seuentie ships for burthen, and one hundred and twenty saile of Victualers: which all together made a most braue shew, conering the strait in such sort, as that it seemed rather a wood than a part of the sea. Thus for a space they lay facing the City, attending if happily vpon the comming and sight of so great a fleet, and the report of so puissant an army as the yong Prince Alexius had brought with him, any tumult or sedition might arise in the City. But the wary Tyrant had so well provided therefore before hand, that the Citifens, although they in heart fauoured the yong Prince, and wished

A great fleet of  
the Latines be-  
fore Constantinople.

well, yet durst they not once moue or stirre in his quarrell. Whilst the fleet thus lay, ambassadors came from the Isle of Crete, in two great gallies, with three banks of oars, yeelding vnto the yong Prince that goddly Island, with all the towns and cities therein, which he with gaue vnto the Marquesse of Mont-Ferrat, Generall of the army, thereby to encourage the other great commanders of the army to do the vntermost of their deuoiure, in hope of pence and rewards answerable to their deserts and valour.

Before the arrivall of this fleet, Alexius the Emperour had with a great chaine made fast the entrance of the haueu betwixt Constantinople and Pera, and appointed twenty great gallies well manned for the keeping thereof: but a great gale of wind arising, the Generall sent out the greatest and strongest ship in the fleet (of her greatnes and swiftnesse called the Eagle) which had all her sailes vp, carried with a full gale of wind, by maine force brake the chaine, and made a way for the rest of the fleet to enter, which the Greeks in their gallies seeing, for feare of leaving the gallies for a spoile vnto the Venetians, by whom they were all taken, but not an found in them. The haueu thus gained, Theodorus Lascaris the Emperors son in law, was presently ready vpon the shore with a select company of the brauest gallants of the city and the court, to haue hidded the Latines from landing; who running their ships a ground, armed with such cheerfulness and courage, and with such hast, that in one moment you might haue seene them leape out of their ships, take land, enter into the battell, and lay about them the mad men. This hot skirmish endured a great while, for that they were only footmen that gained this brunt, for the horses could not so soone be landed, and the Greeks were brauely mounted. All this great fight the Constantinopolitans beheld, with doubtfull hearts, expecting what should be the event thereof. There were in the city six thousand of the flower of the city, which brauely sallying out, made the battell much more doubtfull, yet such was the resolution of the Latines, that in fine the Greeks discomfited, were glad to retire themselves againe into the city, but with what losse was not certainly knowne: easie it were to haue said, that it was right great; for that the old tyrant Alexius discouraged therewith, and was full of his owne estate, with Theodorus Lascaris his son in law, and some few others of his friends (hard to be found in so dangerous a case) the next night following secretly fled out of the city, carrying away with him a wonderfull masse of treasure (which he against all aduents had caused to be secretly hidden by his daughter Irene, in a monastery of Nuns within the City, whereof she was the abbesse) and so saved himselfe.

The Latines by  
force enter the  
haueu of Con-  
stantinople.

A hot skirmish  
betwixt the  
Greeks and the  
Latines at their  
landing.

The flight of the tyrant once bruted, the next morning the Constantinopolitans taking the Emperor Isaac out of prison, saluted him againe for their Emperor, rejoycing greatly for his deliuerance and the safegard of his life: and after that opened the gates of the city to the Latines, calling and saluting them by the names of the reuengers and sauors of the liberty of the Greeks, as also of the life and maiestie of their Emperor: they requested them that they might see and salute Alexius their yong Prince, whom they had so long desired; and so was the city of Constantinople, by the submission of the Citifens, for that time saved from sacrifice and spoile. The old Emperor thus deliuered, and together with his son Alexius againe placed in the imperiall seat, gaue the most hearty thanks that possibly he could vnto the Latines, for that by their bounty, charity, and valor, the Greeke Empire had bin deliuered out of a long and miserable seruitude: and for his own particular, that he had receiued of them so much good, that albeit his sight could not be restored to him againe, neuertheless he acknowledged his life, his liberty, his empire, his country, his son, to haue bin vnto him by them restored, and be likewise to them; for which their so great deserts he could not (as he said) render them condigne thanks, or deuise rewards or honors answerable to their demerits and valour: that therefore he did ratifie and confirme whatsoeuer his son had before promised vnto them for his deliuerance: and not only that, but further promised, That if they were not therewith contented, hee would of his owne bounty giue them better contentment, nor meaning they should go discontented, that had saved his life, and otherwaies so highly pleased him. Whereupon this good old Emperor began to consult with his friends about the meanes where he might satisfie & content the Latines in such things as the yong Prince his son had vnto them promised. And to the intent that the Citifens of Constantinople might the more willingly doe that he was to command them, and the more cheerefully pay such impositions as was to lay vpon them, he intreated all the Latines to retire themselves out of the city into their

Isaac the old  
Emperor taken  
out of prison, &  
againe saluted  
Emperor, toge-  
ther with yong  
Alexius his son.

their campe or about their ships, which they accordingly did. But the imposition being set downe, and what euery man was to pay, seemed vnto the Greeks (as men of long accustomed to receiue tribute of others, and not to pay tribute to others) a matter most heauie and intolerable. In this very instant that this exaction was required, died the old Emperor *Isaac* hauing of long bene kept in a darke and stinking prison in continuall feare of death, and was deliuered and restored to his Empire, could not indure so sudden and vnexpected a change, both of the aire and of his manner of living, but so suddenly died.

At this exaction imposed for the contentment of the Latines, the light Constantinopolitans grievously murmured and exclaimed, saying, That it was a villanous thing to see the Greeke Empire engaged and bound (by a yong boy) vnto a couetous and proud nation; and to be spoiled and bare of coynes: That the great and rich Island of Creet lying in the midst of the sea, was by him giuen as a gift vnto the Latines: That the city of Constantinople and the Greeke Church, had by him bene enforced and constrained to yeeld vnto the See at Rome, to receiue the opinions of the Latine Church, to submit it selfe vnto the obeyfence of old Rome, from whence it had once happily departed euer since the time that the Empire was by *Constantine* the Great translated thence to them. Thus euery one said for himselfe in particular thus all men said in generall. And therof the noble men in their assemblies, and the wise people in their meetings, grievously complained: whereupon a great sedition and tumult was raised in the city. Some presently tooke vp armes, and the common people all enraged and furiously disordered vnto the palace, with a purpose to haue committed some great outrage vpon the person of the yong emperor *Alexius*: who in that so sudden an insurrection, as might well haue troubled a right constant man, without longer stay resolved vpon a most whoosome and necessarie point for the appeasing of the peoples fury, vnto whom (assembled in a wonderfull multitude) he shewed himselfe from aboue in his palace, promising them to remaine in their power, and not from thenceforth to doe any thing without their aduice and liking; but wholly to depend vpon them: with which good wordes the people held themselves well content, and so was the tumult for that time appeased. But forthwith the yong Emperor considering the injury done vnto him, began to burn with the desire of reuenge, and to change his purpose. He could not together satisfie the citifens and the Latins: for if he would keepe his promise with the Latines, he must of necessitie offend his owne people; neither was there any means to be found to satisfie both the one and the other. But thinking himselfe more bound to keepe his promise with the Latines, whose forces he knew not how to withstand, he sent secretly to request the Marques of Mont-Ferrat, Generall of the army, to send him about midnight certaine companies of soldiers vnto the city, assuring him to receiue them in by a gate neere vnto the palace, which should be opened vnto them by certaine of his trustie seruants there left for that purpose. Of this plot *Alexius Ducas* (of his bittle browes surnamed *Murzufle*, whom of a base fellow the Emperor *Isaac* had promoted vnto the greatest honors of the court) was not ignorant, who being a man of an aspiring mind, and in those troublesome times hauing long thirsted after the Empire, tooke now this occasion to worke vpon.

The night following, he by his agents, men instructed for the purpose, raised a tumult in the city, not inferiour vnto that which had hapned the day before: and at the same instant, as if he had had nothing to do in the matter, came suddenly to the yong Emperor in the dead time of the night (which he might at all times do, by reason of the great confidence the Emperor had in him) and with a sad countenance told him, That the people were vp againe in an vprore, and especially they of his guard, & that they were coming toward him to do him some violence for the loue he bare vnto the Latines. With which vnexpected newes the yong Emperor was affrighted, demanded of him as of his most faithfull counsellor, What were best in that case for him to do? Who presently embracing him in his night gowne, led him out by a secret doore into a tent he had of his owne in the court, as if he would there haue kept him safe: but far was that from his traiterous thoughts; who departing from him, as if he had gone to appease the tumult, had before taken order, that he should presently after his departure, be cast into bonds, & so be clapt vp into a close stinking prison: which done, the false traitor openly shewing himselfe, made an oration to the people, wherein he shewed himselfe to haue great compassion of the Greek empire, & of the Greeks his countrymen themselves, specially in that they were gouerned by a youth vnfit for the government, who suffered himselfe to be misled according to the

sure of the Latines. And that it was high time for the city of Constantinople, the seat of Greeke Empire, to looke about it, and to haue an eie vnto it selfe, sith it was betraied and by them which ought to preferue and keepe the same: that they had now need of a man to loue his country and countrymen, before that which yet remained of the Graecian name might utterly be extinguished by the Latines.

With this speech, fitted of purpose vnto the humour of the seditious, was receiued with the shoutry and applause of the windy headed people. Some cried out, that he, and none else, was to be made chiefe of the common-weale that was by them to be established: some cried as loud to haue him made generall of the armies and forces of the state: but the greatest cry was to haue him chosen and created Emperour; whereunto the rest giuing assent, he was by the generall consent of the tumultuous people, without longer stay, chosen and proclaimed Emperour.

*Alexius* the traitor, by no lawfull election or rightfull succession, but onely by the fury of a tumultuous people, thus created Emperour, was of nothing more carefull than how to keepe the forces of the Latines, of whom only he now stood in dread. And therefore to begin withall, he first attempted by certaine galleies filled with pitch, flax, brimstone, and such like apt to take fire, to haue burnt the Venetian fleet: which galleies so set on fire and carried by a faire gale of wind among the fleet, had bin like enough to haue done great harm, had it not by the warinesse of the Venetians bin preuented: who being good sea-men, and not vnacquainted with such devices, easily and without danger auoided the same, by keeping themselves aloofe one from another in the sea. This finenes sorting to no purpose, he to color the matter sent certaine messengers to the Generall, and other commanders in the army, to giue them to vnderstand that that which was done for the firing of the fleet, had bin done without equiuity, by the malice of the tumultuous people, and that for his part he would be glad of fauor & friendship, assuring them likewise of his, and promising them to aid them both in men and mony, and whatsoever els they should haue need of in their wars against the Latines. Whereunto an answer was giuen by *Dandulus* the Venetian generall, that he would be content, when *Alexius* the son of the Emperor *Isaac*, whom the Latines had placed in the empire, should assure them thereof, and intreat for the people, vpon whom the fault of that outrage lay: which answer the more moued the traiterous tyrant, to rid himselfe cleane of the feare of the yong Prince, by taking him out of the way, to the intent to hinder the people of the city, and great desire they had to grow to some peace with the Latines, by taking him out of the way, and receiuing him again for their Emperour: For the people (by nature mutable, and not vnder the good of themselves, but according to the occurrences present, without any great regard of that they had already done, or ought to haue done) began now to repent themselves that they had done against the yong emperor *Alexius* in the fauor of the tyrant, and commended, That they must finde some meanes, whatsoever it were, to remedy their fault together in their troubles. Wherefore *Murzufle* fearing the sudden mutation of the people, with his hands most villanously strangled the yong Prince *Alexius* in prison, hauing as yet not reigned much aboue six moneths, and immediately after caused it to be bruited abroad, That the yong Prince despairing of his estate, had as a man desperat hanged himselfe.

The tyrant in vain hauing thus attempted the burning of the fleet, & stil fearing the retention of the sword of the Latines, resolved now by plain force to meet them in the field, and there to fight them battell. So hauing made ready and armed the whole strength of the imperiall city, with cheerefull speech encouraged his soldiers, requesting them valiantly to maintain and defend their country of Greece, the monuments of their fathers, the glory of their ancestors, their present honor, and the future hope of their posterity: that hauing before their eyes the walls of their city, within which they were borne, nourished, and brought vp in hope of great felicity, they would haue pity and compassion of their temples, their wines, their children, and in case to suffer them to fall againe into so miserable and wretched a servitude, but rather to die a thousand deaths. And the more to grace this his enterprise taken in hand for the defence of his country (as he would haue the world to beleue it) with the colour of a superstitious deuotion also, he caused the Priests in their ecclesiastick attire and ornaments, to march in the army, with an ensigne, hauing in it displayed the picture of the virgin *Mary*. So tragically marching forward, hee first charged that quarter of the campe where *Baldwin*

*Murzufle attempts to burne the Venetian fleet.*

*Murzufle encourages his soldiers.*

*Alexius seeks to bring the Latins againe into the Citie.*

*The Constantinopolitans againe in an vprore.*

*place*

the

the County of Flanders lay, where at the first was fought a right fierce and doubtfull battell. But afterward the alarm running throughout all the campe of the Latines, and new supplies comming in on euery side, the Greeks were put to the worse, and enforced againe to retire into the city, hauing lost a great number of men, together with their superstitious ensigne. I knowe a wonderfull thing to see, with what rare agreement the Latines, being of diuers nations, continued this expedition vnderaken against the Greekes. Seuentie two daies was this City of Constantinople strenghtly besieged by the Latines both by sea and land, without giving any time of rest or repose day or night to the besieged, fresh men comming still on to the assault, as the other fell off, and in such sort troubled the Greekes in the city, that they knew not what to do or which way to turne themselves. The Venetians vnto whom was committed the charge to assault that side of the City which was toward the hauen, vpon two great galleys made fast together, built a strong tower of wood, higher than the wals and rampiers of the towne, out of which they both with shot and fireworks much troubled the defendants, where with they in the time of the assault approching the wall, by their fine deuices fired that side of the city: by the rage whereof, a great number of houses were burnt, with many other stately buildings and ancient monuments of that famous city, and had at that present gained a great tower neere vnto the port, destitute of defenders, had not the tyrant himselfe in good time come with new supplies to the rescue thereof. In like manner, the French, with the rest, assailed the other side of the city by land, where they were to fight not against the defendants only, but against deepe ditches, high and strong wals, and bulwarkes also: neuertheless, such was the valour and fury of the Latines, with the desire of victory, as that they were not with any difficulties to be dismayed; but pressing still on, by a thousand dangers, at length after a most sharpe assault, they gained one of the greatest bastilions on that side of the city, called the Angels tower, and so by plaine force opened a way both for themselves and the rest into the city. Whereof *Alexius* vnderstanding, and stricken with present despaire both of his state and life, the night now comming on, fled with *Euphrosina* the Emperour *Alexius* his wife, and *Eudokia* her daughter, whom he had married when he had reigned about a moneth and sixteene daies. The tyrant, author of all this mischiefe, and of the calamities ensuing, thus fled, and the Latins furiously entering, the Priests and religious men in their surplices, and other ecclesiastike ornaments with their crosses & banners (as in solemne procession) met the Latines, and falling downe at the soldiers feet, with floods of teares abundantly running downe their heavy countenances, besought them, but specially the captains and commanders, to remember the condition of worldly things, and contenting themselves with the victory, the glory, the honour, the empire, the immortality of their name, to abstain from slaughter, from burning, from spoiling & ransacking of so beautifull a city: and that seeing they were themselves men, they would not so haue pity of men: and being themselves captains and soldiers, they should also haue compassion vpon captaines and soldiers; who although they were not so valiant and fortunate as they were, yet neuertheless were both captaines and soldiers: and that they would keepe and preferue their city, whereof (if they ruined it not) they might haue much more pleasure and commodity, than if they should destroy the same: which as it had bin the principal seat of the Greeke empire, so might it now be of the Latines: That seeing they had thereof a carefull regard, as then belonging to another man, they ought now vpon better reason to haue more care thereof being their own: That the authors of all those troubles and mischiefs, *Alexius* the father, and *Murzus*, had already received a reward answerable to their follies, in that they were driuen into exile: That they would haue pity and compassion of an innocent and vnforsaken multitude of poore people, oppressed and grievously tormented with the ostent tyrannical of their murderous lords and gouernors: That in so doing, God the Lord of hosts, the giuer and guider of battels, the God of mercy, would therefore reward them: To conclude, they humbly besought them to pardon their citizens, to put on the hearts of gracious & mercifull lords and fathers, not of enemies and rough masters, of forgivers, not of reuengers, and to vnderstand by their teares, their miserable estate and woes passed. With this so humble submission & complaint of the religious, some of the better sort were happily moued: but with the common soldiers, breathing nothing but victory, with their weapons in their hands, & the spoile of an empire in their power, what auileth praiers or tears? Euery man fell to the spoile, and in so great choise & liberty of all things, fitted his own disordered appetite, without respect of the wrong

Constantinople  
hardly besieged.

Constantinople  
set on fire.

injury done to others: onely from the effusion of innocent blood they abstained; they liues they sought after, being already fled, together with the tyrant. Other injuries & outrages (so great, as that greater none could be) were in euery place so rife, that euery lane, euery corner of the City was filled with mourning and heavinesse. There was a man haue seene noble men earst of great honor, and reuerend for their hoary haire, & other citizens of great wealth, thrust out of all they had, walking vp and downe the city, and wringing their hands, as men forlorne, knowing not were to shroud their heads, other staid the greedy rage of the insolent souldiers within the wals of mens priuate houses brake out into the stately palaces, temples, and churches of the Greekes also, where all good prize, and nothing dedicated to the seruice of God, left vnpolluted and defaced, none vnlooted, no corner vnriued: right lamentable and almost incredible it were to report the miseries of that time. Some of the Greeke Historiographers, men of great marke and fame, and themselves eye-witnesses and partakers of those euils, haue by their writings commended to all posterity, of the insolencie of the Latines at the winning of the City, to their small dishonor: but that disordered souldiers in all ages in the libertie of their insolent victory, haue done such outrages, as honest minds abhorre to think vpon. Thus Constantinople, most famous City of the East, the seat and glory of the Greeke Empire, by the miserable position and dissension of the Greekes for soueraignie, fell into the hands of the Latines, twelfth of Aprill, in the year 1204, or after the account of others, 1200.

Constantinople thus taken, and the tyrants put to flight, the Princes and great commanders of the Army held a counsell, to consider what were best to be done concerning the City and the new gained Empire: for after so great a victory, they thought it not good to raise so ancient and important a City, seated as it were a watch tower vpon the theatre of the World, looking both Asia and Europe from the one to the other, as an eye of the vniuersall, and commodiously planted, as was no other city of the world, for the keeping vnder of the enemies of the Christian Religion: but that it were much better to place there a Latin gouernor, to establish there the Latine lawes and customes, and to vnite the Greeke church as a member to the Church of Rome. In which consultation, some were of opinion, not to haue any Emperours in Christendome but one, and therefore to make choice of *Philip* the German Emperour, author of this warre, whose wife *Irene* was the onely daughter and heire of the late Emperour *Isaac Angelus*, vnto whom by all right the inheritance of her fathers Empire belonged. But the greater part, considering that the troubled affaires of Greece, in so short a change and newnesse of the Empire, had need of the personall presence of a Prince, thought it better to make choice of one among themselves, who there still resiant in that place, might at all times giue aid vnto the Latines in their sacred wars, taken in hand against the Infidels: which opinion as the better, was approved of them all. The chiefe men in this election of the new Emperour, were *Baldwin* Count of Flanders and Hainault, *Henry* his brother, *Lewis* Count of Blois, *Symon de Montfort*, *John de Dammartin*, *Guaher de Brienne*, *Hugh* Count of S. Paul, *John* Count of Brenne, *Boniface* Marquess of Mont-Ferrat, *Stephen* Count of Perch, and such gentlemen of Venice: vnto whom also were joynted two Bishops of Syria, the one of Bethlem, the other of Ptolemais, who had oftentimes come to the campe of the Latines, to stirre them vp for the taking in hand the sacred warre in Syria; with two Bishops of France also, namely, of Soisson and Troy in Champagne, and the Abbot of Lemoine. These great Lords and Prelates assembled into the Church of the holy Apostles, after they had there with great deuotion craved of God to inspire them with his spirit for the choice of a good and iust Prince fit for so great a charge, with one consent made choice of *Baldwin* Count of Flanders and Haynault, for Emperour of Greece: a braue and valiant Prince, about two and thirty yeares old, who was afterward the sixteenth day of May in the year 1204 (or after the computation of others, in the year 1205) in the great Temple of Sophia solemnly crowned by *Thomas Maurocenus* a Venetian, first Patriarch of the Latines in Constantinople. From which time the Greeke Church in Constantinople began to receive the rites and ceremonies of the Latines, and to acknowledge the supremacy of the Church of Rome.

It was not long after that Constantinople was thus taken by the Latines, but that they dividing their forces, without any resistance tooke in the most part of the great countries and

Nicetas Choniates, annals, folio 130.

1204

The Greeke empire divided amongst the Latines.

and prouinces on Europe side, belonging to the Greeke Empire in the time of *Isaac Angelus* the late Emperour: the fortune of the whole Empire, as it were following the fortune of the imperiall city. Which large countries so gained from the Greeks, the Latins diuided amongst themselves, as good prize taken from their enemies. Vnto *Baldwin* the emperour and his successors in the Empire, was assigned the Imperiall city of Constantinople, and the country of Thracia, with a limited soueraigntie ouer all the rest of the prouinces by the Latines already or afterwards to be gained. Vnto the Venetians in this diuision of the Empire, was allotted for their share all the rich Islands of the *Ægeum* and *Ionian*, with the famous Island of *Candia* also; which although it were before by the young Emperour *Alexius* in the beginning of these warres, giuen vnto the Marquesse of *Mont-Ferrat*, yet in this diuision of the Empire, it was taken from him (not without his good liking) and giuen to the Venetians, as for them more fit: in stead and lieu whereof, the Marquesse had the city of *Thessalonica* with all the kingdom of *Thessalie*, and a great part of *Peloponessus* assigned vnto him, with the Royall title of a King. Of the aforesaid Islands in (number many and exceeding rich) the Venetians in the name of the state, fortified some few of the greatest with conuenient garrisons, the rest they left to be possessed and defended by the better sort of the citizens at their priuate cost and charges, who according to their ability, tooke into their possession, some one Island, some another, and some two or three, one, as they were able to set out their gallies, one, two, or more, for the keeping of the same: ouer all which, the seignorie neuertheless had a generall care, still keeping a fleet with one of their Admirals at Sea: by whom they not onely repressed the *Genoa* pirats then busie in those seas, but also tooke in certaine strong townes in the maine vpon the coast of *Peloponessus*, namely, *Modon* and *Corone*; all which they of long time after held as a part of their seignorie. Some other particular places, yet parts also of the empire, were giuen vnto particular men: as the dukedom of *Athens* vnto one *Geffrey* of *Troy* in *Champaigne*, a French man, a Valiant Captaine, whom they also made Prince of *Achaia*: Another Dukedom was also giuen vnto the County of *Bloys*, as were diuers other countries and townes also vnto other more priuate men: who neuertheless were bound to hold the same of the Emperour, as of their Lord, and to pay him yerely a fourth part of the reuenue arising thereof, towards the maintenance of his state. Yea the Greekes themselves in this shipwracke of their state and empire, although they disdained nothing more than the strange government of the Latines, yet could they not be perswaded to joyne together in so common a calamitie, but after their wonted manner fought euery man how to share out something for himselfe, without regard of the common good: one seized vpon one strong Towne or Citie, and so likewise another, which for all that, they held not long, driuen thence for the most part by a greater power, either of the Latines, or of their owne countrymen.

The man whom the discontented Greekes most looked after, was *Theodorus Lascaris*, the Emperour *Alexius Angelus* his sonne in law; who at the taking of the city, fled to *Adrianople*, and afterward into *Bythinia*, where he was of the people, not of that country onely; but of others also farther off, joyfully receiued and honoured as their Emperour. So taking into his hands the countries of *Bythinia*, *Phrygia*, *Missia*, *Ionis*, and *Lydia*, euen from the windings of the famous riuer *Mæander* Southward, vnto the *Euxine Sea* Northward; he with the generall good liking of the people, tooke vpon him the estate of an Emperour, and so in the renowned city of *Nice* made the seat of his Empire. At the same time also *David*; and *Alexius Comneni*, the nephewes of the tyrant *Andronicus* (sometime Emperour of Constantinople) by his sonne *Manuel*, possessing the more Easterne countries of *Pontus*, *Galatia*, and *Capadocia*, erected vnto themselves another Empire in *Trapezond*, where their posteritie of Empire, together with the Empire of Constantinople, was by the great Emperour of the *Turkes*, *Mahomet* the second, subuerted and brought to nought, as shall hereafter in due time and place be declared. Thus the Greeke Empire exposed (as it were) to the generall spoile, was no longer one, but many Empires: *Baldwin* reigning in Constantinople, the Marquesse of *Mont-Ferrat* in *Thessalie*, *Theodorus Lascaris* at *Nice*, *Alexius Comnenus* in *Trapezond*, and the Venetians in the Islands, all in royall dignitie. Besides whom were many other lesser Princes, which had heere and there according to their abilitie seized vpon some one or other part of the Empire, and there erected their Toparchies, reigning therein.

The beginning  
of the empire of  
Trapezond by  
the Comneni.

potry

by Kings: as did *Aldebrandinus* in *Attalia*, *Michael Angelus* in *Eprus*, with diuers others along to rehearse.

*Baldwin*, as is aforesaid, created Emperour of Constantinople, by the help of the Venetian Admirall *Dandulus*, and other great commanders of the army, in short time brought vnder his hand all the cities of *Thracia*, except the city of *Adrianople*, wherunto the better sort of discontented Greeks, together with *Theodorus Lascaris* (disdaining the government of the Latines) were fled; as vnto a most safe sanctuary. Which *Baldwin* knowing, and withall desirous whilest yet he had his friends about him, to set his new Empire in some good stay, without further delay laid hard siege to the same. Now the Greekes generally euill entreated by the Latines, and grieued to be gouerned by them, some were fled into their neighbour prouinces, but especially into *Bulgaria*, otherwise called *Mygia*, a large kingdom lying beneath the great mountain *Æmus* and *Danubius*: by whose persuation, *Iohn* king of that country, aided by the *Scythians* (a fierce Northern people but lately come into those quarters) and the fugitiue Greeks themselves, tooke vpon him to relieue the City: and so with a great army approaching the same, sent before certain troupes of *Scythian* archers on horsebacke, to cut in such booty of horses or cattell as they should find neer vnto the Emperours camp; and shall command them, that being charged by the Imperials, they should forthwith retire, and draw them out of their trenches, into the place where the King with the greatest part of his Army lay covertly to intrap them. Which the *Scythians* (well acquainted with such service) so well performed vnder the leading of one *Coxus* their Generall, that hauing once or twice drawn their enemies vnto some light skirmishes, and so retiring, and ere long again with greater number returning, they at length cunningly drew the Emperour with all his army (in order to do some great matter vpon them euen as they wished) into the place wheras the king hid his army lay in wait among the woods and mountains for them; where they, wearied and out of breath with the former pursuit, and now on euery side beset with fresh enemies, were throwne with a great slaughter. In which conflict, to encrease the losse, *Baldwin* the Emperour himselfe was taken, and sent prisoner in bonds to *Ternoua*; where afterwards by the commandment of the barbarous King he was most cruelly put to death, hauing his hands and feet cut off, and so dismembred was cast out into a deep valley, where hee yet lay miserable, breathing three dayes after, and so died; leauing his body as fortunes scorn, for a prey to the wild beasts and birds of the aire, no man vouchsafing to bury it. Thus perished this worthy Prince, for his vertues commended euen of the Greekes themselves, (being about the age of three and thirty yeares, and not hauing reigned yet a full yeare) in the yeare of our Lord 1206.

The victory thus gained, and the city relieved, the barbarous King with his savage soldiery hauing tasted the wealth of the Latines ouerthrowne in the late battell, and the pleasures of *Thracia* now subiect to their lust; greedily pursued their good fortune without respect of all humanity: the open country they ouer-ran, spoiling what soeuer came to hand; the rich and populous cities they rifled, and afterward rased them downe to the ground: namely *Serræ*, *Philippopolis*, *Apri*, *Rhodesum*, *Perinthus*, *Daonium*, *Arcadiopolis*, *Mesena*, *Zurulus*, & *Athyra*. The citizens and country people fled into the cities for refuge, they put all to the sword, without respect of age, sex or condition, except some few, whom they caried away with them prisoners; so that of all the prouinces of that rent and ruined empire, the country of *Thrace* was left miserable, as first spoiled by the Latines, and now laid desolate by the *Bulgarians* and *Scythians*. Only some few of the strongest cities, as *Didymoticum* and *Adrianople* (valiantly defended by the Greeks and Latines) escaped this fury of the Barbarians, all the rest that fell into their hands being laid wast and desolate.

In this so troubled a state of the new erected empire of the Latines in Constantinople, the Latines made choice of *Henry* the late emperor *Baldwins* brother, as of all others the fittest to succeed him in the empire: who aided by the Marquis, now King of *Thessaly*, and the other Latine princes, notably repulsed the Barbarians, and left them not vntill that at length he had recovered from them all such townes and cities as they had before taken, & driuen them quite out of the country, and so well established himselfe in his new empire.

But to leaue this dismembred empire now in the hands of many, and to come neerer to our purpose: *Alexius Angelus* the Vsurper, driuen out of the Imperial city by the Latines, to save himselfe

*Adrianople* besieged by the Emperour *Baldwin*.

1206

*Henry second* Emperour of the Latines in Constantinople.

himselfe, fled into Thessaly, and from thence vnto *Leo Scurus* (then a man of great fame among the Greeks) who tyrannizing at Nauplus, as had his father before him, was in these troublesome times grown greater, by surprizing of the two famous Cities of Argos and Corinth: by whose means he cunningly intrapped *Alexius Duca*, surnamed *Murzufle*, the traitor, and for a secret grudge not commonly known, put out his eyes: himselfe an exiled man beeing a most heauy enemy vnto the other also exiled: and himselfe thrust out of the empire, a deadly foe vnto the other oppressed with the like calamitie. Shortly after which losse of his sight, hee was by chance taken by the Latines, and so brought backe to Constantinople, where hee was for murthering the yong Emperour *Alexius*, worthily condemned vnto a strange and horrible kind of death; for cast off from an high tower, and tumbling heels ouer head downward, he was with the weight of himselfe and violence of the fall crushed all to peeces, and so miserably died, a death too good for such a traitor. Not long after it fortuned also, That *Alexius* him selfe wandering vp and down in Thracia, was by the Marquise of Mont-Ferrat. (going against *Scurus*) taken and stript of his great treasure, and whatsoever else hee had, and so sent away naked, long time after in beggars estate wandering about in Achaia and Peloponnesus, now far vnlike that *Alexius* which sometimes proudly reigned in Constantinople: but such is the assurance of euill gotten honor. He hearing that *Theodorus Lascaris* his son in law reigned in Asia, and there held the state of an Emperour, rejoiced not therat as a kind father in law, but inwardly grieved thereat as an enemy; for that any other but himselfe should be honoured with the title of the Greek Emperour. In which malicious humor he failing out of Greece into Asia, ouer the *Egeum*, came secretly vnto the Turks Sultan *Iathatus* his old acquaintance then lying at Attalia, (which famous city he had not long before taken from the Christians) vnto whom he declared his heauy estate, and how his empire had bin rent from him, as well by the Greeks as the Latines, requesting that by his means he might be restored again into some part thereof, especially that in the lesser Asia, which was by *Theodorus Lascaris*, together with the honour of the Greeke Emperour, vniustly (as he said) detained from him. This *Iathatus* now Sultan of Iconium, was the younger sonne of Sultan *Aladin*; who not long suruiuing his father *Cai Chosroë*, left his Kingdom vnto his two sonnes *Azadin* and *Iassadin*, of the Greeks called *Azatines* and *Iathatus*: where long it was not, but that these two brethren falling out for the souerainty (which admitteth no equalitie) *Iathatus* was by *Azatines* his elder brother driuen into exile, and for the safegard of his life glad to fly vnto this *Alexius* then reigning at Constantinople, by whom he was honourably entertained, and as some write, conuered and baptised. But *Azatines* the Sultan shortly after dying, this *Iathatus* returning home again, and renouncing the Christian religion, was by the Turks received for their Sultan: of whom the Emperour *Alexius* now in the like extremitie craueth aid. The Sultan not forgetfull of his own troubles before passed, or of the kindnesse he had receiued, and moued with the pittifull complaint of his old friend, together with his large offers, besides that he was in hope to share out some good part of whatsoever he got, for himselfe; took him into his protection, and forthwith sent Embassadors to *Lascaris*, threatening vnto him all extremities, except he did forthwith giue place vnto *Alexius* his father in law, vnto whom as vnto the Greek Emperour, those countries which were by him possessed, of right (as hee said) appertained. With which vnexpected message *Theodorus* was not a little troubled, as fearing both the Sultans power, and the inclination of the people to their old Emperour. Neuerthelesse hauing propounded the matter in Councell, and finding the minds of his subjects well affected towards him, and a readinesse in them, in his quarrell to aduenture their liues; hee encouraged therewith, accompanied only with two thousand choise horsemen, together with the Sultans Embassadour, without further stay set forward to Philadelphia: the Sultan at the same time with *Alexius* (whom he carried with him as a bait to deceiue the people withall) and twenty thousand Turks besieging the city of Antioch, situate vpon the winding banks of the Riuer that strong city (standing on the passage of the great riuer the bounder of his Empire) should open a faire way for himselfe into the heart of Romania Asiatice, to the great hazard of his whole Empire; resolu'd with those few he had to do what he might to relieue his besieged city: and so setting forward vpon the spur, carying nothing with him more than a little victuall; and now come neere vnto the City, sent before the Sultans Embassadour, following him

Antioch besieged by Iathatus.

he heels. Who coming to the Sultan, and telling him of the Emperors approach with so much power, could hardly persuade him that it was so, although hee bound it with many oaths: yet at length perswaded of the truth of the matter, and that indeed it was so, he in all haste put his army in the best order he could vpon such a sudden, but not to his best aduantage being hindred so to do by the streitnesse of the place wherein he lay. Of the two thousand horsemen in the Emperors army were eight hundred Italians, all most resolute men, who in the first charge, brake through the midst of the Sultans Army, disordering his whole host as they went: after whom followed also the Greekes, though not with like courage: those Italian horsemen now diuided from the rest, and in number but few, in coming again, were by the disordered Turks, some on horsebacke, some on foot, so beset on euery side as that there was no way left for them to passe, but valiantly there fighting, were all together slain, hauing both before and at the time of their deaths made such a slaughter among the Turks, as is hardly to be beleeu'd to haue bin possible for so few men to haue made. The Turks also hardly laid to by the Turks, and discouraged by the slaughter of the Latins, were at the point to haue fled: when as the Sultan, now almost in possession of a certain victory, crying the Greek Emperour, and trusting to his own great strength, singled him out, being ready as himselfe to meet him; when as at the first encounter, the Sultan with his horse made gaue him such a blow vpon the head, as might haue killed a Bull: so that the Emperour therewith astonied, fell down from his horse; who yet euen in the fall coming some way again to himselfe, and although dismounted, yet quickly recovering his feet, with his shield boxed the hinder legs of the Mare wheron the Sultan rid, beeing a most beautifull Mare, and of a wonderfull height: which now suddenly falling vnder him, and so the Sultan falling down as from an high tower, before he could recouer himself, had his head cut off by the Emperour, which by and by put vpon a lance and so holden vp, with the sight thereof so affrighted the Turks, that stricken with a sudden fear they presently fled, leauing the victory to the Emperour, before more than halfe ouercome: who for all that, considering his small number, durst not farther pursue them, but entering the city, gaue thanks to God for so great a victory. Vnto whom the Turks shortly after sent their Embassadors, and so vpon such reasonable conditions as it pleased him to set down, concluded with him a peace. *Alexius* himselfe free of these troubles, taken in this battell and caried to Nice, was by the Emperour his son now, notwithstanding his euill deserts, wel intreated and vsed.

Whilst the Latines thus spend their forces in subuerting the Greek empire, which should haue bin imploid for reliefe of the Christians in Syria, and that the Greek Emperour *Lascaris* thus troubled with the Turks, the Christians affairs in Syria and the Holy land grew stille and worse. Whereof the Knights Hospitalers and Templers (the chief Champions of Christian religion in those countries) greatly blamed *Almericus* King of Cyprus, for that being so neer at hand, and hauing married *Isabel* the heire of that kingdome, and so in her right taken vpon him the title of King of Ierusalem, gaue himselfe wholly vnto pleasure, doing nothing for the defence or reliefe of the poor distressed Christians, or repressing the Infidels; who although they were yet in league with the Christians there, and at some discord amongst themselves, yet spared not as occasion serued, still more and more to inuade them, and by building of new Castles and fortresses to cut them short. Of all which things the foresaid Knights by their Embassadors certified Pope *Innocentius*, requesting his speedy care for the remedie thereof: Certifying him withall, that there was yet liuing one, the daughter of the Marquis of Mont-Ferrat, a Lady of rare beauty, whom they as her father had brought vp in hope of the Kingdome, and now were ready to bestow her vpon such man as he should thinke worthy of her, together with the right shee had vnto the Kingdom. Herupon *Innocentius* discharging *Almericus* of the title of the kingdom of Ierusalem, gaue it to *John Counte de Brenne* of Daulphine in France, a man of great fame and valour, then in arms with the other Latin princes against the Greeks. Who now returning home commended his Earldom vnto his brother, and with such power as he was able to make. setting forward, came first to Venice, where he was royally entertained: and from thence sailing for Constantinople, was with like honour receiued by the Emperour *Henry*; and so at length the first of September arriued at Ptolemais in Syria, where he was with the great applause and ioycing of the people receiued as their King. And the last of the same moneth marrying the

Iathatus the Sultan slain by Theodorus Lascaris the Greek Emperour.

John Brenne by Pope Innocentius appointed King of Ierusalem

1209

the aforeſaid Lady *Mary* at Tyre, was there together with her with a great ſolemnitie crowned King in the year 1209. Which *Almericus* the old King of Cyprus hearing, ſhortly after died for griefe. Neither wanted this noble gentleman, thus honored with the title of a kingdom, ſome that envied at his promotion, and therefore commonly called him in deriſion, a King, but ſtill with this addition, *Sans Ville*, that is to ſay, Without a town.

Now was the ten years peace, before made betwixt the Turks and the Chriſtians in Syria, at the coming over of *Symon* Marquis of Mont-Ferrat (as is before declared) almoſt expired, which had not ſo much giuen to thoſe poor remnants of the Chriſtians ſome time of reſt and breathing, as had the diſcord among the Turks themſelves, which hauing for the ſpace of nine years continued betwixt *Noradin* and *Saphadin* for the ſoueraignty, was now by the death of *Saphadin* ended. *Noradin* contenting himſelfe with the gouernment of Aleppo, and *Corradin* and *Meledin* the two ſons of *Saphadin* diuiding their fathers kingdom betwixt them, the one taking to himſelfe Damasco and Syria, and the other the great kingdom of Egypt, but all enemies vnto the Chriſtians.

*Corradin* and  
*Meledin* di-  
uide their fa-  
thers kingdom  
betwixt them.

About this time alſo, or not long after, *Innocentius tertius* yet Pope, ſummoned a generall Councell to Lateran, wherunto, beſides a multitude of great Biſhops and other reuerend prelates, repaired alſo the honorable Embaſſadors of moſt of the Princes of Chriſtendom. Vnto whom ſo aſſembled, among other things was propounded the dangerous eſtate of the Chriſtians in Syria, and how the ſame was by the help of the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt to be relieved. Wherunto all the Fathers and Princes there aſſembled eaſily gaue their conſent, and therupon were ſome appointed in euery country and prouince, to publiſh this Decree of the Councell, for the reliefe of the oppreſſed Chriſtians, and to ſtirre vp the deuout people for the vndertaking of ſo religious a War. The chiefe furtherers of this ſacred expedition, to be thus taken in hand againſt the Infidels, were the Biſhops of Germany, eſpecially the three great Biſhops of Mentz, Cullen, and Triers, whoſe example moued alſo many others, all which to rehearſe were tedious. Out of France alſo were ſent *Henry* the Countie of Niuers, and one *Gualter* the Kings great Chamberlaine, with a great number of the gallant youths of France, and ſo out of diuers other places alſo: ſo that at length ſuch a number of men were met together at diuers ports of the Adriatick, as made vp a fleet of 200 ſail: which with a proſperous wind caried ouer into Syria, arrived in ſafety at Ptolemais the chiefe city of the Chriſtians, now that Ieruſalem was loſt. After whom followed alſo *Andrew* King of Hungary, long before bound both by his fathers commandement and his owne promiſe, for the vndertaking of that ſacred Expedition: with whom came alſo *Lewis* Duke of Bavaria, and *Leopold* duke of Austria, with their forces all well appointed: vnto whom alſo *John* King of Ieruſalem joyned himſelfe with his power. Great hope and expectation there was for ſome great matter to haue been done, now that ſo great forces of the Chriſtians were thus met together. Who ſetting forward from Ptolemais, and the firſt day marching into Galile, by the way met with certain companies of the Turks, whom they eaſily overthrew and put to flight. The next day they came to the riuer of Iordan, where they alſo diſtreſſed certaine of the Turkes garrifons. There the King of Hungary bathing himſelfe in the riuer, forthwith (as one diſcharged of his vow and promiſe) returned with all his power vnto Ptolemais, and ſo from thence backe again into his own country, all the reſt of the army of the Chriſtians crying out to him to the contrary: who after the Kings departure ſtill marching on, came to the mount Thabor. But ſhortly after, Winter now coming on, and many of their cattell dying for cold and want of meat, they returned, ſome to Ptolemais, and ſome to Tyre, and there wintered. King *John* and the Duke of Austria in the meane time tooke a Caſtle betwixt Caſarea and Caipha, called the Caſtle of *Pilgrims*, from whence they much troubled the Barbarians thereabouts all that winter. Vpon the appearance of the Spring, and the army again met together, it was thought beſt by all the great Commanders, That forasmuch as the kingdom of Egypt was the chiefe maintenance of the Mahometan ſuperſtition againſt the Chriſtians in thoſe parts, and that ſo long as it ſtood vpright, they ſhould not be able to do any great matter in Syria, to attempt the conqueſt thereof, as an exploit beſt beſeeming their valour and ſo great preparation: for that that land being once ſubdued, the city of Ieruſalem with all the land of Paleſtine would of theſelves without more adoe ſtraightway yeeld vnto them. And for as much as the famous City of Damietta, called in ancient time Peluſium, not much inferiour vnto Alexandria,

was the firſt and moſt commodious port for their purpoſe, as neereſt vnto Syria; and by the taking thereof they ſhould haue a fair entrance into the great Riuer Nilus, with command of a moſt rich and pleaſant countrey about it; they reſolved there to begin the And therupon imbarcking themſelves with all things neceſſary for ſo great an enterpriſe, Ptolemais, and caried with a fair wind, they in ſhort time arrived at the deſired port. Now the old and ancient city, the key of that ſide of the kingdom, ſtood about a mile from the ſea, ſomewhat diſtant alſo from the great riuer, invironed with a navigable ditch or cut drawn from the Nile in manner of an Iſland, as a man cometh from Syria by land; and compaſſed with three ſtrong ſtonewalls, the worke of that good Emperour *Julius Perſinax*, and of ſome aſſum, called alſo *Athopolis*. At the mouth of this cut, as you ſhould enter into Tyre, ſtood a ſtrong watch-tower for defence thereof, and round about it a number of faire ſquares, in manner of a pretty town intrenched. Beſides that, for the more ſafety thereof, the cut was barred with a great ſtrong iron chaine, in ſuch fort as that it was impoſſible for ſhip without breaking the ſame, to enter. The Chriſtians with their fleet entering the mouth of the riuer, and coming to this cut, by great ſtrength brake the chaine. But thinking they had made their paſſage to the city, they found a greater ſtay at the watch-tower, which was ſo ſtrongly built of ſquare ſtone, and well ſtored with warlike engines of all ſorts, and a good garriſon of valiant ſoldiers, ſtayed their farther paſſage, overwelming them as they approached, with ſhot, fire, ſtones, timber, and ſuch like, before provided for that purpoſe.

The ſituation  
of Damietta in  
Egypt.

The Chriſtians, after the manner of the fight of that time, had vpon certain flat veſſels built in high towers of wood for the aſſailing of the watch-tower: in the approaching wherof, they were not only troubled with the enemy, but with the tumult and ſtir of their owne people; ſome crying that they ſhould yet draw neerer vnto the tower, other ſome crying out to haue the bridges caſt out, thereby to enter: and the enemies likewiſe with much clamour encouraging one another for the repulſing of the Chriſtians. So the ſoldiers hindered the ſhips to do their buſineſſe, and the mariners the ſoldiers. In the midſt of this hurly-burly tumult, one of the wooden towers ſurmounting the reſt in height, overcharged with the weight of men, ſell, and in falling made ſuch a noiſe, as if heaven it ſelfe had fallen: where in a moment as it were was preſently to be ſeen a moſt heavy ſpectacle; many overwelmed with the fall of the tower, lay there cruſhed to death; ſome grievouſly hurt, and yet not dead, lay ſtretched with the timber, crying out for help; others bruſed or hurt, but not overwelmed, for fear of further harm, leapt ſome into the Nile, ſome aboard the other ſhips neer by, ſome crying out of his arm, ſome of his leg, ſome of his head or other part of his body, to the great diſcomfort of the reſt, inſomuch that the aſſault was for that time giuen over.

King *John* (as well for his valor, as for the title of the King of Ieruſalem, choſen General of the Army) after he had appeaſed this tumult, and giuen the charge of them that were maimed or hurt, vnto ſkilfull ſurgeons, and buried the bodies of ſuch as were found drowned or overwelmed; with cheerefull ſpeech encouraged the reſt of his ſoldiers, perſuading them not to be diſcouraged with the accident of the fall of a tower, which was neither to be imputed vnto cowardice, or the valor of the enemy, but only to the chance of war.

In the mean time *Meledin* the Egyptian Sultan had with a great Army incamped himſelfe in the ſight of Damietta, thereby to encourage the beſieged, and to fill them with hope of ſuccour; ſending them oftentimes by the riuer, newes, meſſages, victuals, ſoldiers, armour, and ſoever elſe they wanted. The chiefe cauſe of his ſtaying there, was to take occaſion for ſurpriſing of the Chriſtians, if any ſhould be offered either by chance or their owne negligence. Every day ſome ſkirmiſh or other paſſed betwixt our men and the Barbarians, our men carrying away the victory: yet could theſe Barbarians neither be drawn forth to battell, nor could our men keepe them from victuals, forasmuch as they had the riuer Nile at command, wherby victuals were out of the vpper part of Egypt in great abundance conueighed to the Sultans Campe. Whereat on the contrary part, the ſame Riuer diuiding it ſelfe into many armes, in ſome places here and there overflowing, in another cut into many Ditches and channels, and in ſome other pent vp by walls and cauſes, gaue to our men a thouſand diſadvantages. And therefore ſeeing that the Sultan would neither giue nor accept of battell, they concluded againe to lay ſiege to the Tower. Wherefore hauing with great cunning, vpon two ſhips faſtned together, framed a tower of moſt ſtrong timber in height equall to the Watch-

tower, they brought the same neer vnto the Turks tower, and the suburbs adjoining therunto, after which followed also the rest of the fleet well appointed for the assault. At which time all the rest of the army at land stood in battell ready ranged, as well to discourage them of the town, as that the Sultan should not be able to help them without the hazard of battell. There began a fierce and cruell assault, they of the suburbs right valiantly defending themselves against their enemies. Within these suburbs, the tower, and the trenches, dwelt not only Egyptians (the naturall inhabitants of the country) but also Arabians, Persians, Syrians, Indians, Moores, and Ethiopians, who were there resiant; because that City was a publique mart, wherunto all sorts of merchandise was brought from far out of the remotest parts of the world, and so from thence in like manner transported also: which encouraged them the more to fight for the defence of their liues and goods, the two things which men hold most deere; & in like sort animated our men to the assault, as well in the quarrel of the Christian religion as to enrich themselves with the spoils of those rich nations. The Christians with their ships drew as neer as possibly they could vnto the land, to the intent that vpon the bank of the river they might come to fight hand to hand, and man to man, and so come close vnto their Enemies: but the Barbarians on the other side sought by shot and all other means they could, to keep them farther off, and so from landing.

*A desperat act  
of a Christian.*

That which most feared the Egyptians, was, that as one of our ships by chance ran aground vpon that side of the river where the enemy lay, and being boarded by the enemy, thronging in as fast as he could, and there making a cruell slaughter; one of the Christian souldiers going down vnder hatches made there a great hole, wherby the water abundantly comming in, sunk the ship before the enemy was aware, and so drowned a great number of the Egyptians together with the Christians. At which time also the high tower built vpon the two ships, joining now close to the Watch-tower, and mating the same, dismayed the defendants with the strangeness thereof as with a miracle, in such sort as they now stricken with a great fear, as being to fight with a strange, hardy, and cruell kind of men, without any great resistance forsook the tower and fled. The watch-tower thus taken, & they that should haue defended the same, some taken, some slain, and some fled; they in the suburbs discouraged, and flying away, were many of them wounded from above, out of the watch Tower but now gained by the Christians. At which time also the other ships landed the souldiers, who entering the suburbs, put all they found there to the sword, euen vnto the last man. There was found great abundance of victuals, but far greater store of riches, insomuch as it seemed to haue bin the spoil of Arabia, Persia, and the rich Indies.

*Damiata in  
vain assaulted.*

Now yet remained the strong Towne of Damiata, which was forthwith assaulted by the Christians, more to proue if in that heate and sudden fear it would be yeilded, than for any hope they had by force to win it. But hauing done what they could both by scaling & other engines, they gained nothing but hard blowes and wounds, and so retired. Neuertheless they lodged themselves in the suburbs, and laid a great part of the army betwixt the Sultan & the besieged city, to the intent that no supply of victuals should be brought vnto it: yet both the enemy oftentimes attempted to haue entred the city, and the besieged to haue sallied out; but both the one and the other were letted to doe what they would haue done, and that not without great losse of their men: for why, the town was now on euery side so inclosed by the Christians, as that no man could enter in or out thereof. Whilst the Christians thus lay at the siege, it fortuned that the river of Nile swelling with a great East wind, rose about the banks; and so overflowed the places wherein the Christians lay, that they could keep nothing dry, most part of their victuals being therewith spoiled. With which vnseasonable rising of the river the Christians not a little troubled, by commandement of Pelagius the Legat, gaue themselves to fasting and prayer by the space of three daies. But the wind falling the fourth day, and the river again decreasing, they gaue themselves more earnestly to prayer than before, thanking the Almighty, that as hee had put them in a great fear, so hee had in mercy againe comforted them.

Now with long lying, victuals began to grow scant in the Sultans Camp, so that hee was glad to send away halfe his Army vp againe into the Country of Caire. At which time also it chanced (as if it had been an extreame and common danger of the Mahometane superstition) that Embassadors sent from Corradin Sultan of Damasco and Ierusalem, vnto the Princes

of the Christian Army, came to sue for peace both for himselfe and his brother the Arabian Sultan; promising in regard thereof againe to restore vnto them the Holy-Crosse, wharsoeuer else himselfe, his father, or Sultan Saladin had before taken from them. Of their offer most part of the Army liked well, saying, That they had therefore taken vp for the recovery of that which had bin before gotten & gained by the valor of the worthy Christian captains, and had of late been taken from them; and to blot out the ignominy of the losse thereof, to the end it should not be said, that they could not leaue whole & entyre their children, what their fathers had got, when they had the keeping thereof; neither haue it, be able againe to recover it: that all these things beeing restored, there rested not further occasion of war, or let to stay them as most victorious conquerors to return home. Theles Pelagius Pope Honorius his Legat (for Innocentius in the preparation of the wars before dead at Pelusium) with King Iohn, the Masters of the Knights Hospitalers and Templers, the Duke of Austria, and the Germans were of opinion to the contrary: alledging that this sacred Warre was vndertaken generally against the Infidels, and for religions sake, not the Mahometan superstition, wherof the kingdom of Egypt was the chiefe seat and stand that therefore they ought especially to impugn that. Which perswasion, together with the authority of the persuaders, so preuailed, that the Sultans large offers were rejected, the Embassadors dispatched without any thing obtained of that they came for. Where Corradin fearing that the Christians would at length come to Ierusalem, as the place most desired; and doubting how he should be able to defend the same, forthwith raised walls thereof, and the more to deface it, ouerthrew and pluckt downe most of the goodly houses and other stately buildings therein, sparing yet the tower of David and the holy sepulchre, which he is said to haue done at the humble request and intercession of the Christians in those countries, which yet dwelt there, mixt with the Turks and Saracins.

*A faire offer  
unrefused.*

Whilst the Christians thus lay at the siege of Damiata, the plague began to arise in the town, wherof so many died, that it began to repent the great Commanders of the army, that they had so much hearkened to the perswasion of the Legate (a man making no profession of religion, rather than to the sound aduice of others, who by long experience taught the sudden alteration of matters of war, would willingly haue accepted of the Sultans large offers. So be Pelagius the Legat to be generally euill spoken of. There were now already six moneths since the beginning of the siege, and the Sultan lying in sight had nor with him so great an army as before, but only the floure and choice of his people, hauing (as is before said) for want of victuals sent away the rest vp againe into the country. Now it fortuned that the Christians, as men weary of the long siege, stood not so carefully vpon their gard, with watch and ward as before, but gaue themselves more to ease: which the Sultan perceiuing, drew neerer to the town, in hope vnder the couert of the silent night to send new supplies to the besieged; which companies by him appointed for that seruice, courageously set forward, in hope to defeat the Christian sentinels, and so indeed came neer to the town unseen or discouered; and the foremost of those companies were already entred the town, when the Christians perceiving them, raised an alarm, and put themselves in arms, and so furiously assailed the hinder part of them, and in such sort, that they which were before within, and those that were but entred, fearing lest the enemy in that hurly burly should pell mell enter in with the rest, fled out of the gates, exposed to the butchery, where all were presently cut in pieces. The Christians encouraged with this victory, the next day leauing a great part of the army to the town to continue the siege, presented themselves before the Sultans camp to giue battell. Who for all that, well considering that the losse of a battell might endanger the state of his kingdom, would by no means be drawne out of his trenches, but lay still: wherwith the Christians, especially the French men (in the first charge naturally furious) greatly encouraged, attempted to haue forcibly entred their rampiers, but not with successe able to their courage. For the Egyptians perceiuing the small number of their enemies, ably repulst them, and in fine forced them to retire, hauing lost Gualter one of their chief commanders, with diuers others: yea King Iohn in assailing the campe lost many of his men, grievously burnt in his face, hardly escaped himselfe with life. After which discomfiture he resolved not to think of any thing else but of the siege, and about all things to provide that no succours should be brought into the town. They in the city more strictly beset and besieged

*Succours sent  
vnto the besieged.*

besieged than before, and now brought vnto extreme necessity and famine, and out of all hope of reliefe, assembled themselves to consult of their affairs, and what were best for them to do in so dangerous a state; some one or other of them by night or otherwise secretly flying into the camp. And that more was, the city had vndoubtedly bin yeelded by the greater part, had not the chiefe commanders within mured vp the gates, and commanded that none of the inhabitants vpon pain of death should come vpon the wals or rampiers, to the intent that they should not get out, or cast themselves from above ouer the wals into the ditches. The chiefe commanders and captains went here and there vp and down the City, to search and view all things, especially the shops and store houses, where finding smal store of wheat, they diuided it in smal portions among themselves. The common people inforced with want, eat whatsoever came to hand, were it lawfull or vnlawfull, or else forbidden by their superstition, whole some or vnholsome, good or bad, salt or fresh, rost or raw; and so prolonged their liues with such things as they could find. Now the besieged not able to endure these extremities of the famine (being the passion that most grieuouly and often troubleth mankind) they were also attached by the wrath of God: for the plague (the fury wherof had before attained the camp of the Christians, and afterward quite ceased) was now got into the city, where it made great slaughter; which mortalitie day by day in such sort increased, that men were not onely now no more to be found, to visit, comfort, succor, serue, and help the sick; but were wanting also to bury them, to draw them out of their beds and houses, and to sepearat the liuing from those that were dead: the streets and houses being full of dead bodies, gaue forth a most horrible stinke, with a most grieuous & infectious aire: there was not any place cleer from the plague, or any man that could boast he had not bin attained therewith, or the fear thereof, and remedy was there none. The rage and fury of these two deuourers, the famine and the plague, deuoured them without number, chusing rather so to die, than to submit themselves vnto their enemies, or to humble themselves so low as to cranc their fauor. That they within were thus pinched with famine the Christians knew, but that the plague so raged amongst them they knew not. Now the Christians had of purpose cast vp certain trenches and barricadoes, for the keeping in of such as the famine should inforce to come out of the town; thinking that the besieged, to ease their wants, would thrust the baser sort of people and vnprofitable mouths out of the city, vnto whom the Christians meant not to give any passage: for they hauing long before so streitly inuiroined the city, as that no reliefe could be brought vnto it, lay now still expecting when the besieged, inforced by necessitie, should yeeld themselves, and so without losse of any man, to become masters of so strong and rich a town. It was now more than a year that the Christians had thus lien at the siege of Damietta; when as certain of the soldiers vpon a brauery aduentured with a few scaling ladders to mount the wal: in which doing, finding no resistance, and withall hearing so great silence as if there had bin nobody within the city, they stood still a great while hearkning: but seeing that dumb silence still to continue, they returned vnto the camp, giuing the captains to vnderstand how the matter stood: who at the first thought it to be some policie and fineness of the deceitfull enemy; yet afterward they thought it good to aduenture certain men, to proue their fortune, and to cause certain Companies well appointed to scale one of the bulwarks of the City, in such sort as if they should haue gon against a puissant enemy that had had power to resist them. And hereupon were scaling ladders brought forth, and all things made ready as for a great assault. So the Christians courageously mounting the ladders, without resistance took the bulwarke. But as they were entering farther into the town, a small company of the Turks and Barbarians (all the soldiers that the fury of the plague had left, and they also with the famine and infection of the air very weak and feeble) met them, and began to make some smal resistance, but to no purpose, being forthwith all cut in pieces. Which done, the matter wherewith the gates of the city were mured, was presently removed, the gates set open, and the Christians with ensignes displayed let in. But even at the very entering in at the gates they were attained with a most grieuous and horrible stinke, they saw a fair city dispeopled, and that which was most fearfull to behold, the streets couered with bodies of the dead, and such a dreadfull desolation, as might moue even the enemy himself to compassion. The Christians were entred as men appointed to haue don a great execution, and to haue made the chancels run with blood, as men justly prouoked with the long siege and the pains they had endured; they had their swords and weapons in their hands,

Damietta being  
unpropit by  
the plague, it  
without resistance  
taken by  
the Christians:

is, but found none against whom to vse them, for a man could not enter into any house, or into any street, but he must passe ouer the dead, or others which being not yet altogether were miserably drawing toward their end. Of seuentie thousand persons in the city were found about three thousand aliue, and those for the most part yet yong children; for all the rest were dead, taken away either with the sword, famine, or the plague, the greatest part of which lay yet stinking about the ground vnburied. These three thousand that were left were slegre and poor, that pitty it was to behold them: vnto whom their liues were granted, vpon condition that they should make clean the city, and bury the dead, which they were three months in doing.

Thus was Damietta taken by the Christians the fift day of Nouember, in the year 1221, which it had bin more than a yeare by them besieged. The spoil there taken was great, for besides the rich merchandise brought thither from far, was found great store of gold, siluer, and precious stones. The Christians thus enriched, and the city made clean, staid there more than a year after, as in a Colony wherein they had bin willing to dwell, forgetfull of their own countrie in the beginning of these wars, the Princes of the army had with one consent agreed, that whoeuer city or territory should by them be taken from the Turkes or infidels, should be giuen vnto the King of Ierusalem, whom after the departure of the King of Hungarie they made Generall of the whole army. But now that the City was taken, Pelagius the Legat understanding, That by vertue of his Legation it belonged vnto him to dispose of all things taken in that sacred war; as a man not vnmindfull of his master, adjudged the city from thenceforth to belong vnto the See of Rome. With which indignitie and wrong the King inwardly discontented, and yet for the Legats authority dissembling the matter, withdrew himselfe, and retired to Ptolemais.

The year following, Pelagius weary to see the Arms of the Christians to corrupt with rust, and nothing doing, considering the desire and hope he had vtterly to haue ruined the Infidels together with their superstition, commanded that euery man should again take vp arms, and prosecuting of this war against the Sultan, and the besieging of Cair. But for all that, he had commanded what he would or could, the soldiers little regarding his command, one voice cried out, that they would not be commanded by any but by the King of Ierusalem only. So that the Legat, inforced by the soldiers, was glad to send vnto the King to re-quest him again to return vnto Damietta, and to take vpon him the charge for the manning of the war, taken in hand for the defence of the Christian religion. Who for all that, excused himselfe from so doing, one while by his own particular affairs, another while by his own position: yet in fine, pressed and overcome by the prayers and requests of the other Lay Princes, he returned to Damietta at the selfe same time that the Duke of Bavaria arrived with a goodly company of braue men, brought thither out of his own country, after hee had bin now from thence ten moneths absent.

The Legat desirous of the prosecution of this War, requested and vrged the King, with the Princes and great Commanders, without delay to take the field; telling them that the enterprise of the Holy war was grown old and cold, by those long delayes and protracting time: and that they which kept wars so far from home, ought to make haste to force the enemy, to take all occasions, to lose no time, but euer to be doing, and to proue all things for the conquest of the Enemy. And that that was the way wherby the Worthies of ancient times, both Kings and Emperours, had gained vnto themselves Empires, glory, greatnesse and wealth: it was for them that were inuaded and assailed, vpon whose liues depended the safety of the country, their wiues, children, and goods, to delay and prolong the time as they might, and to let the enemy, to frustrat his designses, to defeat his attempts, and with delais to dally off, till that hauing thereby weakened his forces, he should together with his courage lose his hope. Cair indeed (he said) was a great city, but yet that the greatest cities that euer had by wars become great desarts, forced by the power of their puissant and speedy enemies; and that great empires (as were those of the Sultans) ought not to be inuaded or assailed by any forein force, if they were not at the first onser ouerthrown, or at least so weakened, that they could not afterwards lift vp their heads or recover themselves: for otherwise, they which had prepared a destruction for others, should fall into the same themselves. That he would either not to haue attempted or assailed Egypt at all; or else now, after it had bin

1221

1222

Pelagius the Legat persuades the Princes of the Christian Army to prosecute for the conquest of Egypt.

once

once assailed, not so to giue it ouer before it were conquered. The King of Ierusalem, whether it were that he were pricked with grief, that being called the King of the Holy land, he could not haue the city of Damiata (vnder his leading and conduct won by the Christians come to the sacred War) giuen vnto him by the Legat; or that he had before proued, that the higher Country of Egypt was not without great and manifest danger to be attempted; said, That he would not go: alledging that honorable and sacred War to haue bin taken in hand onely for the recovery of the Holy land, and not for the winning of Memphis, Babylon, or Thebes in Egypt; which after they were taken, would not for any long time continue in their fidelitie and obedience, nor could they possibly be kept by force. Whereas Syria, by *Godfrey of Buillon* and other great Princes his associats entred into, conquered and possessed, and since his time by diuers other Christian Kings and Princes holden, was in right their own: And that therefore he greatly commended the forwardnesse, the diligence, the courage, the desire, and whatsoeuer thing else *Pelagius* commended; but that he ought to employ the same in Syria, and not there where no need was, or from whence no profit was to be drawn or expected. Neuertheless the Legat, wedded to his own opinion, by the power of his Authoritie commanded the King of Ierusalem, the Duke of Bavaria, with the rest of the great Commanders & Capitaines, to take vp their Arms, to get them into the field vpon the expedition by him appointed against the Sultan; threatening the paine of the high sentence of Excommunication against him or them that would shew themselves backward or vnwilling to do what hee had commanded. So as it were enforced by the Legat, they began with euill will & worse speed to set forward in August, in the very hottest time of the yeare. At which time the Sultan beholding the great army of the Christians, in number about seuentie thousand, retired as a man afraid, into such places as he thought best, farther off. Which the Legat seeing (as one not acquainted with the feats of war) rejoiced greatly as if the victorie had bin already more than half gained; commending to the heavens them that he saw courageously marching forward, saying, That fortune alwaies fauored the Valiant, and that vnto Cowards all things fell still out to the worst. By the way the Christians seised vpon a bridge which the Enemy had made ouer the Nile, and cut in pieces such companies as were left for the keeping thereof. So marching on they drew neer vnto Cair, and there in the sight of that great and rich City incamped: where running vp and down, the more to terrifie them of the city, prouoked them to battel, vpbraiding vnto them their lazinesse, cowardise, and sloath, brauing them (if they were men) to come out. Yet for all that, they would not so do, but keeping themselves close & covert within the city, let them alone to brag and boast at their own pleasure. This siege continued long, of purpose protracted still from day to day by them of the city: and the great opinion the Christians had of their own valor, with the smal regard they had of the enemies, made them so proud and careles, that they remembered no more to take good care of the war, of their duty, their watch or their sentinels: their confidence was in their own valor and good fortune, not considering or remembering that they were come into Egypt, or that they had put themselves within the trenches, sallies, channels, and cuts of a deceitfull riuer, which not only brought victuals vnto their enemies, but also fortified them; who by how much they were the lesse valiant, and lesse vnderstood the art of war, the more they vsed craft and subtiltie for their own preferuation: so the cunning enemies drew the Christians out at length, abusing them with many delays and deceits, shewing semblance of great fear, to make themselves the lesse to be feared, and the more contemptible in their doings, to the end that they knowing the passages and streits of the country, and referring themselves vnto the occasions and aduantages both of the time, and of their enemies, might circumuent them and intrap them at such time as they least feared any such matter. The Christians at all aduenture had incamped in a low ground, within the banks and caufies of that fenny country, vnder the covert thereof thinking themselves safe as in their trenches, against al sudden sallies or attempts of their enemies. But these places wherein they lay were soft & durty, forasmuch as the country people vsed at their pleasure to water them by channels and sluices out of the riuer Nile; which now plucked vp and opened, the riuer began to rise and overflow all. Then too late they perceiued themselves taken as in a grin, without power to defend themselves, or to make any resistance, or by any other means to shew their valor. So the riuer still arising and overflowing, gaue to the Turks and Egyptians good hope of their wars, and of a victorie more desired than

The Christians  
entrapt within  
the Sluices of  
the riuer Nile.

A than hoped for ouer a warlike and victorious people. All the ground where the Christians lay incamped was couered with water, so high that the victuals were corrupted, and no place left for a man to stand or lie dry in.

Now at the same time the Egyptians had taken the high places, with the passages vpon the wals and banks in that drowned country, to the intent that the Christians should not be able to retyre or saue themselves out of the bogs and marshes couered ouer with water. So was their rash valour and presumptuous confidence in themselves, exposed vnto the enemies shot and fury; and when they would by force haue defended themselves, their hardinesse was ouercome by the crafty subtiltie of the weake enemy. Then began euery man to cry out against *Pelagius* the Legat, accusing, condemning, and railing at him: the King himselfe they blamed not, for that he had done his duty in dissuading of this expedition, and was contrary to his good liking himselfe drawn into this war, the charge whereof he had not without great intreatie taken vpon him: neither might he with his credit well complain of this misfortune, left in so doing he might seem to haue had no comfort in himselfe. But as for the Legat, What counsell could he then giue? What counsell could he then take for himselfe? They of Venice, Pisa, and Genoa, left at Damiata, were indeed strong at sea, but how could they come to relieue him at Cair? And how or by what forces could the Christians break out of the banks and sluices of the cuts and channels, which winding in and out with a thousand inextricable turnings, inclosed them, befer also on euery side with the victorious enemy? After they had bin thus coupt vp and enuirowed with the waters 3 daies, you might haue seen the poor soldiers in euery place fall down dead for want of food and sleepe, and so perishe in the water: the like miserable kind of death the rest were also in short time after to expect: other helpe there was none, but to yeeld vnto necessitie, and to accept of such conditions as it should please the proud enemy to propound. Now the Sultan desired not so much their liues, as the liberty of his Country; and therefore required to haue the City of Damiata again restored vnto him, and all things else in such sort as were before the besieging thereof: and so the Christians without more ado to depart his Country. Hard conditions, if a man respect the hope wherupon the Christians had vndertaken this War, and were so come into Egypt, with the toyle there by them endured. But vnto him that will but enter into the consideration of mens affairs, and especially in martiall matters, it will seem but an accident to be yeelded to, the like whereof hath oftentimes hapned vnto the greatest men of the world. These conditions (such as they were) were by the distressed Christians accepted of. But when they were brought to Damiata, and there propounded to the Christians there left, a great contention began to arise among them; some said they would not accept of them, or surrender the towne, which being kept would be a stay for all the affairs of the Christians in the East, and a most commodious place for them to haue recourse vnto: but being restored and lost, caried away with it all the hope of the Christians: and that therefore it were better to endure all extremities, than to receiue such dishonorable and hurtfull peace. Others of the contrary opinion said, That they ought not to forsake them that were in danger before Cair, nor to expose them to the butchery, but to haue a Christian compassion of so many thousand souls as there lay distressed, seeing they might be saued by surrendering that one town: Townes, as they said, consisted of the number of men, and not men of the inclosures of wals and ditches. They that were of this opinion for the deliuering vp of the towne, seeing the other obstinately set down to the contrary, withdrawing themselves from the counsel, presently took vp arms, and by force entred the houses of them of contrary opinion, and took from them their weapons, by that means & perforce to constrain them to yeeld to their desire. As soon as they that lay before Cair (almost drowned in the waters) vnderstood of this dissention at Damiata about the deliuerie of the towne, they sent them word, that if they would not yeeld the Towne to the Sultan, they would forthwith send to Ptolemais, which would not fail to do what should be commanded, to haue it in stead of Damiata rendred to the Egyptians. So was Damiata again yeelded to the Infidels, and so great labors of the Christians taken at the siege & winning thereof, all lost. That which made this indignity more tolerable, was, that Sultan *Meladin* having without bloudshed gained so great a victorie, did neither by word or deed any thing in despight or reproch of the Christians, but vsed them with all curtesie, relieuing them also with victuals and other things as they wanted, and by faithfull guides conducting them in safety out of the Country.

In

The miserie of  
the christians  
in the drowned  
land.

In like manner also *Corradine* his brother, Sultan of Damasco, made truce with the Latins for eight years. Whereupon the King of Ierusalem went ouer into Italy, and there by the persuation of *Honorius* the Pope, his wife being now dead, gaue his daughter *Toland* (now crowned Queen of Ierusalem in the right of her mother) in marriage to *Frederick* King of Sicilia; and Emperor of the Latines, the rather thereby to stir him vp for the taking in hand of the sacred war. Ever since which time, he and his successors Kings of Sicilia haue bin called Kings of Ierusalem, albeit they haue euilly prosecuted that their pretended right and title, as still busied in more profane wars against other Christian Princes. King *John* afterwards departing from Rome for France, was by the way honourably entertained at Pisa: but arriuing at the French court, he found *Philip* the French King desperately sick, who by his last will and Testament gaue vnto the Knights Hospitallers and Templers sixty thousand crownes for the maintenance of their wars against the Infidels; which money was to their wife afterward payd vnto King *John*. Who shortly after, to discharge himselfe of a vow he had made, to visit the pilgrimage at Compostella; going into Spain, by the way married *Beringaria* the King of Castiles daughter: and there staying a great while, returned again into France, where he lay long, expecting the setting forward of the Emperor *Frederick* his son in law, for recovery of his wifes right to the kingdom of Ierusalem: which although hee solemnly vowed at such time as hee with all princely magnificence married the said Lady at Rome, yet otherwise letted with troubles neerer home, performed not the same vntill almost seuen years after. All which time the Christians in Syria enjoying the fruit of the late concluded peace for 8 years, liued in great rest and quietnes: where so leauing them vntill the arising of new troubles, let vs in the mean time return again vnto the troubled affairs of the Turks, Greeks, and Latins at Constantinople and in the lesser Asia.

The death of  
Henry, Emperor  
of Constantinople.

Peter Emperor.

*Henry* the second Emperor of the Latines at Constantinople, after he had (as is aforesayd) with much ado repressed the fury of the Bulgarians and Scythes his barbarous enemies, and so giuen peace to the miserable country of Thracia, died, hauing reigned a most troublesome reign about the space of eleuen yeares. After whom succeeded *Peter* Count of Ausserre, his sonne in Law, third Emperour of the Latines in Constantinople. Who in the beginning of his Empire, willing to gratifie the Venetians, and to reuenge himselfe of *Theodorus Angelus* a great Prince of Epirus, Competitor in his empire, besieged him in Dirrachium; which strong City the said *Theodorus* had but a little before surpris'd, belonging vnto the Venetian Seigniorie. At which siege *Peter* the Emperour lying, was so cunningly by the wyly Greeke vsed, that a peace was vpon most honorable conditions betwixt them concluded, and a familiar kind of friendship joined. In somuch that the Emperour at his request, not well aduised, came vnto him as a guest: who now of his enemy became his host, entertaining him with all the formalities that feigned friendship could deuise. But hauing him now in his power, and fearing no harme, regarding neither the lawes of fidelitie or hospitalitie, he most traiterously slew him as he was yet in the midst of his banquet. Of whose misfortune *Tepulus* Gouvernor of Constantinople vnderstanding, for the more safety of the state in that vacancie of the Empire, made peace with *Theodorus* for five years, and with the Turks for two. Shortly after came *Robert* (son to the aforesaid vnfortunat Emperour *Peter*) with his mother to Constantinople, and there in his fathers stead was solemnly saluted Emperour, but not with much better lucke than was his father before him: for shortly after his comming, he took to wife a fair yong Lady, the daughter of a great rich and noble matron in the city, but before betrothed vnto a gallant Gentleman a Burgundian born. With whom the old Lady broke her promise, and more carefull of her daughters preferment, than her fidelity, gaue her in marriage vnto the yong Emperour. The ioy of which so great an honour was shortly after conuerted not into a deadly heauines, but euen into death it self: for the yong Burgundian more enraged with the wrong done him, than discouraged with the greatnesse and power of the Emperour, comforted himselfe with a company of lusty tall fouldiers acquainted with his purpose, and awaiting his time when the Emperour was absent, by night entred the court with his desperat followers, and first meeting with the beautifull yong Emperesse, cut off her nose and her ears, and afterward threw her old mother

Robert, Emperor  
of Constantinople.

An horrible  
outrage committed  
vpon the person of  
an Emperesse.

mother into the sea, and so fled out of the city into the woods and mountains, with those desperat cut-throats the ministers of his barbarous crueltie. The Emperour pierced to the heart with this so great a disgrace, shortly after went to Rome, to what purpose was not certainly known; but in returning back againe thorough Achaia, he there died, leauing behind him his yong son *Baldwin*, yet but a childe, begotten by his first wife, to succeed him in the empire; who by the name of *Baldwin* the second, was crowned the fit and last Emperour of the Latins in Constantinople. And for because he was as yet but yong and vnfit for the government, he was by consent of the Nobilitie affianced, and afterward married vnto *Martha* the younger daughter of *John Brenne* King of Ierusalem, a worthy old capitaine, (but as then Governour of Rauenna, which city, he being certaine yeres before sent for out of France for that purpose, by *Honorius* the Pope, he notably defended against the emperor *Frederick* his son in law, but that affinity was before broken off by the death of the said Emperors wife) who now sent for out of Italy vnto Constantinople, had committed to his charge and protection, both the person and empire of the yong Emperour *Baldwin*, now his son in law. Which great and heauy charge he for certain yeares after worthily and faithfully discharged, vntill such time as that *Baldwin* was himselfe grown able to take vpon him the government. Now although the imperial city of Constantinople, with the countries of Thracia, Thessalia, Macedonia, Achaia, Peloponessus, and therest of the prouinces of Greece, were alor for the most part vnder the government of *Baldwin* the Emperour, the Venetians, or other the inferiour Latine Princes; yet were the oppressed Greekes, the naturall inhabitants thereof, in heart not theirs, as abhorring nothing more than that their forrein government; but wholly deuoted to their owne natural Princes, *Theodorus Lascaris* and *Alexius Comnenus*, the one raigning at Nice in Bithynia, the other at Trapezond in Pontus, both called by the Greeks, Emperours, and so of them generally reputed. *Lascaris* of the two the better beloued, and by farre of greatest power, had during the time of his government fought many an hard battell, (as is in part before declared) and strongly fortified his chiefe cities against the inuasion of his enemies, as well the Turks as the Latins: and so hauing as it were erected a new empire in Asia, and there reigned eighteen yeres, died, leauing behind him one *John Ducas Batazas*, that had married the faire Lady *Trene* his daughter and heire, to succeed him in the Greeke empire in Asia. This *John* was a man of a great wit and spirit, and of more grauity for his yeres, than was *Theodorus* his father in law, neuer vnder-taking any thing before he had thereof well considered, and once resolved, not omitting or neglecting any thing for the performance thereof: so that it was not vnfitly said of the Greeks, The planting of this new empire to haue required the celeritie of *Lascaris*, but the stay thereof to haue been the grauity of *Ducas*. He in the beginning of his reign in very short time hauing set all things in good order, greatly augmented his legions, and shooting at a fairer mark than the empire he held, euen the imperiall city it selfe, and the recovery of all Thracia & Grecia out of the hands of the Latines, which could not be done without a fleet at sea, built a great number of gallies in the ports of the lesser Asia. And so hauing rigged vp & manned a strong fleet, and scouring the seas, in one Summer took in most of the Islands of the *Aegeum*, namely Lesbos, Chios, Samos, Icaria, Coos, with the famous Island of the Rhodes, and many others also. And not so contented, to haue increased his empire, the next Spring crossing the Hellespont, and landing his forces first inuaded Chersonesus; and afterward to terrifie the Latines, foraged the country farre and neere, euen to the gates of Constantinople, no man daring to oppose himselfe against him. At which time also he tooke many cities and strong towns alongst the sea coast, as, Calliopolis, Cestus, and Cardia, with diuers others therabout, some by force, some by composition, the Greeks almost in euery place yeelding themselves, where they were not so oppressed by the Latines, as that they could not help him. Now by these proceedings of the Greeke Emperour in Europe, was plainly to be scene again the ruine of the Latine Empire in the East, all things prospering in his hand according to his hearts desire. *Assan* the Bulgarian King (no small terror both vnto the Latines and the Greeks) moved with the same hereof, by his Embassadors sent of purpose vnto *John* the Greeke Emperour, offered his daughter *Helena* in mariage with yong *Theodore* his sonne: of which offer the Emperour gladly accepted. For being busied in his great affaires, he was loth to haue so great a King as was *Assan*, his enemy, able at his pleasure to call in the Scythes, who with their multitude, as a great flood breaking ouer the banks, had oftentimes carried away whole countries

*Baldwin* the  
last Emperour  
of the Latines  
in Constantinople.

*John Batazas*  
made Emperour  
of the Greekes  
in Asia.

K

before

before them. Wherefore the match agreed vpon, the two great Princes by appointment met together about Chionofus, where *Helena* king *Assans* daughter, being then about ten yeares old, was with great ioy and triumph solemnly married vnto *Theodore* the Emperors son, much of the same age. Not long after, Embassadors were also sent vnto the Emperor from the Sultan of Iconium, to confirme and prolong the league betwixt them; for the Tartars not contented to haue driuen the Turks out of Persia and the far Easterne countries, began now also to cut them short in their Prouinces in the lesser Asia. Wherefore the Sultan of Iconium, fearing lest while he had his hands full of those his most dreadfull enemies, of themselves too strong for him, he should behind be set vpon by the Greeke Emperor, and so thrust out of all, sent these his Embassadors vnto him for peace: which he for many causes easily granted. First, for that he foresaw what an hard matter it would be for him to maintaine warre at once both in Asia against the Turks, and in Europ against the Latins: then by this warlike nation, as by a most sure bulwarke, to keep his owne countries safe from the incursion of the barbarous Tartars, vnto whose fury he should himselfe lie open, if the Turks were once taken out of their way. Both sufficient reasons for the Emperor to yeeld vnto the Sultan, which he did: so was the peace concluded, and the Embassadors dispatched. This peace exceedingly comforted, and afterwards enriched the Emperors countries: for now the people generally deliuered of the feare and misery of continuall war, began on all hands to fall to their fruitfull labours of peace. Yea the Emperor himselfe, to the stirring vp of others to the like good husbandrie, caused so much land to be ploughed vp for corne, and so many vineyards to be planted, as might plentifully suffice his owne house, and such poore as he daily relieued; with a great overplus, which he caused to be carefully layd vp in store: hee kept also great herds of cattell, flocks of sheepe, and fowles of all sorts, without number. The like he caused his kinsmen and other of the nobility to do; to the intent that euery great man hauing sufficient for his owne spending at home, should not take any thing from the poore country men, that so euery man contenting himselfe with his owne, might liue in peace without the grievance of others. By which meanes in a few yeares euery barne and granarie was full of corne, euery cellar full of wines, euery stable full of cattell, euery store-house full of victuals; the fields were covered with corn and cattell, and in euery mans yard were to be seen all kinds of tame fowles, without number. About which time also there fortun'd a great famine among the Turks, inso much as that they were inforced to fetch their greatest reliefe from out of the Christian countries. Then might you haue seen euery way full of Turks, men, women, and children, traouelling too and fro into the Emperors countrey for victuals; their gold, their silver, their other rich commodities, they gaue vnto the Christians for food; a little corn was worth a good commodity; euery bird, sheepe, and kid, was sold at a great rate; by which meanes the countrey mens houses were full of the Turks wealth, and the emperors coffers stored with their treasure: the greatnes of the profit arising of this plenty of the Christians, and penury of the Turks, may hereby easily be gathered, for that of egges daily sold, so much money was in short time gathered, as made the Emperesse an Imperiall crowne of gold, richly set with most orient pearle and precious stones of great price; which the Emperor called *Quata*, for that it was bought with egge money. Thus flourished the Greeke empire in the lesser Asia, vnder the good Emperor *Iohn Ducas*: the Turks at the same time declining as fast, daily pilled in one corner or another by the Tartars, and consumed with famine at home.

At Imp:all  
counsell bought  
with egge money

*Frederick* the German emperor had of long time vowed to take vpon him an expedition into the Holy land, for performance whereof he was hardly called vpon, first by *Honorius quartus* the Pope, & afterward for his long delay excommunicated by *Gregory* the ninth: not so much for the zeale they had vnto the sacred war, as to busie the Emperour afar off in warres abroad, whilst they in the meane time, to increase their owne power, drew from him some one part or other of his empire: which he not without cause fearing, from day to day, & yere to yere, delayed the performance of his vow, so much vrged by the Pope; by his presence & power still disappointing all the flie designses of the Popes, conceived or put in practise against him: but now at length moued, or more truly to say, inforced with the thundering and lightning of Pope *Gregorie*, he resolved to set forward in the yere 1227. About which time, *Tolenta*, or *Toland* his wife, the king of Ierusalem his daughter, died in childbed, being before deliuered of a faire sonne. Now were met together at Brundisium an exceeding great number of courageous

1227

A gious and deuout souldiers out of all parts of Christendome, especially out of Germanie, vnder the leading of *Lodwick* Landgraue of Thuringe, and *Sigefride* Bishop of Angusta; al stirred vp with the same of so notable an expedition. But whilst they there staid somewhat long, the plague arose among the Germanes, whereof in short time after, both the Landgraue and the Bishop died, with many of the other best soldiers. The emperor himselfe was vpon his way as far as Malea, vpon the further side of Peloponessus, where falling desperately sicke of a burning feuer, and put back with contrary winds, he returned againe to Brundisium, and there staid a great while after. Then began the Pope again to fret and fume, and to cast out his excommunications against the emperor, as if it had bin thunder and lightning, accusing him of perjury, infidelity, and many other grievous crimes, of all which the Emperor was ready to haue cleared himselfe in an open assembly of the Princes of Germany to be holden at Rauenna, had it not bin by the Pope and the troubles of Lombardy disturbed. Neuerthelesse, he by open protestations and writings, fully answered all the Popes vniuist accusations, wherewith hee had been so hardly charged: and yet desirous to performe the expedition by him taken in hand, hauing set all things in good order, and put himselfe againe in a readines, he set forward from Brundisium in August, in the yere 1228, leauing the charge of his territories in Italy vnder the care of *Reynold* Duke of Spalero. The Pope displeased, for that the Emperor at his departure had neither reconciled himselfe, nor taken his leaue of him; and deeming therein his excommunications and fulminations to be contemned and set at naught, fell into such a rage and choler, that he forbad all the Christian forces that were in Syria, to follow him, or to yeeld to him their obedience; and writ letters also vnto the Sultan, not to come to any agreement with the Emperour, or to yeeld vnto him any part of the Holy Land: which letters the Sultan afterwards sent vnto the Emperor. Neither yet so contented, immediately after his departure, ran vpon his kingdom of Naples, and so filled all Italy with troubles. Neuertheles the Emperour arriuing at Ptolemais, was there honorably receiued of the Christian forces, notwithstanding the Popes threats and cursings. Of whose arriual Sultan *Meladin* hauing intelligence, and loth to draw so mighty an enemy as was the emperor, vpon him, by his embassadors offered him most honorable conditions of peace, which before he would accept of, he by conuenient messengers sent vnto the Pope, to haue his consent and approbation. But such was his rage, as that he would not suffer the Messengers to come into his presence, or vouchsafe to read the Emperors letters, being brought vnto him, but like a mad man presently rent them in pieces. All which indignities the Emperor neuerthelesse took in good part, and concluded a peace with the Turks for ten yeares, vpon these conditions: First, That he should be anointed and accounted king of Ierusalem: then, That the Holy City, with all the land of Palestine should be deliuered vnto him: thirdly, That he might at his pleasure fortifie the cities of Nazareth and Ioppe: fourthly, That all such places as were sometime in the power of *Baldwin* the fourth King of Ierusalem, and taken from him by Sultan *Saladin*, should be restored: and last of all, That all prisoners on both sides should be set at liberty without ranfome. So the peace concluded, the Emperor with his army came to the desolate city of Ierusalem, and there vpon Easter day with great solemnity was crowned king thereof, in the yere 1229. And so hauing repaired the walls of the city, with certain Churches, fortified Nazareth and Ioppe, and furnished them with strong garriisons, and appointed *Reynold* Duke of Bauaria, his lieutenant in Syria, he with two gallies only returned into Italy. Euer since which time the kings of Sicilia haue beene also called Kings of Ierusalem, and haue oftentimes borne the armes of both Kingdomes.

The next yere Pope *Gregory*, in despite of the emperor *Frederick*, more than for any zeale to the Christian Religion, did by the Dominicans and Franciscans (two orders of Friars but then lately created) as by his trumpeters, stir vp a wonderful number of zealous and deuout Christians, almost in euery part of Christendome, to take vpon them the crosse (as they termed it) the cognifiance of such as had by vow bound themselves to take vp arms against the Turks and Saracins, for a recovery or defence of the Holy land. These deuout men met together in great number, vnder the leading of *Theobald* K. of Nauar, *Almericus* Countie of Montfort, *Henry* Countie of Champagne, and others too long to rehearse, (of purpose stirred vp to trouble the ten yeares peace before concluded betwixt the Emperor and the Turks in Syria) set forward, and after long trauell passing the streight of Bosphorus, not far from Constantinople,

1228

1229

*Frederick: the Emperor crowned King of Ierusalem.*

1230

*The vnsuccessfull expedition of the King of Nauarre into the Holy Land.*

noble into Bithynia, came to the river Sangarius, & there staid a while to refresh themselves. E  
 Afterwards passing through Galatia, and so from country to country through the lesser Asia,  
 they came at length to the streits of the mountaine Amanus (a part of the mountain Taurus)  
 which they found before taken by the Turks, and the Sultan of Iconium himselfe not far off  
 incamped with a strong army. Neuerthelesse the valiant Countie of Montfort, which had the  
 leading of the vanguard, courageously marching forward, by plaine force opened the passage  
 of the mountain, hauing slain or put to flight the Turks appointed for the keeping thereof:  
 the king of Nauarre in the meane time (though in vain) assailing the Sultan in his camp, who  
 tearing the great power of the Christians, kept himselfe within his owne strength, and would  
 not stir. Wherefore the King seeing it to no purpose there longer to stay, diuiding his army  
 into three parts, left the Sultan, and followed after the Countie, placing his baggage in the H  
 midst, and the best of his souldiers in the rereward. But whilst they thus march vp the great  
 mountaine, the Turks better acquainted with those passages, were still at hand, assailing them  
 somtime behind, somtime on the one side, somtime on the other, as they saw occasion: and at  
 length taking them at an aduantage in a great plaine, set vpon them, now before almost spent  
 with hunger and trauell, and there slew of them an exceeding great number. But by the com-  
 ming on of the night the battell was broken off, and the Christians repairing vnto their en-  
 signes, passed the streits, and so at length arrived at Antioch, hauing lost by the way the great-  
 est part of the army, with all their wealth, their victuals, and most part of their horses: the  
 remnant yet left, hauing a little refreshed themselves, were by sea transported to Ptolemais;  
 from whence they were afterwards by the Templars conducted to Gaza, where they lay, and of  
 the spoyle of the countie greatly enriched themselves. As for any other great matters, they  
 were not able of themselves to take in hand, and help of such forces as the emperor had before  
 left at Ierusalem, and other places, they could haue none; hauing expresse charge from the  
 Emperor himselfe, not to do any thing against the enemy, tending to the breach of the tenne  
 yeares league: which the Turks well perceiuing, and that they had to do but with these new  
 come guests, and some few others their partakers, hauing gathered together their forces, lay  
 in ambush for them in euery corner, to cut them off. Neither was it long, but that these of  
 Gaza going far into the country, and returning laded with spoile, were set vpon by the Turks,  
 whom they (casting away the spoyle they had before taken) notably repulsed & put to flight,  
 the day now drawing to an end. But early the next morning appeared a far greater number of K  
 Turkes than before; which now putting on, charged the Christians, who all that night had  
 stood watching in their armor, and so ioined with them a most cruel battell: wherein the Chri-  
 stians shewed so much valour as was possible for men to do, but wearied with the long fight,  
 and oppressed with the multitude of their enemies, they were overcome and slaine almost eu-  
 ery mothers son. Among the rest, the two Counties, *Americus* and *Henry* fell: the King of  
 Nauarre himselfe hardly escaped by the exceeding swiftnesse of his horse, and by vncertaine  
 wayes wandring vp and downe the countie, not knowing well which way to take, after two  
 dayes came by good fortune to loppe: some few others escaped by flight to Ptolemais, the  
 heauy messengers of the misfortune of their fellowes. The King afterwards visiting the holy  
 places at Ierusalem, returned home into his countie, with some few of his followers, hauing L  
 performed nothing of that the world expected.

The Christians  
by persuasion  
of the Templers  
broke their  
League with  
the Turkes.

About foure yeares after, *Reynold* Duke of Bauaria, whom *Fredericke* the Emperor had left  
 his lieutenant in Ierusalem, died, hauing by the space of fife yeres peaceably gouerned that  
 bruised kingdom. After whose death, the Templers (who, he yet liuing, would oftentimes  
 haue broken the League, but that they were by his wisdom restrained) now tooke occasion  
 to stirre vp the people to take vp armes against the Turks, without respect vnto the league yet  
 in force, or of the dangers like thereof to insue. Whereof the Egyptian Sultan hearing, raised  
 a great army, sending also for the Chorasines, a warlike nation then lying neere vnto Baby-  
 lon, to come vnto his aid. Thus become very strong, hee first layd siege to Gaza, but a little  
 before repayed and fortified by the King of Nauarre and the Templers, which he at length M  
 tooke by force, and put to sword all that were therein, as well the citisens, as the garrison sould-  
 iers: in like manner he dealt also with them of Ascalon and other places as he went. To re-  
 presse this his fury, the Templers and Hospitallers had assembled the whole strength of that  
 weake Kingdome, and neere vnto Tyberias came to haue giuen him battell. Who vpon their

A their approach hastily retired, as if he had for feare shunned battell. But whilst the Christians  
 as victors the night following lay negligently incamped along the river side, hee returning  
 backe again with his army, came vpon them before they were well aware, halfe sleeping, halfe  
 waking, but altogether vnarmed, with a most horrible outcry. The Christians now altogether  
 awaked, and not a little troubled with the suddennes of the matter, hastily and disorderly (as  
 must needs in so great a confusion) tooke vp their weapons, such as came first to hand, and so  
 courageously opposed themselves against their enemies. There was fought a most terrible  
 and doubtfull battell, and that also for a long space, the Christians still encouraging one ano-  
 ther to do their last deuoir: but the Turks still keeping their order against the disordered Chri-  
 stians, and far more also than they in number, prevailed, and there ouerthrew them with a great  
 B slaughter, but not without the losse of many thousands also of their owne men, which there  
 lay dead vpon the ground. Most part of the best commanders both of the Templers and Hos-  
 pitalers were there slaine, such as escaped fled to Tyre.

The Sultan encouraged with so great a victory, marched forthwith to Ierusalem, which he  
 tooke without resistance, and there put to sword all that he found therein, men, women, and  
 children, without respect of sex or age: and afterwards hauing rifled the same, raised it downe  
 to the ground, burning the buildings, and ouerthrowing the wals not long before repaired by  
 the emperor *Frederick*, and much beautified by his lieutenant *Reynold*. And carried with an in-  
 fernall fury, defaced and most shamefully polluted the sepulchre of our blessed Sauour, neuer  
 before then violated or defiled, but of all nations vntouched & reuerenced, which for all that  
 C may seem to haue bin done not so much for the hatred vnto the Christian religion, as for that  
 it was the place of all others most desired of the Christians, and for the gaining whereof they  
 had vndertaken so many hard aduentures, and so much troubled the Saracins and Turks.

Thus by the vnfaithfull breaking of the league, the most antient and famous city of Ieru-  
 salem, sometime the terrestriall seat of the most Highest, and glory of the world, fell againe  
 into the power of the Turks and Infidels, in the yeare 1234, in whose hands it hath euer since  
 remained euen vntill this day: now a poore ruinous city, gouerned by one of the Turks San-  
 zacks, and for nothing now more famous, than for the sepulchre of our blessed Sauour againe  
 repaired and much visited by the deuout Christians; and not vnreuerenced by the Turkes  
 themselves.

D The losse of this so famous a city, together with the dangerous state of the Christians in  
 Syria, much grieved the other Christian Princes of the West, especially *Fredericke* the Em-  
 peror, by whom it had bin but a few yeares before gained. Howbeit he could not now remedy  
 the matter according to his desire, being himselfe grievously intangled with the endles trou-  
 bles which Pope *Gregory* had as it were by tradition left vnto the other Popes his successors;  
 for the troubling of his state, vntill at length they had deprived him of his Empire, and not  
 long after of his life also. Among other the great Princes, carefull for the poore Christians  
 in Syria, was *Lewis* the ninth, the French King, a Prince of great power, but of all others of  
 that time most famous for his zeale vnto the Christian Religion, and for his deuout maner of  
 life: who abounding in wealth and all things else of a great Prince to be desired, and often-  
 E times considering the notable expeditions many Christian Princes had (to their immortall  
 glory) made, some into Syria, some into Egypt, against the enemies of Christ, and for the re-  
 lief of the oppressed Christians, was many times about to haue taken vpon himselfe the like:  
 But in these his deuout motions, before he could resolue vpon so great an enterprize, hee fell  
 dangerously sicke, in so much that for certaine dayes he lay speechlesse, deuoid of sence and  
 motion, without any signe of life, but that he did a little faintly breathe: when coming a lit-  
 tle vnto himselfe, (whether moued by deuotion, or troubled with his former conceits then  
 running in his weake braine, is vncertaine) the first thing he asked for was the Crosse (the egi-  
 niance of such as vowed themselves vnto the sacred war) which he solemnly receiued at the  
 hands of the Bishop of Paris: At which time also his three brethren, *Alphonse* Countie of  
 F Poitiers, *Charles* Countie of Anjou, and *Robert* Countie of Arthois, with *Hugh* Duke of Bur-  
 gundy, *William* Earle of Flanders, *Hugh* Countie of Saint Paul, and afterwards most of the no-  
 bility of France, to accompany the King, tooke vpon them the same charge. Neuerthelesse it  
 was not by and by taken in hand, but some few yeres let passe in the consultation and prepara-  
 tion for so great an enterprize: many in the mean time discharging their vow, by dying before  
 K 3 at

1234  
Ierusalem taken  
and raised by  
the Turkes.

1248

King Lewis  
fleeth for  
his owne  
the Italy Land.

at home in peace in their owne countries. At length the deuour King still resolute in his former determination, hauing taken order with *Blanch* his mother for his affaires at home, and put all things in readines for his iourney, came to Lyons to take his leaue of Pope *Innocentius* the fourth, (who for feare of the Emperor *Frederick*, then lay there for his more safety) and from thence to Marceilles, where imbarcking himselfe with his army the five and twentieth day of August, the year 1248, he the twentieth day of September following arrived in safety in the Island of Cyprus, and was there royally entertained by *Guy Lusignan* then King of that country.

Now was the French King desirous to haue gone directly for Egypt, without longer stay in Cyprus, had he not been otherwise persuaded, both for that his whole fleet was not yet come, and the time of the yere began to grow vnseasonable, and the weather tempestuous, but whilst he there staid, passing the Winter, the plague (one of the ready attendants of great armies) began to arise in the camp, which daily increasing, had in short time taken away a great number of men, and those not of the meanest sort. Among whom were *Robert* Bishop of Beauvais, *John* Count Montfort, the Counties of Vendosme and Dreux, *Archambault* Lord of Burbon, with diuers other knights and Gentlemen, to the number of 240. so that by force of the infectious contagion, the King was constrained to diuide his army into diuers places of the Island, attending vntill the infection should cease. In the meane time the Templers hauing in suspect both the French and the Turks, (the Turks, for feare they should ouerrunne all; the French, lest hauing gotten the victory, they should take all into their own hands, and so diminish their power and authority, wherewith they tyrannized ouer the other poore Christians) sent Embassadors secretly vnto *Meledin* Sultan of Egypt, to perswade him, sometimes to come to some good agreement for peace, so to auert the power of the French King from doing him further harme, or proceeding further in that war. Of which motion the Sultan well liking, sent one of his noblemen to treat with the master of the Templers concerning a peace, so that it might be by consent of the French. The Templers glad of so honourable a message, writ vnto the French King out of Syria, how the matter stood, perswading him to accept of the peace offered, saying out in great words, the Sultans great preparations and power. And so indeed had abused the king, had not the King of Cyprus, acquainted with his doings, perswaded him that it was but a finess of the great Master, and that he had first sent vnto the Sultan, and procured that noble man to be sent, which the King vpon consideration perceiuing to be true, sed the Turks Embassador with hope of peace, but writ to the Master of the Templers, vpon the price of his head, from thenceforth nor to receiue any embassage from the enemy, or to haue any further intelligence with him.

Winter now past, and the plague well ceased, diuers noble gentlemen and great commanders which following the king, and setting forth somewhat late, or for feare of the plague had stayed by the way, and wintred some in one place, some in another, began to repaire vnto Cyprus: as *Robert* Duke of Burgundy, who hauing wintred in Achaia, came now in the beginning of the Spring vnto the King, with a number of good horsemen, and with him, *William* Prince of Achaia, with a great fleet out of Peloponnesus, which countrey, with most part of Grecia, was then vnder the command of the Latines, among others came also *William* surnamed *Long-esse*, Earle of Salisbury, with a band of lusty tall souldiers. So the army being met together, and all things againe in readines, King *Lewis* departing from Cyprus, and tossed at sea with contrary winds, about five days after fell with the coast of Egypt, and there with all his fleet came before the strong towne of Damietta, being (as we haue said) the key of that kingdome. The Sultan long before, vnderstanding of the French Kings purpose for the iouision of his country, had strongly fortified his frontier townes, and put into them strong garrisons, beside the great power he kept with himselfe in readines at all affaires, as occasion should require. Vpon the Christians approach, the Governour of Damietta was ready vpon the shore, with a number of braue souldiers to keep them from landing, who neuertheless, resolutely before set down for performing of that they came for, manning forth their long boats with their archers and crossbowes to beat the enemy from the shore, ranging a ground with their other small boats, made of purpose for the launching of men, and so without longer delay came to hand blows, where for a while was fought a most sharp and cruell battell, the Christians striving to land, and the Turks to keep them off, many falling on both sides. But what should a band full

A full doe against so many? The Turks oppressed with the multitude still landing more and more, and hauing done what was possible for them to do, fled into the towne, leauing behind them their gouernour, with five hundred of their best souldiers dead on the shore.

This city of Damietta was exceeding rich and populous, and had in the former warres not bin taken but by more than a yeares siege, (as is before declared) and that not so much by the valour of the Christians, as by the extremity of the plague and famine: since which time it had bin strongly fortified by the Turks, with deep ditches, high wals, and strong bulwarks, and was at that time well stored with victuals also, and all things els for the induring of a long siege. Neuertheles, the souldiers that were left, and the citizens (discouraged with the losse of their gouernour, and remembrance of the miseries before endured in the former siege, and seeing the Christians now ready again to besiege the same) the night following, a little before the breake of day, set fire euery man vpon his owne house, and so by a bridge which they had made of boats fled ouer the great riuer, breaking the bridge when they were ouer, for feare their enemies should thereby haue followed after them. The Christians perceiuing their flight, without resistance entred the city, and being strangers, did what they could to quench the fire, and to saue that which the inhabitants themselves would faine haue with fire destroyed, and so afterwards found great abundance of riches, with plentifull store of all manner of victuals, wherewith the souldiers both enriched and refreshed themselves. This so happy and unexpected a victory hapned to the Christians about the beginning of October, in the year 1249, Sultan *Aleddin* himselfe, discouraged with the losse of so strong a city, offered vnto the French King for the redeeming thereof, and to haue peace at his hands, more territory in Syria and the land of Palestine, than the Christians had of long time before: which large offer was by the French, especially by the Earle of Arthois the Kings brother, proudly reiected, and Alexandria, the most famous port and metropolitall city of Egypt, further demanded, to the great discontentment of the Turks and Saracins. In these troubles died *Meledin* the old Sultan, a man not much beloued of his people: in whose stead *Melech Sala* (or *Melechala*, as some call him) a valiant and courageous Prince, well beloued of his subiects, and but euen then returned out of Syria and Arabia, where he had bin to craue aid of the other Mahometan Princes, was chosen Sultan. Which Princes, especially the Sultan of Damasco, although they had not of long bin at any good accord among themselves, or with the Egyptian, yet in this common danger of their superstition, which by the losse of Egypt was like to bee greatly weakened, they ioyned hands together, and so sent him great aid.

The new Sultan thus strengthened, drew neerer to the Christians, which then lay encamped not far from Damietta, and had with them a hot skirmish, wherin he was put to the worke, and so with some losse he had to retire: But the Christians the next day, in hope of like successe falling out againe, were ouer the towne, with ten times more losse than was he the day before, and so ran so fly vnto the camp. By which victory the Sultan encouraged, began now to conceiue better hope of the successe of his wars, and by stopping the passages both by water and land, to provide, that no victuals could without great perill be brought either vnto the city or the camp, in so much that at length victuals began to grow scarce in both: whereof the Sultan was not ignorant, as being thereof thoroughly informed by such fugitiues, as for want or other causes, oftentimes fled out of the French camp into his.

Winter thus passing, and warts still increasing, it fortuned that the gouernour of the great city of Caire (vpon the fortune whereof depended the state of the whole kingdome) a man not well affected to the Christian religion, and in his heart highly offended with the Sultan, for the death of his brother by him wrongfully executed, by secret messengers perswaded the French King to come on with his army to the city, the regal seat of the Sultan, promising him to deliuer it into his power, with full instructions what he had in all points to do for the gaining thereof. Vvherupon the King, who had before of himselfe purposed the same exploit, but now filled with a greater hope, assembled together the greatest forces he was able to make. At which time also he sent for the Earle of Salisbury, with the rest of the Englishmen, who for many proud indignities offered them by the French (especially by the Earle of Artois the kings brother) whereof they could haue no redresse, were gone to Ptolemais, without purpose to haue any more serued in those wars: but now being sent for by the King, with promise of better wage and honorable recompence for the wrongs past, returned againe into Egypt, there

The citizens of  
Damietta set  
fire vpon the  
city, and ran  
away by the  
light.

A faire offer  
kindly refused.

to do their last endeour. With whose comming the King strengthened, but more by the new supplies brought vnto him by his brother *Alphonfus* out of France, leauing the Duke of Burgundy with a conuenient garrison, with the Queene his wife, *Oao* the Popes Legate, and diuers other great Ladies in *Damiata*, he himselfe set forward with his army toward *Caire*. Of whose comming the Sultan hearing, and loth vpon the fortune of one battell, to aduerture his whole estate, offered by his Embassadors to restore vnto him all the land of Palestine, with a great summe of money for the defraying of the charges of those wars, and all the prisoners he had taken, so that he would redeliuer vnto him the city of *Damiata*, and ioyne with him in league and amity. Which faire offer for all that, the French King, by the persuation of Legat and others, refused. So the King marching still on, was to passe an arme of the great riuer *Nilus* (the Sultan on the other side still ready with his army to stay his passage) which he had thought to haue made by a bridge of boats, prepared for the same purpose: but better conducted by a fugitiue *Sarasin* vnto a foord, before to him vnknowne, sent his brother *Robert* Earle of *Artois*, with the third part of the army before him, accompanied with the master of the Templers and the Earle of *Salisbury*, with their followers. Who passing the riuer at the aforesaid foord, suddenly assailed the Turks in their tents (the Sultan being then absent in solemnising one of their prophane feasts) & put them to flight. With which victory the French Earle about measure encouraged, would needs on forwards, as if hee would himselfe alone haue carried away the glory of the whole conquest. Whom for all that certain of the ancient Templers, better acquainted with the manners of that deceitfull nation than hee, and better considering also of their owne ability and strength, persuaded him not to content himselfe with the honour he had already got, and not to proceed any further in prosecuting of the enemy, vntill the comming of the rest of the army, especially in that desperat estate of the enemy, wherein he was to win or lose all. Vnto whom the proud Earle in great despite replied, that he would prosecute his victory, and follow his good fortune; calling them dastards and cowards, opprobriously obiecing vnto them the common fame, whereby it was commonly reported, That the Holy land might long since haue been againe vnto the body of the Christian common-weale, but for the foule collusion of the false Templers and Hospitallers with the Turks and Infidels. With which reprochfull speech, the master of the Templers not without cause moued, answered for himselfe and his fellowes, that he should, when he would and where he durst, display his ensignes, and he should find them as ready to follow as he was to goe before them. The Earle of *Salisbury* also willing to stint this strife, persuaded Earle *Robert* not to be fowded in his owne opinion, but to listen to the graue and wholsom counsell of the Templers, being men of great experience: and so turning vnto the master of the Templers began likewise with gentle words to pacifie him also. But whilst he was yet speaking, the Earle interrupting him with many opprobrious words, called him dastard and coward, and wished that the army were rid of him, and the fearefull cowards his countrey men. Whereunto the Earle of *Salisbury* answered, *Well Generall, on in Gods name, and wherefoeuer you dare set your foot, mine shall be as far as yours; and I belecue we go this day, where you shall not dare to come nigh my horses taile; as afterward indeed it proued.* How be it the Earle so said, for that Earle *Robert* and the Frenchmen had many times in reproch and disdain, after their manner called him and his followers English tailes.

The proud earle constant in his former purpose, and not to be otherwise persuaded, set forward; and first assaulted a little towne or castle, not far off, called *Manfor*, wherunto he inconsiderately approaching, was notably repulsed; and hauing lost a number of his men, was as a man discouraged, about to haue retired. When suddenly the Sultan, neerer at hand than the Earle had thought, stirred vp with the noise of the alarum, came on with his whole power; and finding the army of the Christians now diuided (as he had long wished) with the multitude of his people inclosed them round, and had with them a great and mortall fight: wherein though the Christians right worthily behaued themselves, for the small number they were, yet oppressed with the multitude, and on euery side beset, they were slaine down right. Then but all too late, it repented the Earle of his foolish rashnes, and that he had not harkened vnto better counsel, and seeing the Earle of *Salisbury* valiantly fighting, cried out vnto him to fly, seeing God as he said fought against them. Whereunto the noble Earle answered no more, but *God forbid that my fathers soules should runne away from the face of a Sarasin.* The French Earle thin-

king

Earle Robert  
in flying drowned.  
The Earle of  
Salisbury valiantly fighting,  
sane.

A king by the swiftnesse of his horse to haue saued his life, flying out of the battell, and taking the riuer of *Thafnes*, ouerladed with his armour, was there drowned. The Earle of *Salisbury* courageously enduring the enemies charge, with his owne hand manfully slew many a Turke and *Sarasin* that day, vntill that at length hauing his horse slaine vnder him, and himselfe so wounded in the legs, as that he was not able longer to stand, yet vpon his knees laying about him like a desperate man, and selling his life as deere as he could, was there slaine, but not vanquished. With him perished the whole army, so inclosed by the Sultan, that scarce any one escaped aliue, more than two Templers, one Hospitaller, and one common souldier, the messengers of this heauy newes.

About the same time also sicknes daily increasing in the French camp, the king purposing to march forward to *Caire*, sent a great number of sicke and weake people downe the riuer of *Nilus* to *Damiata*: of whose going the Sultan vnderstanding, caused a great number of smal boats to be carried in carts by land vnto the riuers side, which wel manned, and meeting them by the way, set vpon them, and burnt or drowned them euery mothers sonne, sauing one only Englishman, called *Alexander Giffard*, who wounded in five places of his body, escaped yet in to the French camp, reporting there what had hapned vnto the rest.

Now had the Sultan also got intelligence of the compact betwixt the gouernor of *Caire* and the King, for the betraying of the city: and thereupon had caused him to be suddenly apprehended and put in safe keeping, vntill he were at better leasure to vnderstand farther of the matter: which no lesse troubled the French King, than did the former misfortune, al his hope

The Gouernour  
of Caire apprehended.

C for the yeelding vp of the city, being thereby cut off thus his hopes together with his strength daily decreasing, he would haue gladly accepted of the conditions which he before refused, which the Sultan, now growne very strong, would by no meanes heare of, but in stead thereof, by way of derision sent to know of him, what was become of all his mattocks, forks, rakes, sythes, plows, and harrows, which he had brought ouer with him; and why he set them not to work, but suffred them like an euil husband to rot and rust beside him? All which with much more, the good king was glad to put vp: for now his forces greatly diminished, as wel by sicknesse, as by the former losses, finding himselfe far to weake, he would faine haue retired backe again to *Damiata*: which the Sultan foreseeing, got so betwixt him and home, that now there was no remedy, but either to fight it out, or yeeld. The king himselfe had bin often before intreated by his nobility, whilst the riuer was yet vnpossessed by the enemy, to haue conveyed himselfe by water to *Damiata*, for that in the safety of his person consisted (as they said) the safety of his kingdom, what soeuer became of them: whereunto he could neuer be persuaded, saying, that he would neuer forsake his people, because he would not be forsaken of them, but was resolu'd to indure with them what soeuer it should please God to lay vpon him: so passing the riuer by the same foord wherby his brother had not long before vnfortunatly passed, and coming to the place where the battell was fought, he might see the dead bodies of the Christians pitifully mangled, with their heads & hands cut off: for the Sultan, the more to encourage his soldiers, had before the battell proclaimed, that whosoever should bring him the head or hand of a Christian, should haue a great reward for his labor, in hope wherof, they had so dismembred them. But long he had not there staid, but that the Sultan began suddenly to appeare, with a most huge great army, as if he would euen with the fight thereof haue discouraged the Christians: against whom for al that, the French men in good order opposed themselves, and for the space of 3 houres made great resistance: but what could one do against ten, & he also fainting for sicknes & food? the hard plight wherein the greatest part of the French army then was. In conclusion, oppressed with the multitude of their enemies, and no way left to flie, they were all ouerthrowne and slaine, except some few, saued in hope of great ransom. The king himselfe, with his two brethren, *Alphonfus* and *Charles*, and some few others, were taken prisoners, and brought vnto the Sultan: who demanding of him, what had moued him so to make war against him? was answered by the King, that it was for religion, and the defence of the name of his God. In this vnfortunat battell, fought the 5. of April, in the yere 1250. besides the common soldiers, were slaine most of the nobility of France, & all their tents taken.

The Sultan presently vpon this ouerthrow, sent of his owne souldiers the like number that the French were of, with French ensignes, and disguised in the attire of the slain Frenchmen, to *Damiata*, where the Duke of Burgundy, the French Queene, and the Popes Legate lay; in hope

hope to haue bin so let in for frenchmen; but they were not so well masked, but that they were by them of the city discovered for enemies, and so kept out and deceived of their purpose.

The Christians thus ouerthrowne, and the French King taken prisoner, *Melech-sala* the Sultan taking compassion vpon him, and yet minding of his life to make his own gain; cheering him vp with comfortable speeches, began to talk with him of his deliuerance, and of a good attonement to be made betwixt them. The conditions whereof propounded by the Sultan were, That the King should forthwith deliuer again vnto him the city of *Damiata*, and moreouer pay vnto him for the ranfome of himselfe and his, and for the charges of the war, eight thousand pound of gold: That all prisoners should on both sides be frankly set at liberty, and so a peace to be taken for ten yeres: for the more assurance whereof, the Sultan offered to swear, That if he failed in the performance thereof, to renounce his *Mahomet*: requiring also of the king to swear, If he failed in any thing that he had promised, to deny his Christ to be God: which prophane oath the King detesting, and wishing rather to die than to giue the same, the Sultan wondring at his constancy, tooke his word without any oath at all, and so published the league. But whilst they were comming together to *Damiata*, *Melech-sala* now in the pride of this victory, fearing nothing lesse than the sudden change of fortune, or the mischief hanging ouer his head, was in the presence of a number of his noblemen suddenly slain by two desperate Mamulukes; and one *Turquiminius* a sturdy slaue of their owne order and vocation (by whose procurement it was supposed to haue bene done) by the consent of the whole armie created Sultan in his stead: who reuoking the league before concluded by *Melech-sala*, made another in his owne name with the King, much vpon the same conditions that the other was, which after he had receiued *Damiata*, he caused openly to be proclaimed. Neuertheles after that King *Lewis* had payed his ranfome, and was with the remnant of his army by the Genowais transported from *Damiata* to *Ptolemais*, the false miscreant performed not the half of that he had promised, of twelue thousand Christian captiues that should haue bene set free, scarce enlarging foure thousand; and killing all the sicke souldiers whom by his promise hee ought to haue relieved, neither suffering any Christian to carry any of his goods with him out of *Egypt*, which by the league he ought to haue done also.

The French King comming to *Ptolemais*, and purposing to haue returned home, was intreated by the master of the Templars and Hospitalers, and other the nobility of the Christians, to stay, which he did almost by the space of foure yeres: in which time he repaired the cities of *Cesarea* and *Ioppe*, and fortified many strong places for the defence of the Christians against the infidels: and so commending the protection thereof vnto the Knights of the sacred war, and sending his brethren away before him, followed after himselfe, greatly lamented for by all the Christians in *Syria*, and so arriued in France the sixt yeare from the time of his departing thence. This was the end of this long and vnfortunat expedition of *Lewis* the French King, wherein as some write, were eighty thousand Christians lost: howbeit the French Chronicles extenuating their losse, report, of two and thirty thousand French, six thousand to haue returned againe into France. The City of *Damiata* in the space of a few yeres twice woon, and twice lost by the Christians, was shortly after the deliuering vp therof, by the Sultan raised down to the ground, because it should no more serue the Christians for an entrance into his kingdom.

The late Egyptian Sultans thus oftentimes inuaded by the Christian princes, & reposing no great assurance in the prowess of the effeminate Egyptians, a people fitter for merchandize and other base occupations than for chivalry and war, had for the strengthening of their kingdom, bought an infinite number of slaues, especially of the poore and hardy Circassians, called in ancient time *Geta* & *Zinchi*, neer to *Cholchis* & the *Euxine* sea, brought vnto *Alexandria* and other ports of *Egypt* out of those bare cold countries, by Merchants, and from thence transported to *Caire* & other cities of *Egypt*: of which poore slaues, the late Egyptian Sultans taking their choice, & culling out from the rest such as were like to bee of greatest spirit & ability of body, deliuered them vnto most skilful and expert teachers, by whom they were carefully taught to run, to leap, to vault, to shoo, to ride, with all other feats of activity, and withall cunningly to handle all manner of weapons, as wel on horseback as on foot, and so instructed, and become cunning, were taken out of their schooles into pay, and inrolled together as the Sultans choice horsemen, and commonly called by the name of Mamulukes.

The beginning  
of the Mamelukes  
and their  
kingdom.

A lukes: in whose good seruice the late Sultans finding great vse, spared for no cost, both for their maintenance and increasing of their number; daily erecting new nurseries stored with yong frie, which growing vp and ready, was still ioined to the other. It is wonderfull to tell, vnto what a strength and glory this order of the Mamulukes was in short time growne by the care of the Egyptian Kings: by them they mannaged their greatest affaires, especially in time of wars, and by their valor, not only defended their countrey, but gained many a faire victorie against their enemies, as they did now against the French: but as too much power in such mens hands, seldome or neuer wanteth danger, so fel it out now betwixt the late Sultan *Melech-sala*, and those masterfull Mamuluke slaues, who proud of their preferment, and forgetful of their duty, and seeing the greatest strength of the kingdom in their hands, traiterously slew *Melech-sala* their chiefe founder, setting vp in his place (as aforesaid) one *Turquiminius*, a base slaue,

The ruin of the  
Turks kingdom  
in Egypt.

B *sala* their chiefe founder, setting vp in his place (as aforesaid) one *Turquiminius*, a base slaue, one of their owne order and seruile vocation, but indeede otherwise a man of a great spirit and valour. This *Melech-sala* murdered by the Mamulukes, was the last of the free borne kings of *Egypt*; in whom the Turks kingdom in *Egypt*, erected by *Saracen* and the great Sultan *Saladin* (as is before said) and in his stock and family euer since continued, took end, as did also al the power of the Turks in that great & rich kingdom. For the proud Mamulukes hauing now got the foueraightie into their hands, & exalted a Sultan out of themselves, imperiously commanded as great Lords ouer the rest of the people, not suffering them to haue the vse either of horse or armor, or to beare any sway in the common-weale: but keeping them vnder with most heavy impositions, and still preferring their owne slaues (wherewith the countrey of *Egypt* now swarmed) made the natural countrey people, of all others most miserable, not daring to meddle with any thing more than Merchandize, their Husbandry, or other their base mechanicall occupations: whereof the greatest profit still came vnto the Mamulukes, who as Lords of all, with great insolency, at their pleasure tooke it from them as their owne. As for the great Sultan, they still chose him from among themselves, not suffering any the Sultans children to succeed their fathers in the kingdom; for feare lest they in the processe of time, proud of their ancestors and parentage, should reckon of them as of his slaues (as indeed they were) and so at length bring in another more free kind of government.

Against which they provided also, not only by this restraint of their Sultans children, but of their own also: taking order and establishing it as an immutable law, That though the sons of the Mamalukes might enioy their fathers lands, and wealth after their death, yet that it should not be lawfull for them in any case to take vpon them the name or honor of a Mamaluke: so debarring them from all government in the common wealth, to the intent it might still rest with the Mamalukes. Neither was it lawfull for any borne of Mahometane parents (which could not be slaues) or of the race of the Iews, to be admitted into that order; but only such as being borne Christians and become slaues, had from the time of their captiuitie been instructed in the Mahometane superstition; or else being men growne, and comming thither, had abiured the Christian Religion (as many reprobates did in hope of preferment.) Right strange it is to consider, vnto what honour and glory this slauish empire in short time grew: many of these poore slaues by rare fortune or secret diuine power, exalted out of the dust to the highest degree of honor, prouing most excellent and renowned Princes, of such strength and power, as was dreadfull euen to the greatest Princes of the world. In which great glory, this seruile empire (to the worlds wonder) flourished from this time among the greatest by the space of 267 yeres; vntill that hauing run the appointed race, it was with a great destruction by *Selymus* the victorious Emperour of the Turks, ouerthrowne in the yeare 1517, and the kingdom of *Egypt*, with all *Syria* and the land of *Palestine*, brought into the forme of provinces, vnited vnto the Turks empire, as they are at this day, and as in the course of this history shall in due time and place (God willing) at large appeare.

But leauing the kingdom of the Turks thus ouerthrowne in *Egypt*, and the Mamalukes there triumphing, the French King returned into France, & the Christians in peace in *Syria*; let vs againe returne into the lesser Asia, and vnto the imperiall City of Constantinople, whether the affaires both of the Turkes and of the Christians now call vs. All this while the Greeke Empire (for so the Greekes will haue it called) flourished both in peace and plenty in the lesser Asia, vnder their Emperour *Iohn Batazes*: the power of the Latines in the meane time declining as fast at Constantinople, vnder the gouernment of the Latine Emperour

Baldwin

*Baldwin* in the second. As for the Turks whom we left grievously troubled both with famine and the often incursions of the Tartars, they had all this while, and yet also, enough and more than enough to do to withstand the same enemy. At length it fortune that *John Ducas* the Greeke Emperor died, being at the time of his death about threescore yeares old, whereof he had happily reigned three and thirty: by whose good and discreet government, the Greeke empire before brought low and almost to nought by the Latines, began againe to gather strength and to flourish both in Asia and some little part of Europe also. Of him are reported many notable matters, which as impertinent to our purpose I could willingly passe over, were I not by the worthy remembrance of one of them staid a while by the way.

The Emperor  
in love with  
Marcesina.

This noble and famous Emperour having long lamented the death of the faire Empresse *Irene* his first wife, at last married another young Lady, the sister of *Manfred* King of Sicilie, called *Anne*, with whom amongst other honourable and beautifull dames, sent by the King her brother for the accompanying of her to Constantinople, was one *Marcesina*, a rare paragon, of such a feature as if nature had in her meant to bestow her greatest skill. From whose mouth alwaies flowed a fountaine of most sugred words, and out of her eyes issued (as it were) nets to intangle the amorous in: upon this so faire an object, the Emperour not fearing further harme, took pleasure oftentimes to feed his eyes, untill that at length caught with her looks, he had lost his liberty, and was of a great Emperour become her thrall, in such sort, as that in comparison of her he seemed little or nothing to regard the yong Empresse his wife; but so far doated upon her, that he suffered her to be attired and honored with the same attire and honour that the Empresse was her selfe, whom she now so far exceeded both in grace and favour with the Emperour, and honor of the people, as that she almost alone enjoyed the same, without regard of her unto whom it was of more right due. Whilst she thus alone triumphed, at length it fortune that she in all her glory, attended upon with most of the gallants of the court, and some of the Emperours guard, would needs go (whether for her devotion or for her recreation, I know not) to visit the monastery and fair church, which *Blemmydes* (a noble man of great renowne, both for his integrity of life, and learning) had of his own cost and charges but lately built in the country, where he together with his monks, as men weary of the world, lived a devout and solitary contemplative life, after the manner of that time, with the great good opinion of the people in generall. This *Blemmydes* was afterward for his upright life & profound learning chosen Patriarch of Constantinople: which great honor, next to the Emperour himselfe, he refused, contenting himselfe with his cell. *Marcesina* coming thither in great pomp, and thinking to have entered the church, had the doores shut against her by the Monks, before commanded so to do by *Blemmydes* their founder: and so was to her great disgrace kept out.

Marcesina the  
Emperours concubine shut out  
of the Church.

For that devout man deemed it a great impiety, to suffer that so wicked and shamelesse woman, against whom he had most sharply both spoken and written, with her prophane and wicked feet to tread upon the sacred pavement of his church. She enraged with this indignitie, hardly by so proud a woman to be with patience digested, and prickt forward by her flattering followers also, returning to the court, grievously complained thereof unto the Emperour, stirring him up by all means she could to avenge the same, persuading him to have bin therein himselfe disgraced. Whereunto also were ioyned the hard speeches of her pickthanker favorites, who to curry favor, spared not as it were to put oyle unto the fire, for the stirring up of the Emperour to revenge. Who with so great a complaint nothing moved to wrath, but struck as it were to the heart with a remorse of conscience, and oppressed with heavinesse, with tears running down his cheeks, and fetching a deep sigh, said, *Why provoke you me to punish so devout and just a man? Whereas if I would my selfe have lived without reproch and infamy, I should have kept my imperiall majesty unpolluted or stained. But now sith I my selfe have been the cause both of mine owne disgrace, and of empires; I may thanke mine owne deserts, if of such euill seed as I have sowne, I now reap also an euill harvest.*

Theodoros  
Lascaris a Christian  
Emperor.

After the death of this good Emperour, *Theodoros* his sonne, borne the first yeare of his fathers reigne, being then about three and thirty yeares old, was by the generall consent of the people saluted Emperour in his stead: who in the beginning of his empire renewed the league which his father had made with *Latines* the Turkish Sultan: & so having provided for the security of his affairs in Asia, he with a puissant army passed over the streit of *Hellepontus*, into Europe, to appease the troubles there raised in Macedonia and Thracia, by the King

of

of Bulgaria his brother in law, and *Michael Angelus* the Despot of Theffalia, who upon the death of the old Emperour began to spoile those countries, not without hope at length to have joyned them unto their own: by whose comming they were for all that disappointed of their purpose, and glad to sue to him for peace. But whilst he was there busied, he was aduertified by letters from Nice, that *Michael Paleologus*, whom he had left their gouernor in his absence, was secretly fled unto the Turks: with which newes he was not a little troubled. The cause of whose flight, as *Paleologus* himselfe gaue it out, was, for that he perceived himselfe diuers waies by many his enemies brought into disgrace, and the Emperours cares so filled with their odious complaints, so cunningly framed against him, as that they were not easily or in short time to be refelled: and therefore fearing in the Emperours heavy displeasure to be suddenly taken away, to have willingly gone into exile, if so happily he might saue his life from the malice of them that sought after it.

At his comming to Iconium, he found *Latines* the Sultan making great preparation against the Tartars, who having driuen the Turks out of Persia and other the far Easterne countries, (as is before declared) and running still on, did with their continuall incursions spoile a great part of their territories in the lesser Asia also, and now lay at Axara, a towne not far off from Iconium: against whom the Sultan now making the greatest preparation he could, gladly welcommed *Paleologus*, whom he knew to be a right valiant and worthy captain, commending to his charge the leading of certaine bands of Greekes, whom he had retained to serue him in those wars, as he had others of the Latines, vnder the conduct of *Boniface Moline* a Nobleman of Venice: and so having put all things in readinesse, and strengthened with these forrein supplies of the Greekes and Latines, set forward against his enemies the Tartars: who at the first sight of the strange ensignes and soldiers were much dismayed, fearing some greater force had bin come to the aid of the Turks; neuertheless, joining with them in battell, had with them at the first a most terrible and bloody conflict, wherein that part of the army that stood against *Paleologus* and his Greekes, was put to the worse, to the great discomfiture of the Tartars, being euen upon the point to have fled, had not one of the greatest Commanders in the Turks army, and a nigh kinsman of the Sultans, for an old grudge that he bare unto the Sultan, with all his regiment, in the heat of the battell reuolted unto the Tartars: whereby the fortune of the battell was in a moment as it were quite altered, they which but now were about to have fled, fighting like lions, and they that were victors now glad to turne their backs & fly: in which flight a great number of the Turks fell, the fierce Tartars most eagerly pursuing them. *Paleologus*, with the Generall of the Turks, hardly chased by the Tartars, and glad euery houre to make a stand, and to fight for their liues, with much adoe, after many daies flight recovered a castle of the Generals, neere unto *Castamona*, and so saued themselves. The Tartars after this so great a victory (wherein they had broken the whole strength of the Turks, and brought in hazard the whole state of their kingdome) without resistance foraged all the countries and provinces subiect unto the Turkish Sultan, making spoile of whatsoeuer they light upon: inso-much that the Sultan discouraged, and having now no strength left to oppose against them, fled unto the Greeke Emperour *Theodoros* for aid, who most honourably entertained him, with all his traine, and comforted him with such small aid as he thought good then to spare him: which for his more safety he sent home with him, vnder the leading of *Isaacus Ducas*, surnamed *Murizusse*, a man in great credit with him. In recompence of which kinnesse, the Sultan gaue unto the Emperour the city of *Laodicea*, whereinto he presently put a strong garrison: neuertheless, it was not long before it fell againe into the hands of the Turks, being a place not to be holden by the Greekes. Yet for all this, the Sultan finding himselfe still too weak to withstand the continuall inuasions of the Tartars, and weary of the harmes he dayly sustained, by the aduice of his chiefe counsellors made a league with them, yielding to pay them a certaine yerely tribute, thereby to redeeme his peace. From which time the Tartars accounted of the Turks as of their tributaries and vassals.

Not long after this, *Michael Paleologus* was by the Emperours kind and gracious letters called home; with his faithfull promise also before giuen for his security: who before his return bound himselfe also by solemne oath, to be unto the Emperour and his sonne alwaies loyall, and from thenceforth neuer to seeke after the Empire, or giue cause of new suspect for such matters as he had bene before charged with: but for euer to yeld unto the Emperour, his sonne,

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sonne,

son, or other his successors in the Empire, his dutifull obedience and fidelitie. Vpon which conditions he was again made great Constable, and so receiued into the Emperors fauor, and liued the rest of his reign in great honor and credit with him.

The death of  
Theodorus the  
Greek Emperor.

Now *Theodorus* the Emperor hauing reigned 3 years, fell sick and died, leauing behind him his son *Iohn*, then but a child of 6 years old, to succeed him in his empire: whom he vpon his death bed, together with the empire, commended to *Arsenius* the Patriark, and one *George Muzalo* his faithfull counsellor, as to his trusty tutors, to see him safely brought vp, and the Empire well and peaceably gouerned. This *Muzalo* was a man of mean parentage, but for his familiar acquaintance and ciuill behavior, of a child brought vp in the court with the Emperor as his play fellow: with whom he growing vp, so framed himselfe to his maners and disposition, that he alone was to him in stead of all, still at hand, ready to say or do whatsoeuer might be gracious or pleasing to the Emperor. And the elder they grew, so increased this their mutual affection and loue: in such sort, that with him now Emperor, he was of all others in greatest fauor & authority, a wary obseruer of his delights, a ready minister of his affairs, & faithful partaker of his secrets: for which he was in short time promoted vnto the greatest honors of the court, and honorably married to one of the Emperors nigh kinswomen; and now at his death, by his last will, with the reuerend Patriark appointed tutor to the yong emperor and his two yong sisters. And for more assurance therof, a solemn oath of obedience to the yong Prince as emperor and vnto them as his tutors, was exacted of all sorts of men, both high and low, of what condition soeuer; and that not once, but first a little before the Emperours death, and again after he was now dead: for many of the nobilitie honorably descended, seeing the

Enuy in Court.

sudden change of *Muzalo*'s fortune, amongst themselves murmured thereat, as grieuing at his preferment, seeing there were many among them, to whom both the tuition of the yong Emperor and administration of the empire of better right appertained, seeing they were both nearer of kin to the Emperor, and fitter (as they thought) for so great a charge than was *Muzalo*, whom (as they said) they had many causes both to contemn and hate: for, beside that he was not honorably born, and had serued the late emperor *Theodore* as the minister of his wrath against some of the nobility (causes sufficient for the peoples hatred) if he should now also in so great authoritie affect the empire, it was by his malicious enemies vainly doubted, that he would not spare to commit any manner of villany for the effecting of his inordinat desire. Of all which *Muzalo* was not ignorant, a man at all other times of a most quick apprehension for such matters, but as then especially, his wits being awaked with these so great motives and dangers. Wherefore speedily calling together all the nobility into the court, hee welcommed them one by one, and courteously discoursing with them, offered to discharge himselfe both of the administration of the Empire, and tuition of the yong Emperor, & willingly to yeeld the same to any one of them, whom the rest should think fittest for so great a charge. Which although they all with one consent as it were refused, saying, That hee of all others was to be preferred, vnto whom the Emperor, lord both of the empire and the child, had committed the same: yet *Muzalo* earnestly requested the contrary, and stiffly withstood their desire, wishing indeed rather to haue led a quiet priuat life in securitie, than to haue bin so ouercharged: not so much for doubt of the enuy then arising, as for fear of some great danger therof to ensue. But would he, would he not, remedy there was none, but that as the late emperor had appointed, so must he take the charge vpon him. And now was euery one, as well the nobility as the inferior sort, again with greater solemnity than before, the third time sworne, to their vtmost power to defend the yong emperor in his empire, and *Muzalo* in the tuition of him, and administration of the affairs of state, and faithfully to yeeld vnto them both all due honour and obedience: which if they should fail religiously to perform, they wished to themselves euery man, and to all theirs, a shamefull end and destruction. Yet notwithstanding all this solemn swearing, mixt most times with much forswearing, there was not fully 9 daies past, but that certain of the chief nobility, forgetfull or els carelesse of their Oath, and full of enuy, seldom satisfied but with bloud, conspired the vnworthy death of *Muzalo* the Protector both of the Emperor and the Empire. The ninth day appointed for the funerall of the Emperor was now come; at which time were met together at *Sofandra* (an Abbey by himselfe built in the honor of the Virgin *Mary* at *Magnesia*) many great Ladies and graue Matrons, to mourne as the manner was; all the great Princes of the Nobility, and among them the conspirators also: thither repaired

A paired also a number of soldiers prepared for the slaughter, with an infinit number of the common people, as at such solemnities is vsuall. But what needs many words? whilst the Hymns were yet in singing, and the obsequies performing, the souldiers as before instructed, suddenly breaking into the Church with their drawn swords in their hands, slew *Muzalo* (then fled to the altar for refuge) with his two brethren *Andronicus* & *Theodorus*, both men of great account, and diuers others appointed for the slaughter. So the matrons & the rest of the multitude breaking off their mourning, and for fear thronging out one in anothers necke, fled as fast as they could, some one way, some another, as they thought for their best safety. But the Priests and Monks thinking to haue done the like, were by the imperious souldiers again enforced into the church, where tumbling one ouer another, as thronging in with great force and violence, and scarce able to stand by reason of the slipperines of the bloud there shed vpon the pavement, they in great fear made an end of those bloody obsequies. This outrage appeased, *Arsenius* the Patriark and only Tutor of the yong Emperor now left, was therewith yet much troubled, as with a thing dangerous both to the person of the yong Prince, & peace of the state: but what good counseil to take therein he could not tell; for as hee was a man for his learning and integritie of life not inferior to the best, so in matters of state he was as far to seek. As it commonly hapneth, the contemplatiue man buried in his meditations, to be vnfit for temporall gouernment: whereas he that should perform both, must to his rare vertues and great learning join a ciuill conuersation, with great experience in worldly affairs, not to be learned but by great and long practise. This reuerend father (of no great reach, yet wishing all wel) calling together the nobility, consulted with them what were best to be done for the government both of the yong Emperor and the empire, now that *Muzalo* was dead: not considering in the mean time, who they were with whom he consulted, or, That counsell grounded vpon no wise foresight or approved experience, was more dangerous to him whom he would haue provided for, than all the enemies murthering swords, as shortly after appeared.

*Muzalo* traitorously murdered in the church.

Among others of the nobility called to counsell, was *Michael Palaeologus* (of whom we haue before spoken) much superior to the rest, as descended from the Imperiall house of the *Comneni*, a man of a cheerfull countenance, gracious and curteous, and withall exceeding bountifull and liberall, whereby he easily won the hearts of all men in generall, but especially of the Colenels, Captains, and other martial men commanders in the army: of whose aspiring to the empire, many presages and common rumors (not alwaies vain) had formerly passed also, to the mouing of many; yea the Patriark himselfe, not considering his haury and aspiring nature, made no lesse account of him than did the rest, but vpon an especial fauor, committed to his only trust the keys of the common treasure, at such time as mony was to be deliuered out for payment of the armies, or other like great occasions of the state; the most effectual meanes for the furtherance of his secret practises, and the readiest way to effect that which hee had so long before plotted: for hauing in his fingring such a masse of treasure, as he might wel haue wished, but neuer reasonably hoped for, he poured it out as it were by bushels, among the nobilitie and martial men, and such others as he thought were able to do most with the people; amongst whom were many of the Clergy also. Of which his fauorites were made many meetings, and by them was the Patriark continually solicited, but yet in general terms, without delay (according to the necessitie of the time) to take order for the good gouernment of the state, which now as a great ship in the midst of the sea without a master, was (as they said) in danger to perish, and being once lost, was not again to be recovered. At which time also the name of *Palaeologus* was in euery mans mouth, as the only man for his wisdom and experience fit to take vpon him the charge and gouernment of the Empire vntill the yong Emperor were come to age. Vnto which common good liking the Patriark also (seeing no more, or peradventure not so much as the rest) gaue his consent; and so without longer stay, to the great content both of the nobilitie and people in generall, made him Gouernor of the empire, and Tutor to the yong Emperor, wanting nothing now of an Emperor himselfe, more than the title and Imperiall ornaments. This was the first step whereby the aspiring man (twice before in disgrace with the two late Emperors, *Iohn Ducas* and his son *Theodorus*) mounted at last to the Empire.

*Michael Palaeologus* aspiring.

It was not many days after but that his fauorites held another counsell, wherein it was alleged, That it was not seemly for him that was Tutor vnto the Emperour, Gouernor of the state

Michael Paleologus crowned Emperor by Arianus the Patriarch.

and empire, and to giue audience vnto the Embassadors of forreine Nations, to want the honour next vnto the Emperor, as well for the magnificence of the state, as for the credit of his place. Whereupon he was both by the Patriarch and the yong Emperor honored with the title of the Despot, another step vnto the Empire. But what contentment find the Ambitious euen in the greatest honours, so long as there is one about them? Little sure, or none at all, more than that it serueth them to step at next vnto the highest: as did this new made Despot, who was shortly after by certain of the Nobility his great Faouourits, neere vnto Magnesia, with the great applause of the people, hoisted vp and saluted Emperor. Whereof *Arsenius* the Patriarch hearing, was therewith much troubled, as fearing what would become of the yong childe the right heir of the Empire. And first he was about to haue excommunicated as well him that was made Emperor, as them that had so made him. But afterward changing his purpose, for fear of greater troubles, he thought it better, by solempne Oath to binde both him and the rest, that they should not seek after the life of the Child, or by any force or colour go about to deprive him of the Empire; which was so done. Yet it was not a fello month after, but that euen he that had so great a care of the yong child, and so provided for his safety, (persuaded by them of the Nobility and Clergy) with his own hands, and all the accustomed ceremonies, set the Imperiall Crown vpon this Vsurpers head; yet not as vpon him that should still enjoy the empire, but as vpon a man according to the present necessity of the time and state, thought fittest for so great a charge vntill the yong Child came to age; vnto whom then he was to giue place and resigne the empire. All which being by more solempne oath than before confirmed, good news (as the certain sign of his fortunat gouernment) were brought vnto him, of a great victory obtained by his captains against *Michael Angelus* despot of Aetolia and Epirus; who hauing married the late Emperors daughter, and hearing of his death, with the troubles in Asia, aided by the King of Sicily and the Prince of Peloponnesus and Achaia his son in law, had thought in that hurly and perturbation of the state, to haue taken to himselfe the greatest part of the Emperors Territories in Macedonia and Thracia; and for the same purpose was with a great Army entred into them, burning and spoiling the country before him: wherof *Michael Paleologus* (then but newly made Despot) vnderstanding, sent his brother *Iohn* with some other his best captains, with a great army against him, by whom he with his Complices were put to the worse, and not without great losse enforced to retire: the joyfull newes wherof he receiued euen as he was crowned. Which was shortly after confirmed by the coming of the great Commanders themselves, bringing with them the Prince of Peloponnesus and Achaia, by them taken prisoner; who for his ransome was afterwards glad to giue vnto the Emperor *Paleologus*, Monembasia, Main, and Sparta, three of the best cities of Peloponnesus: wherinto he put strong garisons vnder the command of *Constantinus* his brother by the mothers side, a right valiant captain: by whose good seruite, and the commodious situation of the places, hee gained diuers other townes and Cities, and at length the greatest part of Peloponnesus, out of the hands of the Latines. For the vtter rooting out of whom, he shortly after with a great army passed ouer into Thracia, with purpose (as was thought) to haue besieged Constantinople: but finding it to be a matter of more difficultie than was before supposed, he left that, and laid siege to the castle of Pera ouer against it on the other side of the hauen, in hope by winning of that castle to haue become master also of the towne; where he was notably repulsed, and enforced with losse to retire. So rising with his army, he fortified diuers castles and strong holds in the country about Constantinople, and putting into them strong garisons, charged them with continual incursions, to trouble the Constantinopolitans, and to cut them so short (if it were possible) as that they should not dare to look out at the gates of their city. Which they so well performed, that in short time the Latines in the city were driuen to such extremity, that for want of wood they were faine to burn many of the fairest houses in the city, in stead of fuel. Which done, he returned again to Nice, the chief seat of the Greeke Emperors euer since that Constantinople was taken by the Latines.

Now reigned in Constantinople the Latine Emperor *Baldwin* the second (as is before declared) a man of smal courage and lesse power, and therefore not much regarded either of the Greeks or Latines: who for the maintenance of his state was glad to sell the publike Ornaments of the City, and to pawn his son vnto the Bruges merchants for money; by whom he

was

was left at Venice to be brought vp: which gaue occasion for some writers to report, That he was pawned vnto the Venetians.

About this time *Manged* the great Cham of Tartary, stirred by *Aitonius* the Armenian King, (by whose persuation he had also receiued the Christian Religion) sent his brother *Haalon* with an exceeding great Army against the Turks and Sarafins in Syria and the land of Palestine. This *Haalon* (conuerted also to the Christian faith by his wife) setting forward with a world of people following him, in the space of six moneths ouer-ran all Persia with the countries adjoining, excepting one strong place in the mountains (which some say was *Samar-chand*, afterward the royal seat of the great terror of the world, the mighty *Tamerlane*) which besieged by ten thousand horsemen by him appointed for that purpose, and so continued by the space of seuen and twenty years after, was then at length (as *Aiton* himselfe writeth) yeelded by the defendants, only for want of cloaths to couer their nakednesse. *Haalon* (in whose Army those ten thousand left behind were not missing) marching on, and as a violent tempest bearing all down before him) entred at length into Assyria, and there layd siege to the great city of Babylon, then the Seat of the great Calyph; whom all the Mahometane Princes honoured aboue all others, as the true successor of their great Prophet *Mahomet*, and receiued from his mouth the interpretation of their Law as most diuine Oracles. Which great City *Haalon* won, and putting to sword al he found therein, men, women and children, with the spoil therof and the rich treasures of the Calyph enriched his soldiers. The Caliph himselfe (referred for that purpose) he commanded to be set in the midst of the infinite Treasure which he and his predecessors had most couetously heaped vp together, and that hee should of that gold, siluer, and pretious stones, take what it pleased him to eat, saying by way of derision, that so gainfull a guest should be fed with nothing but things of greatest price, wherof hee would him to make no spare. In which order the couetous wretch kept for certain dayes, miserably died with hunger in the midst of those things wherof he thought he should neuer haue had enough: which though they were in value great, and with care layd together, yet serued they him not now to suffice nature, best contented with a little. Babylon thus sacked and almost rased, the Tartar marching on thorow Mesopotamia, took the City *Rhoais*: where *Aiton* the Armenian King, and author of this the Tartars expedition, came to him with twelue thousand horsemen and forty thousand foot, as reporteth *Aiton* the Armenian Kings Nephew then there present. So entering into Syria, he in few dayes took Aleppo, which Towne hee sacked and rased, in the yeare of our Lord 1260: with diuers other strong towns sometime belonging vnto the kingdom of Antioch. Then was one *Malanefar* Sultan of Damasco, commanding ouer all Syria and the land of Palestine: who terrified with the losse of his Cities, and the feare of further danger, with his wife and children came and humbled himselfe before the Tartar Prince, in hope so to haue saued to himselfe some good part of his Kingdom: wherin he was much deceiued, being (as some say) caried away afar off into exile, because he should not hinder the Tartars further proceedings. Or as others report (and happily with more probabilitie) being by him detained as his prisoner, and afterwards to the terror of his son, cut in pieces in his sight vnder the walls of Damasco, after that it had in vaine bin twice assaulted by the Tartars. Which strong City for all that, hee afterwards tooke by strong hand, and sacked it, and by the persuation of his Wife, ouerthrew all the Mahometan Temples, as he had before done in euery place where he came. But purposing to haue gon on forward to Ierusalem, and to haue conquered the whole land of Palestine, newes was brought him of the death of his brother *Manged* the great Cham. Whereupon he stayd his journey, and returned back again, in hope of that great Empire; hauing in this expedition spent almost six years.

Thus by the Tartars was the Kingdom of the Turks at Damasco ouerthrown. At which time the broken affairs of the Christians in Syria and the land of Palestine might easily haue bin repaired, and those two goodly kingdomes againe restored vnto the Christian Commonwealth, had the Christian Princes of the West then in time put to their helping hand on the one side, as did the Tartars on the other. But they then at fatal discord among themselves, and busied with their Wars at home, let slip that so fair an opportunity, the like wherof they seldom or neuer had since. *Haalon* the Tartar Prince, in token of his good will towards the Christians and their affairs; at his departure from Damasco left his sonne *Abiga* there with

about

L 3

twenty

1260  
Had the Tartars sent with a great Army against the Turke:

Aleppo vided by the Tartars.

Damasco won.

city: and further commanded, that his name for one year next following, in all solemn prayers and hymns of thanksgiving, should be joined with the name of the emperor himself. And yet not thinking to haue done him honour enough, caused his liuely image afterward to be most curiously made, & as a trophy robe set vpon a fair marble pillar before the great church of the holy Apostles, in perpetuall remembrance of him and that he had don for the deliuey of his Country; which shortly after ouerthrowen by an earthquake, was by his son againe restored.

Now was this great and famous city, sometime the beauty of the world, by these strange and fatall mutations wonderfully defaced, and brought to great desolation. In euery place was to be seen great heaps, or rather (to say the truth) great hills of rubbish, the eternall witnesses of the ruin therof: the houses stood, some quite fallen down, some ready to follow after, & some other great and stately buildings now the small reliques of great fires: for the chiefe beauty therof was before, at such time as the Latins took it, most defaced with fire, who all the time they had it, ceased not night and day to destroy some part or other of it, as if they had known they should not long keep it. Neither did this last fire, raised by the Greeks themselves to terrifie the Latins, a little deform it: for which cause the Emperors chiefe care now was to cleanse the city, in best sort he could to reform so great a confusion of things, not to be all at once amended: first beginning with the Churches, which ruinous or ready to fall he repaired: and next to that, filled the empty houses with new inhabitants. And albeit the chiefe of the Latines were together with the emperor fled and gon, yet was the most part of the artificers and tradesmen in the city, Venetians and them of Pisa mingled together, vnto whom also to join the Genoa's, and so to fill the city with Latines, he thought it not altogether safe, although that by them he reaped great profit: wherfore he assigned to them the city of Galatia, now called Pera, on the other side of the haue, for them to inhabit, granting them great priuileges, and euery of those companies to be gouerned by a Consul or potestate of their own. As for the Imperiall city it selfe, he stored it as neer as he could with natural Greeks born.

*Palaeologus  
son of his father*

Now although all things went as *Palaeologus* the Emperor could himselfe haue wished, yet could he not rest so contented, for fear lest those which now did eat their own hearts, and with great griefe smouldred their anger, should at length as the rightfull heires of the Empire by him vsurped, break out into open force, and so breed him great troubles, yea and perhaps work his confusion. For such is the tormenting state of vsurping Tyrants, neuer to thinke themselves safe so long as any one liueth whom they may suspect. Wherfore at once to rid himselfe of this feare, he thought it best so to dispose of the children of the late Emperour *Theodorus Lascaris*, as that he should not need of them to stand in doubt. To take them out of the way, besides that it was a thing odious, he saw it likewise to be vnto him dangerous; *Mary* and *Theodora* (two of the eldest daughters) being before by their father married to two great Princes (the Despot of Epirus and the Prince of Bulgaria) with whom he had before much to do, and of them yet stood in some doubt; but these were safe enough out of his reach. Other two younger sisters there were in his custody, *Theodora* and *Irene*, with their brother *Iohn*, the onely heir of the Empire: *Theodora* he married to one *Belicurt* a gentleman of Peloponesus, and *Irene* to one *Ugentimilio* of Genoa: both Latines, men of no great birth or power, such as he needed not to stand in doubt of. These two Ladies, the daughters of so great an Emperour as was *Theodorus*, thus basely bestowed; there remained only their brother *Iohn* sole heir of the empire, then but ten years old, whom *Palaeologus* long before, euen in the beginning of his reigne, had sent vnto Magnesia, there to be safely kept far off from the court, for fear lest in his right and quarrell some discontented persons desirous of innouation, should now begin some new stirs which might bee dangerous vnto his estate. Which indignitie done vnto the yong Prince, *Asenius* the Patriarch (put in trust by his father for the bringing of him vp) took in so euil part, that he forsook the Court with all his Ecclesiasticall dignity, and as a man weary of the world, retired himselfe vnto a little Monastery of *Pascasius* in the country, there to spend the remainder of his dayes. From whence for all that, he was after the taking of Constantinople from the Latines, almost against his will drawn thither by *Palaeologus* the Emperor, and made Patriarch therof, there together with so great an honour to find his greater discontent. For *Palaeologus* the Vsurper, altogether vnmindfull of his faith so solemnly before given for the safety and preseruacion of the yong Prince, and the restoring vnto him of his Empire; and now

now fully resolved to establish to him and his posteritie the soueraignty of so great an Empire, howsoeuer it was got, caused the yong Princes eyes most cruelly to be put out: the usual practise of the Tyrants of the East vpon such as they are loth or feare to kill, and yet would make them vnfit for government. Of which barbarous cruelty his sister *Theodora* (married to *Constantinus* Prince of Bulgaria) hearing, ceased not with tears and prayers, and all other Womanly persuations, to stir vp her husband in reuenge thereof. Wherunto also *Iathatines* the Turks Sultan gaue no small furtherance; who weary of exile, and to be so into a corner confined as into a prison from whence he might not start; by secret messengers intreated the Bulgarian Prince to make war vpon the vsurping Emperor: promising him a great sum of mony, if by his help he might recouer his former libertie. Wherwith he the rather moued, with a great power of his own, and about twenty thousand Tartars which then lay by the riuer Ister, suddenly brake into the Emperours territories, and in shorter time than was to haue beene thought, ouer-ran all the Countrey of Thracia, euen vnto the sea side, leauing neither man nor beast in all the Countrey as hee went: in good hope also to haue by the way surprised the Emperor himselfe, euen then returning from his Wars against the Despot in Thessaly. Who hearing of his speedy coming, being got vnto the sea side, and hauing no way left to haue escaped by land) shipped himselfe into a Galley of the Latines, which with another her consort bound for Constantinople, by good hap put in there for to water, and so within two days after arrived in safety at the Imperiall City. Thus disappointed of the Emperour, all his care was for the deliuey of the Turks Sultan. Wherfore marching in hast to Aenum, he so terrified the Citizens with his coming, that they without further delay deliuered him into his hands, that they might thereby redeem their owne peace. In his returne you might haue seen the Souldiers, especially the Tartars, driuing before them infinit numbers both of men and Cattel, in such sort as that in the open Countrey of Thrace for a space was hardly to be seen either Countryman or beast, it was so clean swept both of inhabitants and likewise of Cattel.

*Iathatines died*

*Iathatines* the Sultan by the Tartars carried ouer Ister, and so by them set at liberty, shortly after died. In whose kingdom succeeded not his son *Melick* (as some write) but two others (as the Turks themselves report) the one called *Mesoot*, the son of *Kei-Cubades*, and the other *Kei-Cubades* the son of *Forameine*, born also of the *Selzeccian* Family, as were all the other Turks Sultans; but how neer in blood they were vnto the late Sultan *Iathatines* they make no mention. Betwixt which two as his Vassals, *Gazan* the great Tartar Chan (by whom they were so preferred) for the payment of a yearly tribute diuided the Turks Kingdom; appor-tioning vnto *Mesoot* the Cities of Amida, in ancient time called Amisus, and Amisus, in Galatia; *Melatia*, otherwise called Melertine, in the lesser Armenia; *Siuaste*, in ancient time *Sebastia*, and *Harbarie*, before *Satabria*, both in Cappadocia, with all the Countrey about them. And vnto *Kei-Cubades*, Iconium the ancient seat of the Turkish Sultans, with all *Rumilia* Asiatica, or the Countries of the lesser Asia alongst the sea Coast: Which these two Princes held as the Tartars Tributaries, as had the late Sultan *Iathatines* before them, vntill such time as he was by the same Tartars againe expulled. So that the Turks kingdom, which had of long time formerly flourished in the *Selzeccian* Family, in Persia, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, were quite ouerthrowen by the *Mamalukes* and the Tartars (as is before declared) and now brought vnder foot in the lesser Asia likewise, where only rested all the hope of that Nation, was now at a low ebbe, diuided betwixt two weak Princes reigning but at the deuotion of the Tartar Chan. In which confusion of the Turkish Empire, so rent, not only diuers men of great power and authority amongst them, shared vnto themselves, some one corner of the declining kingdome, and some another; but many of the obscure and basest people also, bearing with them nothing but their bowes and arrowes, tooke the strait passages of the mountaines, and from thence with their dayly incursions, did much harme in the countries of the Christians joyning vpon them: which was no great matter for them to doe, the garrisons which were wont to defend the same, being for want of pay quite disbanded, and the Castles vpon the frontiers by them abandoned; which at the first, as a thing of small importance neglected, was at length vnto the Greekes a great cause of the ruine and decay of the greatest part of their estate in Asia. These mischiefes vnregarded, grew dayly more and more, the Turks still gaining vpon the Greekes what they lost vnto the Tartars. Whose

innua-

inuations (the glory of the kingdom only excepted) was not so hurtfull to them, as the cause of their much greater felicitie afterwards. At length it fortuned that a great power of these aduenturous Turks meeting together in Paphlagonia, were about to haue invaded the territories of the Christians: against whom *Michael Paleologus* the Emperor sent out a strong and puissant army to stay their further coming on, lest breaking in that way, they should without resistance at their pleasure forrage the country before them. Which army conducted by vskiliul captains, incountring with the Turks, was by them in a great battel ouerthrowne and utterly defeated, few or none of all that great multitude escaping: for whilst the Greeks vnadvisedly pursued the Turks, retyring of purpose before them, they were by them drawne into the danger of a great power lying in ambush for them, and so intrapped, were slain with an exceeding great slaughter. After which so great a victory (the beginning of the misery of the Christians in the lesser Asia) the Turks without let or stay ouer-ran all the country vnto the riuier Sangarius; vpon the banks wherof the Greek Emperor was glad to fortifie diuers towns and forts to keep them out of Bithynia. Neuerthelesse they in short time after subdued all the countries from Pontus and Galatia, vnto the Lycian and Carian sea, and the riuier Eury-medon, which they diuided among them into diuers Toparchies, little or nothing acknowledging the fouraigntie either of *Mejoot* or *Kei-Cubades*.

Whilst the Turks in the lesser Asia thus win from the Christians on the one side, and lose to the Tartars on the other, many an hard conflict in the mean time passed betwixt the Egyptian Sultans with their Mamalukes, and the Tartars, for the fouraignty of Syria: the poor remainder of the Christians all that while there in doubt both of the one and the other; from whom and from the Armenians (then also much infested with the Mamalukes) diuers Embassadors were sent vnto the Pope and the Christian Princes of the West, to craue their ayd and help in that their hard estate. Whose prayers little preuailling with the rest, yet so moued *Lewis* the French King, and *Henry* the third then reigning in England, that they both promised them aid. Whereupon *Lewis* a man of great deuotion, and alwaies forward in that seruice against the Infidels, took vpon him the Crosse, the cognisance of the sacred War; causing his three sons, *Philip* that succeeded him in the kingdome, (syrnamed the Faire) *Peter* Countie of Alanson, and *John* Countie of Nevers, syrnamed *Tristan* (for that his mother was in her greatest heauinesse for the taking of her husband, deliuered of him in Egypt) and most of the Nobilitie of France to do the like. Vnto whom also *Theobald* King of Navar his son in Law, *Alphonfus* his brother, and *Guido* Earl of Flanders, joined themselves. And so hauing put all things in readinesse, took his way to Marseilles, and from thence embarking himselfe with his Army in the Genoa ships hired for that purpose, set forward the first day of March, in the year 1270. But being at sea, he was by force of weather constrained to land in Sardinia, and there to stay a while. Departing thence, he at length arriued at Carthage, the place by him desired: where in the entrance of the haven he surprisid certain of the Enemies ships; but landing his men, and assaulting the town, he was notably repulsed. This is not that ancient, great, and famous City, which sometime stroue with the proud Mistres of the World for fouraigntie, but another built long after in the ruines, or at least not far from the ruines of the same. In the besieging wherof the Frenchmen found such resistance, as wel put them in remembrance of the ancient glory of the Carthaginians. One day it hapned as the king lay thus at the siege, that the defendants made a great and fierce fallie out vpon the Frenchmen; who before commanded so to doe, by little and little retyred, to draw their enemies further on. Betwixt whom and the City the Constable with a great power comming and charging them behinde, and they which were before retyred, now standing close vnto them, they were on both sides hardly beset; who for all that, as became valiant men, worthily defended themselves, and made there a great fight, though not without extreame perill. Which they in the City beholding, gaue out a most hideous and pittious cry, a certaine signe of their hard estate within; astonying with the suddenesse thereof both their friends and enemies. But whilst they of the Towne betwixt hope and despair stood thus beholding the fight at land, the Frenchmen by sea assailing a Bulwarke on that side of the Towne, tooke it without resistance. Which so dismayed them without, that they forthwith began to flie; of whom the greatest part casting away their weapons, were by the Kings commandment receiued vnto mercy. And they likewise of the Town vpon promise of their liues, yekled the same

1270  
Carthage besieged by K. Lewis

Carthage men.

A same vnto the King. Carthage thus won, the King layd siege vnto Tunes, the chiefe City of that Kingdom, being not far off. Where by the way he was encountered by the King of that Country, who hauing there lost ten thousand of his Moores, betook himselfe to flight with the rest. Who thus ouerthrowne, resolved no more to tempt fortune, but to keepe himselfe safe within the walls of his city, if happily so he might (as it oftentimes falleth out) more weaken his enemies by lying still and protracting the time, than by open force and valour. Which their purpose King *Lewis* perceiuing, resolved not to stir from thence vntill that hee were become master of the City, which as it seemed could not hold out for want of victuals, considering the multitude of people that were got into it. Neuerthelesse thus besieged both by sea and land, and so streitly hemmed in on euery side, as that no reliefe could possibly bee brought vnto it, yet held it out by the space of six moneths. After which time, wants dayly more and more encreasing amongst the besieged, Embassadors were sent out to the King, to intreat with him of peace. But whilst these Embassadors went to and fro, and reason vpon the capitulations of the desired peace, behold, a great and furious plague arose in the French Camp, which began to cut them down by heaps: There died *John Tristan* Countie of Nevers, the Kings yongest sonne, born in the first expedition that the said King his father made into the Holy land, euen at such time as he was taken prisoner; which *Tristan* died the twenty fift day of August, in the year of our Lord 1270. The good King hauing scarcely performed the obsequies of his son, fell sick of the bloody flux, whereof he there shortly after died also. About which time arriued there *Charles* King of Sicilie, the French Kings brother, with a great number of fresh soldiers; whose comming somewhat lightened the Frenchmens hearts (heauy for the death of their King) and daunted the Moores, before brag of the same. Shortly after whom arriued there also Prince *Edward*, King *Henry* the third his eldest son; who traueiling thorow France, and taking shipping at Aquemort, not far from Marseilles, was now in ten dayes with a braue company of English men come to Tunes; and there of the other Christian Princes, namely of *Philip* the French King (his father *Lewis* being now dead) of *Charles* King of Sicilie, and of the two Kings of Navar and Arragon, ioyfully receiued. But these princes had a little before his arriual concluded a peace with the Moores King and the Infidels, vpon condition that he should pay a yearly tribute of forty thousand Crownes vnto the King of Sicilie, and to suffer the Christian Religion to bee freely preached within his Dominions, by such deuout persons as should be there left for that purpose: and that vnto such as should by their preaching be conuerted vnto the Faith in Christ Iesus, it should be lawfull for them to be baptised, and to professe the Christian Religion.

Of which Peace Prince *Edward* vnderstanding, did what he might to haue dissuaded them from the same, saying, That the War was by them all taken in hand against the Infidels, as enemies vnto the Crosse of Christ (with whom they were not to haue peace) and for the recovery of the Holy City. But say what he would, and do what he could, the peace to his great discontentment was now concluded, which they might not (as they said) again break. And therupon with the first fair wind hoisted sail and returned towards Sicilie, with purpose the next Spring to haue gon into Syria. Which their determination was shortly after by the hand of God disappointed: for beeing come vpon the Coast of the Island not far from Drepanum, most of the great Princes and other Nobilitie in their long boats went on land, the rest of the Fleet lying at Anker about a league off; for that being for the most part ships of great burthen, they were not able to put into the Harbor. But as they so lay, by force of a violent and sudden Tempest then arising, some were eaten vp with the rough sea; some falling foule one of another, there perished together; others driuen vpon the Main, were there beaten in pieces. So that of that great Fleet, before the storme ceased, perished about an hundred and twenty sail, with all the people as well mariners as souldiers left in them, and great store of Armour and munition. In such sort that most of the common Souldiers and Mariners which had escaped the Plague at Tunes, there vpon the Coast of Sicilie perished by shipwrack. Only Prince *Edwards* fleet, beeing in number but thirteene ships, escaped free without losse either of ship or man. Neither were they that were got to land at Drepanum in much better case, the plague still following them; wherof died *Theobald* King of Navar. and *Isabel* his wife, King *Lewis* his daughter, *Elizabeth* the French queen, with a maruelous number of Noble Gentlemen and other common Soldiers; in such sort, that *Philip* the French King discouraged

The Christian Princes, coming from Drepanum, suffer shipwracke vpon the coast of Sicily.

1271

Prince Edward  
wounded.

discouraged with the greatnes of the mortalitie, and the miserable losse at sea, resolved there G  
to make an end of the intended war, and so returned into France, as did the rest that were left,  
every man into his own country. Only Prince *Edward* having passed that Winter in Sicilie,  
with the first of the next Spring set forward again on his voyage, and in 15 dayes arrived with  
his fleet at Ptolemais: where after he had by the space of a month rested himself and his sol-  
diers after their long trauel, and fully inquiring of the state of the country, he with six or seuen  
thousand soldiers marching from Ptolemais about twenty miles into the land, took Naza-  
reth, and put to sword all them he found therein, and so again returned. After whom the ene-  
mies following, in hope to haue taken him at some aduantage, he vnderstanding thereof, tur-  
ned back vpon them, and killing a great number of them, put the rest to flight. And after that  
about Midsummer, vnderstanding that the Saracens were again making head at a place called H  
Cakhow, about forty miles off, he set forwards toward them, and coming vpon them early  
in the morning before they were aware, slew about a thousand of them, and dispersed the rest.  
Aided also by the Nobilitie of Cyprus, he with like successe as before, made a third expedi-  
tion against the Turks and Infidels: insomuch that his fame began to grow great amongst  
them, and they to stand of him in no little dread. But whilst he thus preuailed, he was by foul  
treacherie almost taken out of the way. The Admirall of Ioppa feigning himselfe desirous  
to become a Christian, and willing to further the princes proceedings, had by a secret messen-  
ger and letters sundry times intelligence with him, as well concerning his own good en-  
tertainment, as the effecting of that which hee had promised. This messenger by the Admirall  
thus employed, was (though to the Prince vnkown) one of the Assassines, a company of most I  
desperat and dangerous men amongst the Mahometans, who strongly deluded with the blind  
zeal of their superstition, and counting it meritorious, by any meanes to kill any great enemy  
of their Religion; for the performance therof, as men prodigall of their liues, desperately ad-  
venture themselves vnto all kinds of dangers. So now this messenger being resolved to die,  
comming the fift time vnto the Prince, and being searched for hauing any weapon about him  
(as the manner was) had acceffe vnto him, then lying in his chamber vpon his bed, in his jer-  
kin bare headed, because of the heate of the weather. Where after due reuerence done, hee  
pulled out certain letters from his Lord to the Prince, which hee read with great delight, as  
penned of purpose for to please. But as hee was further questioning with him of many mat-  
ters, and all the company voided, the desperat messenger making as though hee would haue K  
pulled out some other secret letters, suddenly pluckt out an inuenedomed knife which hee had  
secretly hidden about him, thinking to haue struck him into the belly as he lay, for the auoi-  
ding of which stroke the Prince lifting vp his arm, was therein grievously wounded. But as  
the Villaine was about to haue doubled the stroke, the Prince with his foot gaue him such a  
blow that he felled him to the ground; and with that starting vp, caught him by the hand,  
where in strugling with him for the knife, in wresting it out of his hand, hee hurt himselfe  
therewith in the forehead: but getting it from him, presently thrust it into the murderers bel-  
ly and so slew him. The Princes seruants being not far off, and hearing the bustring, came run-  
ning in; where finding the messenger dead on the floor, one with a stool beat out his brains;  
wherat the Prince took some displeasure for so striking a dead man. This danger of the prin- L  
ces much troubled and grieved all the Christians in Syria; and the more, for that the wound  
in his arm, after it had bin certain daies well dressed by the skilfull Surgeons and Physicians,  
began to mortifie and grow blacke, insomuch that they and others about him began to mut-  
ter amongst themselves, and to looke heauily vpon the matter, as not without great danger.  
Which Prince *Edward* perceiuing, sayd vnto them, Why whisper ye thus amongst your  
selues? What see you in me? Can I not be healed? Tell me the truth and feare not. Where-  
unto one of them answered, May it please your Highnesse, we doubt not of your healing,  
but that it will be painfull for you to suffer. If suffering (sayd hee) may again restore my  
health, I commit my selfe vnto you, worke on me your skill and spare not. So the next day M  
they cut out all the dead and poisoned flesh that was in his arm, and within fiftene dayes  
after perfectly cured his wound, to the great reioicing of all his people. The great Sultan  
to cleere himselfe of this so dishonorable a treacherie, sent three of his Noblemen vnto the  
Prince, calling to witnesse his false Prophet *Mahomet*, That the same was done neither by  
him nor his consent. Which his Embassadors the Prince honourably vsed, but suffered  
them

them not to come nigh him. So hauing tarried eightene moneths at Ptolemais, and no ayd  
comming from the other Christian Princes, as was expected, he tooke shipping, and returning  
homeward, landed first in Sicilia, and from thence crossing ouer into Apulia, and so traouelling  
to Rome, was there honourably entertained by *Gregory* the tenth, then Pope; and from thence  
by the way of France arrived in England, where he was shortly after crowned King, in the yere  
1272, his father the old King, *Henry* the third, being a little before his returne dead.

The yere following, *Gregory* the tenth, not ignorant of the hard estate of the Christians in  
Syria, (as hauing there bene of late himselfe with Prince *Edward*, at which time he was in his  
absence elected Pope) and now desirous to procure them some reliefe, ratified the election of  
*Rodolphus* of Hapsurge vnto the Empire; vpon condition, That he should promise to take  
vpon himselfe the Crosse, and to giue them reliefe: for the performance whereof he offered  
vnto the Emperour two hundred thousand crownes, with the tenths both of the Clergie and  
Temporaltie for six yeres: and many goodly blessings were in his name also, by the preachers  
of that time, promised vnto all such as should with him take vpon them that sacred warre.  
Whereupon the Emperour with all his family tooke vpon them the Crosse, the signe of the  
sacred expedition intended: as did also the Duke of Lorraine shortly after, with some others.  
Newerthelesse the Emperour, otherwise busied in warres against the Bohemians and Bauari-  
ans, and delaying still the time, as not greatly willing to take vpon him so long and dangerous  
a journey, and the Pope still threatning his high sentence of excommunication, the time pas-  
sed, the Pope died, and nothing was as yet done. Vntill that at length the Emperour hauing  
happily finished his warres in Bohemia, and finding himselfe at some good leisure in some  
part to discharge his vow, and to satisfie the expectation the world had of long conceiued of  
him, sent *Henry* Prince of Megapolis, or as the Germans call it, Meckelbourg, with a strong  
power into Syria, to performe what himselfe had promised. Who comming to Ptolemais,  
made many notable incursions into the country about Damasco, with fire and sword destroy-  
ing all before him as he went, and carrying thence many great and rich booties; vntill that at  
length he was by the Mamalukes circumented and taken prisoner, and so carried vnto the  
Sultan at Caire, where he remained in strait prison six and twenty yeres after; vntill that by  
chance one of the Mamalukes (a renegade Germane) being chosen Sultan, caused him to be  
brought before him, and at his comming demanded of him, If it would not do him good to  
celebrate the remembrance of the natiuity of his Christ with his friends in Germany? (for  
now that time of the yere was at hand) And I know (said the Sultan) that thou art so addicted  
vnto thy superstition, that thou respectest the same more than thy liberty. Truth (said *Henry*)  
mighty Prince; for liberty would auaille me nothing, if Christ by his most mild incarnation  
had not taken away our captiuitie: and therefore how much all men owe vnto the reuerend  
remembrance thereof, I would to God thou, o King, didst also vnderstand; which as I most  
heartily wish, so I would I could thereof persuaide thee. God forbid (said the Sultan) for I re-  
member that when as I was a chiefe enginer vnto thy father at Knefe-Fenicke in Liuania, and  
there did him good seruice, I was altogether of the Christian persuation; but now hauing  
left that common error, haue therewith also changed my priuate fortune. But as for thy Reli-  
gion I haue nothing to say, my talke is onely concerning thy liberty: Wouldest thou there-  
fore gladly be free, and so returne home to thy friends? That, Nature craueth (said *Henry*) al-  
though my fortune gaine sayeth, which yet dependeth of your pleasure: I desire indeed to re-  
turne home, which if you should deny me, I must as I haue done, take it in good part; assuring  
my selfe, that my wife *Anastasia*, with my beloued sons, *Henry*, *Leo*, and *John*, haue long since ce-  
lebrated my funerals, and ended their mourning. Thou art deceiued (said the Sultan) for I am  
sure that they know thou yet liuest, and pray most heartily for thy returne. Truly I owe much  
vnto the remembrance of thy father, and therefore this day giue thee thy liberty. And hauing  
so said, furnished him with all things necessary, and gaue him leaue to depart with one *Martin*  
his seruant, who taken with him, had borne him company all the long time of his captiuitie.  
F So taking his leaue of the Sultan, he came to Ptolemais: but shipping himselfe for Cyprus,  
he was by the way, by certaine Pyrats taken at sea, and as a fugitiue Captiue brought backe  
again vnto the Sultan: who pittying his hard fortune, set him againe at liberty, and by a ship  
set out for that purpose, transported him into Cyprus: where he was by the Queene of that  
Island

1273

*Rodolph* the  
Emperour ta-  
ken vpon him  
the crosse.

*Henry*, the prince  
taken prisoner,  
& sent to Caire

Island his aunt (as some say) honourably entertained, and so furnished of all things fit for his estate. Departing thence he came to Marfeilles, where after he had some few daies refreshed himselfe, he from thence trauelled by land home into his own Country: where at the first he was not knowne of his owne children and friends, as being growne old in prison, and by them long before accounted among the dead; but now at last found againe, and by them knowne, he was of his children joyfully receiued as their father, and of his subjects as their Prince. Howbeit he shortly after died, and was honourably buried in the Monastery of Dobran.

Thus in the whole course of this History it appears, by that which is already written, what notable expeditions euen the greatest Christian Princes of the West, to their immortal glory, from time to time vnderooke against the enemies of Christ, and his most sacred word, & for the reliefe of the poore distressed Christians in Syria and in the land of Palestine: whereof as diuers of them had right glorious successe, vnto the great profit of the Christian Commonweale; so some of them answered not with like euent, as vnderaken with too small strength, or otherwise ouerthrowne by the discord or malice of the Christians themselves, rather than by the enemies force. Which neuertheless, how vnfurnitly foueuer they fel out in the hands of such worthy men as vnderooke them, yet haue they this glory, commendation, and comfort, That they were taken in hand for the honor of the Son of God, Christ Iesus, and the defence of his verity, against the false Prophet *Mahomet*, and his most blasphemous doctrine; so honorable and just a quarrel as might well beseme the greatnes of the greatest Prince, yea, of all the Princes of Christendome. Yet could not the worthines therof, euen in those more zealous times, or the dangerous estate of that part of the Christian commonweale, euen then like to perish, (as some others be now) or the lamentable complaints of the poore oppressed Christians, crying out vnto their Christian brethren for aid, any whit moue the Christian Princes of that time, with their combined forces to reach vnto them their helping hands, or to yeeld vnto them any succor or reliefe: for they little feeling those harmes so far off, and more regarding their owne hereditary quarrels, employed those forces one against another, vnto the effusion of so much Christian blood, as might haue sufficed not for reliefe of the distressed Christians in Syria onely, but also to haue regained whatsoeuer had bene before from them taken by the Turks or Saracins. The German Princes were still at a jarre about the choice of their Emperors: the French agreed not with the English, or them of the Low-countries: neither the English with the Scots: the Arragonians were at odds with the French: and in Italy were almost as many deadly factions as prouinces. Of which discord of the Christians (the greatest occasion of their ruine and decay) *Melechares* the Egyptian Sultan vnderstanding by his espials, raised a great army of the Mamalukes and others, with a full purpose to haue vtterly rooted out all the remainders of the Christians in Syria and the land of Palestine, and so to haue entirely joyned those two great countries vnto his owne kingdom. But what he had so maliciously deuised, hee liued not to bring to passe, being in the midst of those his great designs taken away by sudden death. After whom *Alphis* (or as some call him, *Elpis*) succeeding him in the kingdom, & with a puissant army entring into Syria, laid siege to Tripolis, which he at length tooke by vndermining of it, and put to sword all the Christians therein (except such as by speedy flight had intime got themselves out of the danger) & rased the city down to the ground: which calamitie berided vnto the Christians the ninth of Aprill in the yeare 1289. Presently after, he had the strong castle of Nelesine yeelded vnto him, whereinto he put a strong garrison, to hinder the Christians from building againe the late destroyed city. In like manner also he took the cities of Sidon and Berythus, which he sacked, and laid them flat with the ground. And after that, he remoued to Tyre, which after three moneths strait siege, was by the Citizens (now out of all hope of reliefe) yeelded vnto him, vpon condition, That they might with bag and baggage in safety depart. With like good fortune hee in good time, and as it were without resistance, tooke all the rest of the strong Townes and Castles which the Christians yet held in Syria and the land of Palestine, excepting onely the Citie of Ptolemais: whereunto all the poore Christians fled as vnto a Sanctuary, to be there defended by the honourable Knights Templars and Hospitallers. Nothing now left vnto them more than that strong City, the Sultan of his owne accord made a peace with them for the space of five yeares, fearing (as was supposed) to haue drawne vpon him all the Christian Princes

1289

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and ... by  
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... Sultan

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The Christians affaires thus brought to the last cast in Syria, and yet faintly as it were breathing, by the benefit of the last obtained peace; *Peter Beluise* master of the Templars, with the grand master of the Knights Hospitallers, suddenly passed ouer (as Embassadors from the rest) into Europe, vnto *Nicholans quartus* then Pope, craving his fatherly aid. Who moued with so great miseries of the poore afflicted Christians, solicited the other Christian Princes to haue sent them reliefe; especially *Rodolph* the German Emperour, who then busied with the assent them reliefe; especially *Rodolph* the German Emperour, who then busied with the assent faires of the Empire, and his troubles neerer home, (as were the other Christian Princes also) gaue good words, but no helpe at all. Yet some of them vnder the colour thereof, got from their subjects great summes of money, which they employed to their other worse vices: onely the Pope sent fiftene hundred men at armes, whom with deuout persuation, and much earnest preaching, he had induced to take vpon them that sacred expedition, & entertained them of his owne charge: vnto whom also many others out of diuers countries, vpon a religious zeale, joyned themselves as voluntary men, who meeting together at Brundisium, and there embarked with the two grand masters of the Templars and Hospitallers, in safety at length arrived at Ptolemais. There was then in the City a great number of people of all sorts: of able men there was about fifty thousand, and about forty thousand of the weaker sort: amongst whom, diuers murders, felonies, rapes, and such other shamefull outrages, (all hasting the dreadfull judgements of God) were dayly committed, and let passe vnregarded, more than of them that were injured. For all the chief commanders were then at variance among themselves, every one of them laying claime (not worth a rush) vnto the vain title of the kingdom of Ierusalem. *Henry* King of Cyprus comming thither with a great fleet, charged the Templars to deliuer him the Crowne of that kingdom, which they had (as he said) wrongfully taken from *Almericus* and *Guy* his Ancestors. And *Charles* King of Sicilia by his Embassadors laid claime vnto the title of that kingdom, as due vnto the Kings of that Island: and vnderstanding it to be giuen vnto *Henry* King of Cyprus, caused all the reuenues of the Templars within his dominion, to be brought into his Treasuries, and their lands and houses to be spoiled. *Hugh* also, Prince of Antioch, laboured with tooth and naile, to defend the ouerborne right that his father and grandfather had vnto that lost kingdom. And the Countie of Tripolis layd in for himselfe, that he was descended from *Raymond* of Tholous; and that beside himselfe, remained no Prince of the antient Nobility, which had woon that Kingdom out of the hands of the Saracins, and that therefore that regall dignity did not of better right appertaine vnto any other than vnto himselfe. Neither did these foure Princes more strue for the title of the lost Kingdom, than for the present gouernment of the City, straightway about to perish. The Popes Legate pretending thereunto a right also, for that King *John Brenne* had before subjected it vnto the See of Rome. As for the claime vnto the City of Ptolemais, the Patriarke of Ierusalem challenged vnto himselfe the preheminence, for that the Metropolitall city of Tyre (vnder which the City of Ptolemais was the third Episcopall Seat) was vnder his iurisdiction, euen by the Decree of the West Church. The Templars also, and the Knights Hospitallers, whose power in the City was at that time farre the greatest, pretended the gouernment thereof of best right to belong vnto them, as the just reward of their blood, already and afterward to bee spent in the defence thereof: promising great matters if it might be wholly referred vnto them. Neither spared the French King, or the King of England, by their messengers to claime the soueraignie of the city, by their predecessors sometimes won. And they of Pisa hauing still a Consull therein, and by often marriages with the naturall inhabitants, grown into great affinity with them, did what they might to get the gouernment into their hands. The Venetians also by their authoritie and great wealth, laboured to gaine the good will of the people, sparing therein no cost. And they of Genoa, no lesse cunning than the rest, supplanted the strongest factions, by giuing aid both apertly and covertly vnto the weaker; that so hauing weakned the faction they most doubted and hated, they might by the joynt fauour of the weaker, aspire vnto the gouernment of the stronger, and so consequently of the city it selfe. The Florentines also by their continuall trafficke thither, were not out of hope, by one finenesse or other, amongst so many competitors,

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1289

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The Christians affaires thus brought to the last cast in Syria, and yet faintly as it were breathing, by the benefit of the last obtained peace; *Peter Beluise* master of the Templars, with the grand master of the Knights Hospitallers, suddenly passed ouer (as Embassadors from the rest) into Europe, vnto *Nicholaus quartus* then Pope, crauing his fatherly aid. Who moued with so great miseries of the poore afflicted Christians, solicited the other Christian Princes to haue sent them reliefe; especially *Rodolph* the German Emperour, who then busied with the affaires of the Empire, and his troubles neerer home, (as were the other Christian Princes also) gaue good words, but no helpe at all. Yet some of them vnder the colour thereof, got from their subjects great summes of money, which they employed to their other worse vses: onely the Pope sent fiftene hundred men at armes, whom with deuout perswasion, and much earnest preaching, he had induced to take vpon them that sacred expedition, & entertained them of his owne charge: vnto whom also many others out of diuers countries, vpon a religious zeale, joyned themselves as voluntary men, who meeting together at Brundisium, and there embarked with the two grand masters of the Templars and Hospitallers, in safety at length arrived at Ptolemais. There was then in the City a great number of people of all sorts: of able men there was about fifty thousand, and about forty thousand of the weaker sort: amongst whom, diuers murders, felonies, rapes, and such other shamefull outrages, (all hasting the dreadfull judgements of God) were dayly committed, and let passe vnregarded, more than of them that were injured. For all the chief commanders were then at variance among themselves, euery one of them laying claime (not worth a rush) vnto the vain title of the kingdome of Ierusalem. *Henry* King of Cyprus comming thither with a great fleet, charged the Templars to deliuer him the Crowne of that kingdome, which they had (as he said) wrongfully taken from *Almericus* and *Guy* his Ancestors. And *Charles* King of Sicilia by his Embassadors laid claime vnto the title of that kingdome, as due vnto the Kings of that Island: and vnderstanding it to be giuen vnto *Henry* King of Cyprus, caused all the reuenues of the Templars within his dominion, to be brought into his Treasuries, and their lands and houses to be spoiled. *Hugh* also, Prince of Antioch, laboured with tooth and naile, to defend the overborne right that his father and grandfather had vnto that lost kingdome. And the Countie of Tripolis layd in for himselfe, that he was descended from *Raymond* of Tholous; and that beside himselfe, remained no Prince of the antient Nobility, which had woon that Kingdome out of the hands of the Saracins, and that therefore that regall dignity did not of better right appertaine vnto any other than vnto himselfe. Neither did these foure Princes more strue for the title of the lost Kingdome, than for the present government of the City, straightway about to perish. The Popes Legate pretending thereunto a right also; for that King *John Brenne* had before subjected it vnto the See of Rome. As for the claime vnto the City of Ptolemais, the Patriarke of Ierusalem challenged vnto himselfe the preheminence, for that the Metropolitall city of Tyre (vnder which the City of Ptolemais was the third Episcopall Seat) was vnder his iurisdiction, euen by the Decree of the West Church. The Templars also, and the Knights Hospitallers, whose power in the City was at that time farre the greatest, pretended the government thereof of best right to belong vnto them, as the iust reward of their blood, already and afterward to bee spent in the defence thereof: promising great matters if it might bewholly referred vnto them. Neither spared the French King, or the King of England, by their messengers to claime the soueraignie of the city, by their predecessors sometimes won. And they of Pisa hauing still a Consull therein, and by often mariages with the naturall inhabitants, grown into great affinity with them, did what they might to get the government into their hands. The Venetians also by their authoritie and great wealth, laboured to gaine the good will of the people, sparing therein no cost. And they of Genoa, no lesse cunning than the rest, supplanted the strongest factions, by giuing aid both apertly and covertly vnto the weaker; that so hauing weakened the faction they most doubted and hated, they might by the joynt fauour of the weaker, aspire vnto the gouernment of the stronger, and so consequently of the city it selfe. The Florentines also by their continuall trafficke thither, were not out of hope, by one fineness or other, amongst so many competitors,

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to find a meane to step vp above the rest. But the greatest part of the people for all that were most inclined vnto the Armenians and Tartars, as both for their needresse and power most like of all other to stand them in stead. All these aimed at one marke, which was, the gouernment and command of the City; and most of them had in the same their owne proper lawes and courts, to decide their causes and controuersies in. Whereby it came to passe, that euery man might without checke or controulement almost do what he list, the offenders from one court to another remouing their suits as best serued their turnes. Thus were murders (as is before said) dayly committed in the streets, men abused, houses robbed, shops broken vp, and many other outrages done, to the hastning of the wrath of God, and griefe of all good men.

1291

Diuision and dissention (the ruine of all Common-weales) thus raigning in the City, the souldiers of late sent thither, or in zeale come of themselves for the defence thereof, gaue occasion for the more speedy destruction of the same: such is the power of the Almighty, in his wrath and judgements for sinne, euen by those things wherein we most trust and joy, to worke our vtter ruine and destruction. These souldiers, for want of such pay as was promised them, were enforced to seeke abroad; and therefore contrary to the league before made with the Egyptian Sultan, oftentimes went out in great parties vnto the frontiers of his territories, taking the spoile of such things as they light vpon. Whereof the Sultan vnderstanding, demanded by his Embassadors, That restitution might be made, and the offenders deliuered vnto him to be punished, according vnto the League. But in that so sicke a state of a dying Common-weale, neither was restitution made, as reason would, or yet the Embassadors courtously heard. With which insolencie the Sultan prouoked, sent *Emilech Araphus* a notable Capitaine, (and as some say, his sonne) with an hundred and fifty thousand men, to besiege the City: who comming thither, and hauing made his approches, had by a mine in short time ouerthrowne a piece of the wall; but in seeking to haue entred by the breach, he found such strong resistance, that he was glad with losse to retire. Whilest *Araphus* thus lay at the siege of Ptolemais, *Alphir* the Sultan died at Damasco: in whose stead the Mamelukes made choice of this *Araphus* for their Sultan; who more desirous of nothing than of the glory of the vtter rooting vp of the Christians in Syria, was so farre from raising of his siege, (either for the death of the Sultan, or the newes of his Kingdome) that he more straitly beset the city than he had in the three moneths space that he had there lien before. Now had they in the city chosen *Peter* the master of the Templars, their gouernor; a man of great experience and valour: vnto whom, and the rest of the nobilitie, the Sultan offered great rewards, and vnto the soldiers their pay, with free liberty to depart, so that they would without more adoe yeeld vnto him the city, which they could not long hold. Which his offer the master rejected, and flatly told him, that he had not learned of his ancestors, to sell for money vnto the Infidels a City bought with so much Christian blood; either did so much regard his vaine threats, as therefore to forget his seruice due vnto his Sauior Christ and the Christian Commonweale. With which answer the tyrant enraged, the next day with all his forces assaulted the city, and that in such desperat and furious manner, as if he would euen then haue carried it; hauing before filled the ditches, and promised the spoile vnto his souldiers, the more to encourage them. Yet hauing done what he could, and lost a number of his men, slaine both in the assault, and in a sally which the Christians made out at the same time, he was enforced to retire backe againe into his trenches. In this so terrible an assault, not repulsed without some losse also of the Christians, the grand master and gouernour of the city was wounded with a poisoned dart, wherof he in three daies after died. With whom the courage of the Defenders fainted also, no man being left like vnto him to vndertake so great a charge; although many there were, that ouerweening of themselves desired the same. In the beginning of this siege the Christians had sent away all their aged and weak people vnto Cyprus, where they in safety arriued. But now many of the better sort both Captains and others discouraged, one after another conueyed themselves away out of the City. Of whom a great number in passing thence to Cyprus, were vpon the Coast of the Island together with the Patriarch drowned. In the City remained only twelue thousand, which were thought sufficient for the defence thereof. Who afterwards (as some report) fled also by sea after their Fellowes, and so left the City empty vnto the barbarous Enemy. Some others reporting of

Ptolemais besieged.

Ptolemais in  
was assaulted  
by the Sultan.

of them more honorably, as that they should right valiantly defend the city against the assault of their enemies, vntill such time as that most of them being slaine or wounded, and the rest by force driuen from the wals into the market place, and there for a while notably defending themselves, in flying thence vnto the ships, were by the way all cut in sunder, or els drowned. But how soeuer it was, the Sultan entring the city (by the Christians abandoned, or by force taken) gaue the spoile thereof vnto his souldiers; who after they had rifled euery corner thereof, by his commandement set it on fire and burnt it downe to the ground: and digging vp the very foundations of the wals, Churches, and other publicke or priuate buildings, which the fire had not burnt, left there no signe of any city at all; but purging the place euen of the very heapes of the stones and rubbidge left of the rased city, made it a fit place for husbandmen to plow and sow corne in; which he did both there, at Sydon, Beritus, and other Townes alongst the sea coast, because they should neuer more serue for a refuge vnto the Christians, or giue them footing againe into those Countries. Thus together with Ptolemais was the name of the Christians vtterly rooted out of Syria and the Land of Palestine, in the year 1291, about 192 yeares after the winning of Ierusalem by *Godfrey* of Bullion and the other Christian Princes his confederates.

This losse, as tending to the great disgrace of the Christians in generall, moued not a little euen the greatest of the Christian Princes; wronged all or most part of them in the persons of the Templars or Knights Hospitallers, their subjects, so shamefully now quite cast out of Syria and the land of Promise; howbeit, troubled with their owne turbulent affaires at home or with their neighbour Princes not farre off, none of them once stirred for the redresse or reuenge thereof. Onely *Cassanes* the great Tartar Prince, hauing of late subdued the Persians, and married the daughter of the Armenian King (a Lady of great perfection, and of a Mahometane became a Christian) at the request of his wife and his father in law, tooke the matter in hand. And for that purpose hauing raised a most puissant army of two hundred thousand fighting men, and ayded by the Armenians and Georgians, passing ouer the mountaine Amanus into Syria, not farre from the City Hama met with *Melcensafer*, the Egyptian Sultans Lieutenant, with a mighty army, whom he ouerthrew in a great and mortal battell, wherein forty thousand of the Egyptians are reported to haue bene slaine, and so draue him quite out of Syria: sending *Molais*, one of his Captaines, with part of his Army to pursue him, who neuer left him vntill he had chased him ouer the desert sands into Egypt. The victorious Tartar after this battell tooke the City of Hama, where lighting vpon the great treasures of the Sultan, hee bountifully diuided it, together with the spoile, amongst his souldiers; reseruing nothing thereof vnto himselfe, more than a sword and a casket full of secret letters. The Egyptian thus put to flight, he without resistance tooke in most of the Cities of Syria, with the City of Ierusalem also; which in many places by the Turks and Egyptians defaced, he againe repaired: and together with the Temple of our Sauour gaue it to the Armenians, Georgians, and other Christians, repairing thither out of Cyprus, Crete, and other places, to inhabit. And hauing himselfe honoured the holy places with great gifts, returned with his army to Damasco, which was forthwith deliuered vnto him. But lying there, with purpose in Autumne following to haue gone into Egypt, and to haue vtterly destroyed that kingdome, he was certified of new troubles arising in Persia, and some other parts of his Empire: for repressing whereof, he with the greatest part of his Army returned himselfe into Persia, leauing one *Capcapus* gouernour of Damasco; who after the ouerthrow of the Sultans Army had revolted vnto him; and *Molais* (of whom wee haue before spoken) Gouernour of Ierusalem: commanding them at his departure to re-edifie the City of Tyre, and to send Embassadors vnto the Christian Princes of the West, to ioyne in league with them, for the more sure holding of those new gained countries. And so Tyre was indeed repaired as he had commanded, and deliuered to the Christians, with a conuenient garrison for the keeping thereof: but the Embassadors comming to the proud Bishop *Boniface* the eight, then Pope, whom of all others it seemed to haue furthered their business, they could of him obtaine nothing, but returned as they came. For hee at the same time fallen out with *Philip* the French King, thundering out his excommunications, discharging his subjects of their loyaltie, and so much as in him was, depriving him of his Kingdome, had giuen the same vnto *Albertus* Duke of Austria, whom he had declared Emperour: wherof

Cassanes the  
Emperour in-  
nadedh Syria.Ierusalem etc.  
ken and repaired  
by Cassanes.

arise great troubles. Besides that, he being of the *Guelphes* faction, was not in any thing more carefull, than of the utter extinguishing of the contrary faction of the *Gibelines*, especially of the most honorable family of the *Columnij*, of whom some he had slaine, some he had deprived of their honours, some he had imprisoned, and driven other some into exile; so that thus wickedly busied for the maintenance of his owne proud estate, he had no leisure to further the good of the Christian commonweale: which his intollerable pride, and forgetfulness of duty long escaped not the reuenging hand of God; being when he thought least, suddenly taken prisoner at his fathers house in the city of Anagnia (where he was borne) by *Sara Columnus* his mortall enemy; whom but lately before redeemed out of a pirats gally, the French King had sent for that purpose, with one *Longaret* (or as some call him, *Nogaret*) a French knight: by whom the proud Prelat brought to Rome, in the castle of *S. Angelo*, within five and thirty daies after most miserably died, in his madnes (as some report) renting himselfe with his teeth, and deuouring his owne fingers. This worthy Tartar Prince *Cassanes* (by whom the Christian commonweale might haue againe risen in Syria and the land of Palestine, had not the pride of the great Bishop, and the dissention of the Christian Princes hindered the same) was (as *Astonus* writeth, who was present in this war, following his vncke the Armenian King) a man of a very short stature, and exceeding hard fauor; but with valor, bounty, and other vertues of the minde, plentifully recompensing what wanted in the feature of his body. After whose departure into Persia, *Capcapus* Gouvernour of Damasco, considering that the power of the Tartars there left was not great, and that no aid was to be expected from the other Christian Princes of the West; to recompense his former treason of revolting from the Sultan, with a new revolt from the Tartar, rose vp into open rebellion, drawing after him not onely the city of Damasco, but the greatest part of Syria also. Whereof *Moleis* gouernor of Ierusalem vnderstanding, was about to haue gone against him with his Tartars; but aduertised by his espials, that *Capcapus* in this his conspiracie had compacted with the Egyptian Sultan also, perceiuing himselfe too weak to withstand so great a power, retyred with his Tartars into Mesopotamia, there expecting new supplies both from *Cassanes* and the King of Armenia. Of whose departure out of Syria the Egyptian Sultan vnderstanding, came directly with his army to Ierusalem, which he tooke, (being forsaken of the inhabitants) and prophaned the temple, sparing onely the Sepulchre of our Sauour, at the humble suit of the religious, making there a greater shew of deuotion, than of cruelty. After that, he wooed all the other lesser townes, which the Tartars had either kept for themselves, or giuen to the other Christians, and utterly rased all the forts of the Hospitallers and Templars, which valiant men, without other helpe, for the space of almost a yeare held out against the tyrant, in which time most of them were honorably slaine: the rest that were left aliue being taken by the enemy, had neuertheless leaue giuen with bag and baggage in safety to depart, hauing before by solemne oath for euer abjured the country of Syria: and so these worthy men, the great ornaments of the Christian commonweale, the Hospitallers and Templars, which to the utmost of their power had by the space of 300 yeres right worthily defended both the Christians and the Christian religion, against the Infidels in Syria and the Holy-land, were now for euer driven out thence about the yeare of our Lord 1300, to the great dishonour of all Christendome.

Wherefore with them now taking our leaue of Syria and the Holy-land, leauing the same in the possession of the Egyptian Sultan and the Mamalukes, although it were shortly after like enough to haue bin againe recovered from them by the Tartars, had not the death of the great Tartar Prince *Cassanes*, and their domesticall troubles letted: we will againe returne to the troubled affaires of the Turks in the lesser Asia, whither the course of the time had somewhat before called vs, with the occurrents thereof, more proper to our purpose and the argument we haue in hand, but that all cannot be at once told: and for the better vnderstanding of the desirous Reader, I thought it not good abruptly to breake off the course of the aforesaid History, drawing to neere to an end, but to make him partaker of the heauinesse thereof.

Now had the Turks no kingdome left in the lesser Asia, and that also at the pleasure of *Gau* the great Tartar Chan diuided betwixt *Mesoot* and *Cei-Cubades*, as his vassals, bound vnto him by a yerely tribute, as is aforesaid: who both kept in awe by the greatnes of the Tartar, did nothing worth the remembrance, but as they liued, so also died, almost buried in obscurity. Of these two, *Mesoot* died without issue; but *Cei-Cubades* departing, left behind him his sonne *Aladin*,

*Aladin*, who by the name of *Aladin* the second succeeding in the Kingdome, vnited againe the same before diuided, yet paying still tribute vnto the Tartar his Soueraigne, as had his father with the other late Sultans of the Turks before him. Much it was not that this *Aladin* did, albeit that the power of the Tartars in his time began to decline, and not to lie so heauy vpon the Turks as before. He was a man of a quiet spirit, and therefore much delighted in peace: a great friend vnto *Othoman* the first founder of the glorious and mighty *Othoman* Empire, as in his life shall appeare. But this *Aladin*, the last of the Turks Sultans of the *Selzucian* family, dying without issue; one *Sahib* his Vezier-Azemes or chiefe Counsellor, and then a man of greatest authority, aspired vnto the kingdome, which he had for most part himselfe swaied all the reigne of the late Sultan his master: which vsurped soueraigntie, no way vnto him due, he could neither himselfe long hold, or deliuer vnto his posterity; for that many others of the nobility, men of great power, and borne of greater families than he, enuying at his honour, and disdaining to be gouerned by him, or any other no greater than themselves, layed hold some vpon one country or prouince, some vpon another, where they were able to do most, erecting vnto themselves greater or lesser Satrapies, according to the measure of their owne strength and power, without respect of any superioritie one should haue ouer another, but every one of them absolutely commanding ouer so much as he was able by strong hand to hold. So that as it had oftentimes before chanced, that the great Monarchie destitute of their lawfull heires, had in part, or all, become rich preyes vnto such as could first lay strong hand vpon them; euen so fell it now out in the great kingdome of the Turks, every one of their great Princes, measuring the greatnesse of his territory, not by the measure of his right, but by the strength of his owne power. Wherein they shared so well for themselves, that *Sahib* at first in possession of all, was in short time thrust quite out of all: and so the great kingdome of the Turks in the lesser Asia, brought vnto a meere Anarchie; no King now left among them, the whole kingdome being now diuided into diuers Satrapies, or other lesser Toparchies. The greatest of those Princes that thus shared the Turks kingdome amongst them, was one *Caraman Alufrius*, who as strongest tooke vnto him the city of Iconium, the regall seat of the Turkish Sultans, with all the great country of Cilicia, and some part of the frontiers of the countries of Lycaonia, Pamphylia, Caria, and the greater Phrygia, as farre as Phyladelphia, and the city of Antioch vpon the riuer *Mæander*: all which large territory, was of him afterward called *Caramania*, and by the same name is commonly at this day knowne, and by our late Geographers described. Of this *Caraman* also descended the *Caramanian* Kings, who of long time after vnfortunately stroue with the *Othoman* Sultans for the Soueraigntie of their Empires; vntill that at length they with their Kingdome, and all the rest of the Turkish Satrapies, were in the fatall greatnesse of the *Othoman* Empire, swallowed vp and deuoured, as in the proceffe of this History shall (if God so will) in due time and place be declared. Next neighbour vnto him was *Saruchan*, of the Greekes called *Sarchan*, of whom the Countrey of Ionia Maritima was and yet is called *Saru-Chan-Ili*, and *Saru-chania*, that is to say, *Saruchans* Countrey. The greatest part of Lydia, with some part also of the greater Mysia, Troas, and Phrygia, fell to *Calumus* and his sonne *Carafius*, of whom it is called *Carafia*, or *Carafi-Ili*, (or as we might say) *Carafius* his Countrey. The greatest part of the ancient Misia, with some part of Lydia, was possessed by *Aidin*, and was of him called *Aidinia*, or *Aidin-Ili*, as his Country. Some part of the great Countrey of Pontus, with the Cities of *Heraclea*, *Pontica*, *Castamona*, *Synope*, and others neere vnto the *Euxine*, and the Countrey of *Paphlagonia*, fell into the hands of the sonnes of *Omer*, or as the Greekes call him, *Amur*: of whom that Countrey tooke not name, as did the others, of such Princes as possessed them, but is commonly called *Bolli*, of a City in that Countrey by the Turkes so named. As was also *Mendesia*, or as some call it *Menesia*, a Countrey in the lesser Asia, so by the Turkes called of *Mendos* or *Myndus*, a City in Caria. There were beside these, diuers other places and Toparchies in the lesser Asia, which in the renting of this great Kingdome, from the Turkes receiued names, before vnto the World vnknowne; all which to prosecute were tedious. Sufficeth it vs, for the manifesting of the Turkes Anarchie, and the ruine of their Kingdome in the lesser Asia, as in part also for the more euidence of the heauy History following, to haue remembred these as the chiefe; especially such as tooke their names from such great Princes or Capitaines as in that so great a confusion of the

The description  
of Cassanes.

The city of Ierusalem,  
with  
all Syria againe  
recovered by  
the Egyptian  
Sultan.

1300

The death of  
Cassanes and  
Cei-Cubades.

The Turkes  
kingdome rent in  
pieces by these  
factions.

The Turkes  
Anarchie.

Caramania.

Saruchania.

Carafiz.

Aidiniz.

Bolli.  
Mendesia.

the Turks kingdome, by strong hand first seised vpon them, and so left them to their posteritie of whom much is to be said hereafter. These Princes one and all that thus shared the late *Aladinian* kingdome, were descended of the better sort of the Turks, which with the *Selucci-an* and *Aladinian* Sultans driven out of Persia by the Tartars, had vnder them seated themselves in the lesser Asia, as is before at large declared. Now among these great men that thus diuided the Turks kingdome, most of them that write of the Turks affaires, both Greeks and Latines, reckon vp *Othoman* (the raiser of his house and family) for one, who indeed in the latter time of the late Sultan *Aladin* began to flourish, and was of him for his valour extraordinarily fauoured (as in this History shall appeare) but of his kingdome held no more than one poore lordship, called *Suguta* in Bythinia, not farre from the mountaine Olympus, (long before giuen vnto his father *Ertbogru*, for his good seruice) with such other small holds thereabout, as he had himselfe gained from the weake Christians his neighbours. For although he were a Turke borne, yet was he not of the *Selucci-an* family, as were the rest, but of another house and tribe, and therefore not of them fauoured or thought to haue so good right to any of the late Sultans prouinces or territories, as had they who being of his house, and holpen with the prescription of time, eniued at the sudden rising of this *Oguzian* Turke, being to them as it were a meere stranger: whose fortune for all that (I know not by what secret foreknowledge) they seemed to feare, as in time to grow dangerous vnto them and their posteritie; where in they were no whit deceiued. But of him and his proceedings much more is to be said hereafter: leaue we him now therefore with the rest vnto their fortunes in this the Turkes Anarchie, and so conclude this part of our Generall History: Glad when I looke backe to haue waded thus far, yet fearing to be drowned before I get ouer; such a sea of matter and world of troubles yet remaining, not without much labour and toile, and that in long time to be passed through.

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FINIS.



# THE LIVES OF THE OTHOMAN KINGS AND EMPERORS. FAITHFULLY GATHERED OVT OF the best Histories both antient and moderne, and digested into one continuat History:

By RICHARD KNOLLES.



LONDON,  
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1638.



Laurentius Phonsorus. sculpsit.

1607

Phil. Ionicus  
Hift. Turc.  
lib. 1.

*Multiplici lassata Asia res clade premuntur :  
Hinc Sarracenus, Tartarus inde ruit.  
Mutua Christiano gladiis in vulnera stringunt :  
Gracia funesta seditione perit.  
Impiger interea nona concipit Ottomannus  
Concilia, & valida surgit in arma manu.  
Et vastatrix regno fundamina turba  
Pecit : & in multo sanguine sceptrum lauat.*

With endlesse wars the Asian state farre spent and overworne,  
By Saracins and Tartars force, is all in peeces torne.  
The Christians draw their bloody swords, wherewith themselves to wound :  
And Greece with ciuill discord seeks it selfe for to confound.  
Meane while the warlike *Othoman*, new counsels dorch deuise,  
And with a crue of Martiall men dorch vp in armes arise :  
And layes the fatall plot whereon the wastfull Turkes shoulde raigne,  
And bathes his scepter in much blood of people by him slaine.



## THE RISING OF THE GREAT AND MIGHTIE EMPIRE OF THE TURKES VNDER OTHOMAN, FIRST FOVNDER THEREOF : WITH HIS LIFE AND DOINGS.



**W**HAT small assurance there is in mens affaires, and how subiect vnto change euen those things are wherein we for the most part repose our greatest felicitie and blisse, (beside that the whole course of mans fraile life, by many notable examples well declareth) nothing doth more plainly manifest the same, than the heauy euent and woefull destructions of the greatest Kingdomes and Empires : which founded vpon great fortunes, increased with perpetuall successe, exalted by exceeding power, established with most puissant armies, wholesome lawes, and deepe counsels; haue yet grown old, and in time come to nought: So that euen as men, all things else belonging vnto man, are subiect vnto the inuincible course of destinie, or more

All worldly  
things subject  
to change.

truly to say, vnto the fatal doome of the most Highest, refining vnto euery thing that in time begun, a time also wherein to take heed, being himselfe without time, the great commander thereof, and of all things else done therein. The fame of the first Assyrian Monarchy, is very antient, and was no doubt both great and long, yet hath it neuertheless found an end; and the more to put vs in remembrance of our infirmitie, was neuer with so much glory and valour by *Ninus* erected, as it was with shame and cowardise by *Sardanapalus* subuered. With like necessitie fell the great empire of the Medes and Persians, the time thereof being come. And after them, the Macedonians also. Neither hath the great Roman Empire, or the proud City of Rome it selfe (sometime the mistresse of the world) herein found any exemption, but run the same course with the rest : which grown great with continuall triumphs, and so strong as that it was not with forrein power to be shaken; conuerted the forces of it selfe vpon it selfe, to the overthrow of the ancient liberty thereof, together with the vtter subuersion of the state. After which time that mighty Monarchy (of all that euer yet were, the greatest) vnder the Romane Emperors felt many an hard and perillous storme, and by little & little stil declining (though sometime like a sicke aged body, by the valor or vertue of some one or other her worthy Emperors, a little relieved, and by and by againe cast downe by the folly or negligence of some others succeeding) it became at length a prey vnto a foolish, rude, & barbarous nation, which it had before oftentimes overcome, and ouer which many the Roman captians had triumphed, and thereof taken their glorious surnames: which now again without compassion, burning and sacking it, caused it to stoop, and to yeeld vnto the seruile yoke which it had in former time proudly imposed vpon the necks of others: wherein if any thing be to be blamed, it is not the fortune or folly of this or that man, then sitting at the helm (although that may also much help

The greatest  
kingdoms be  
in time tak  
end, & so com  
to nought.

the

the matter as a meane) but the instabilitie of wordly things neuer permanent, but alwaies changeable, and the sooner for their height; and that so forcibly, as that no man knoweth how to remedy the same, either if he did, were he able to performe it; the greatest means that men could possibly deuise for the stay thereof, being oftentimes by a greater power from above, conuerting vnto the more speedy effecting of that, against the which they were by mans wisdom provided. The like might be said of the Athenians, the Lacedæmonians, the Thebanes, and of whom not: What maruell then, if the ancient kingdomes of the Turks likewise in Persia, and the lesser Asia, in Syria, Palestina, and Egypt, hauing run their appointed times, mightily impugned by the Christians, oppressed on the one side by the Tartars, and on the other by the Mamalukes, and at length by themselves rent in sunder (their destiny so requiring) lost at last their wonted majesty, and so fell into a meere Anarchy, as in the former part of this History is at large declared? Yet in this far more than any other people fortunate, That after the ruine of their former kingdomes, straight way out of themselves arise another, namely, this Othoman monarchy, the chiefe object of this History: which at the first scarce of the world perceived, or of themselves regarded, in short time so prospered, as that the power and glory thereof obscured not their former kingdomes only (nothing, in comparison of this) but euen the greatest monarchies of the world; ouer a great part of which, it now so proudly triumpheth, as if it should neuer haue end: at the beauty wherof the world wondereth, and at the power thereof quaketh: within the greatnesse whereof are contained no small portions of Asia, Europe, and Africke, but euen the most famous and fruitfull kingdomes thereof: no part of the world left vntouched but America onely; not more fortunate with her rich mines, than in that she is so farre from so great and dangerous an enemy. The foundation of this so great a kingdom (and now so mighty an empire, as holdeth the world in awe) was first laid by the valiant Othoman, or as the Turks call him, Osman; not descended of the Selzuccian family, as were all the former Turks Sultans, but of the Oguzian tribe & kindred: in whose line this glorious empire hath euer since, by the space of three hundred yeares and three, to the astonishment of the world, wonderfully flourished; and so yet doth at this day, vnder the gouernment of Mahomet the third, which now reigneth thirteenth in descent from him, knowing none in this world greater than himselfe. But forasmuch as both his greatnesse, and the greatnesse of the rest of the Othoman Kings and Emperors his progenitors, tooke their beginning from this worthy and warlike Othoman, with whose life and doings we purpose to begin this part of our History, it shall not be amisse both for the continuation of that we haue in hand, with that we haue already written, and for the more manifesting of that which hereafter followeth, a little farther to fetch his race and descent also: not meaning with a long and fained pedigree to set him out of Noah his arke, (which continuall succession of Princes, no nation of the world, be it neuer so antient, the Iewes only excepted, and they also by writings and Histories as much as was possible eternized, could truly and justly chaledge) but onely so farre as shall be pertinent vnto our purpose, and by the authority of good Histories to be auerred.

At such time as the Turks kingdom founded by Tangrolipix in Persia, flourished in the Selzuccian Princes his successors, there was also another kingdom of theirs at the city of Machan, as is before declared, but nothing comparable to the other either in glory or power. In this city, and ouer this small kingdom, reigned one Solyman, by his subjects honored also with the name of a Sultan or King; at the same time that the Tartars vnder the leading of old Zingis their great Captaine, leauing their own country, and beating downe the world before them, hauing conquered the farthest parts of the East, and there seated their kingdom, turned their forces into Persia, and there ouerthrew the Turkes kingdom at Balch in Corasan, and drave the Turks with Cursumes their last King, out of the country: after that they had there from the time of Tangrolipix reigned about an hundred and seuentie two yerres.

This Solyman of whom we speake, then reigning at Machan, was not of the Selzuccian family (as were all the other Turks Sultans, the successors of Tangrolipix) but of the Oguzian tribe, a family famous also amongst the Turks; who seeing the Selzuccian Sultan Cursumes (or as some call him, Cursumes) his countryman, beaten out of his kingdom by the Tartar, and his country overrun, and the great Caliph of Babylon also ouerthrowne; thought it not good longer to stay in that country which he could not hold, but by speedy flight betimes to provide for the safety of himselfe and of such his subjects as would follow him: and hearing that Aladin the

Solyman, Sultā  
of Machan  
fought his  
kingdom  
for seuer  
of the Tartars.

the son of Kei-Hufreu, or as the Greeks call him, Cai-Cosroe (a great man of the Selzuccian family, & neere of kin vnto the late Sultan Cursumes) who for feare of the Tartars but lately come into Romania Asiatice, had there by force of armes most honourably seated himselfe and the Turks his followers, among the Christians: in hope of like good fortune, and for the zeale towards his superstition (accounting all well gotten that was gained from the Christians) took his way after him, with such of his kinsmen and subjects as would accompany him in his new adventures. And coming to Arzerum, a city in the borders of Armenia and Cappadocia, thereabout in the country according to the season of the yeare seated himselfe with his followers, being in number many; who with their wiues and children, after the manner of the Tartar Nomades their ancestors, in poore tents and carts couered with a coarſe kind of cloth, had followed him, being indeed nothing els but a very rude and rough kind of sturdy herdsmen, not wedded to any place, but still remouing with their tents and carts vp and downe, as best serued for their purpose and the feeding of their cattell, as do the Turcoman nation, the true descient of the Turks, in many places of Asia at this day, and were thereof not only called Nomades, that is to say, Herdsmen, (by which name the proud Ianizaries will oftentimes in contempt call euen the greatest of the naturall Turks) but Hamaxophoreti, and Hamaxoliy, that is to say, people carried or liuing in carts. Solyman hauing staid a while about Erzerum, remouing thence came to Amasia; and there spoyling the country, then inhabited by the Christians, did them much harme, oftentimes encountering them in the plaine field, and sometimes seising vpon their towns and cities, vntill he had subdued vnto himselfe a right large territory: yet at length hauing in so many battels by him fought, and cities by him besieged, lost a great number of his people, and so wearied the rest, as that they were not willing further to follow him; and fearing also with such small power as he had left, to be able to defend and keepe the country by him already gotten, in the midst of so many enemies, he thought it best to depart thence, and to seek his better fortune elsewhere. At the same time it was rifely reported, that the affairs of Persia, after so long trouble (for all this was not a while in doing) began to grow again to some good quiet, the fury of the Tartars being now well abated, and that storm ouerblown: wherefore Solyman resolved now to returne home again, and to visit his natie country, of him and his people about all others desired. So passing through Syria, (for thas was now his way) neere Aleppo he seised vpon a castle called Ziaber. Cala, and there staid a space for the refreshing of his people. Aftward setting forward again, he came at length to the great and famous riuer Euphrates, ouer which he must needs passe, but finding there neither bridge nor foord, or other meanes to get ouer, he stood still as a man dismayed, not knowing what to doe. Stay there he would not, and go further he could not: his desire bid him go, but the great riuer said not so. In this perplexity Solyman himselfe with his horse oftentimes taking the riuer, in hope to haue found some passage, but finding none, aduenturing too far, was with the force of the streame carried away, and so together with his horse drowned. His body after long seeking being at length found, was with the great lamentation of his people buried neere vnto the castle Ziaber, not long before by him taken: whereof they say the place is now in their tongue called Mesari-Zuruc, (viz.) the Turkes Graue. Some of these Oguzian Turks, after the death of their Sultan, weary of their long trauell, seated themselves in the country thereabouts, vnto whom the Turks that now hold that castle do refer their beginning. The rest of that great tribe and family diuersly diuided, went vnto diuers places as their fortunes led them; some of them into the wast ground and desarts of Arabia and Syria, and are at this day called the Damasene Turcomans: other some returned back againe into Romania, the same way that they came, of whom are descended the Turcomans of Iconium, and Anatolia: who yet with their wiues and children, as herds-men in great companies wander vp and downe the country, after the manner of their ancestors.

Solyman thus lost, left foure sons, Sencur Teken, Iundogdis, Ertogrud, of some called Ortoholes (the father of this Othoman founder of the Turkes empire that now is) and Dunder. With these foure brethren, most part of these Oguzian Turks that were left, returning into Romania (as is aforesaid) after they had there rested themselves a while, marching vp along the riuer Euphrates, came to a place called Pafin-Ouasi, about ten miles about Arterum, where Ertogrud and his brother Dunder, with foure hundred families, not willing to goe any further, staid with their tents and carts, their best dwellings. Sencur and Iundogdis their other two bre-

Romania Asia  
tica.

The sonnes of  
Solyman, and  
their fl ad-  
ventures.

N

thru.

thre in the meane time passing the riuer, returned with the rest into Persia: whom we there leaue vnto their vnknowne fortunes. In this place *Ertogrul* with his brother and his three sons staid a while, and had diuers conflicts with the country people therabout, vntill that at length he thought it best to returne again into Romania. So setting forward, he came to Ancyra, and from thence vnto the blacke mountaines, and so to a plaine called of the Turkes *Sultan Vngi*, about 75 miles Eastward from the city of Nice in Bithynia, where he had many skirmishes with the Christians.

Now a great while before this, *Aladin* the elder (of whom we haue before spoken in the former part of this history) fled out of Persia, had subdued diuers great prouinces and countries in Romania Asiatica, or the lesser Asia, for so it is more truly called: so that he was of all the people therabouts accounted a great Prince, and of the Turkes themselves honored with the name of their *Vlu Padishah*, viz. their great King or Emperor. Having placed his regall seat first at Sebastia, and afterwards at Iconium, which two cities before ruinous, he repaired, and therein reigned, as did some few of his posterity after him, as is before declared. Neither was *Ertogrul* ignorant of the honor, glory, and power of this great Sultan: but hauing three sons, namely *Tundus*, *Serugatin*, and *Othoman*, sent *Serugatin* his second son (a bold well spoken man) to him, to request him in that his so large a kingdome, as yet not well peopled by the Turkes, to grant vnto them his poor exiled countrymen, of long time oppressed with diuers fortunes, some small corner for them with their families and cattell to rest in. Which his request, the Sultan not forgetfull of his owne distresse sometime in like case, graciously heard, and with great courtesie vsed the messenger. Now for the furtherance of his suit it fortuned that this Sultan before driuen out of Persia by the Tartars, and by them also much troubled in these his new gotten countries in the lesser Asia, had with them diuers hot skirmishes and sharpe conflicts: in one of which it fortuned the Sultan himselfe, with all the power he then had, to be hardly beset by his enemies, and in danger to haue lost the day: when as *Ertogrul*, but newly come into the country, and willing to do the Sultan seruice, and awaiting all opportunities for the commending of himselfe and his followers, vpon the sudden vnlooked for, with foure hundred men came vpon the backs of the Tartars, then almost in possession of a great victory, and so forcibly charged them, that vnable to endure the charge, and to maintaine the fight against the Sultan (whose men encouraged by this vnexpected aid, as by succour sent from heauen, began now to fight with greater courage, being both before and behind hardly beset) they as men in despair of the victory they had before assured themselves of, turned their backs and fled. After which good seruice, the Sultan honorably welcommed this new come Turke, giuing him his hand to kisse, as the manner of the nation is; and highly commending his valor, commanded a rich cloake to be cast vpon him (amongst those Eastern nations a great honor) and all his souldiers to be bountifully rewarded; and presently after gaue vnto *Ertogrul* and his Turkes a country village called *Suguta*, betwixt the castle *Belezuga* and the mountain *Tmolus* in the greater Phrygia: in which village they might liue in Winter, and vpon the aforesaid mountain, and the mountain *Ormenius*, betwixt the riuers *Sangarius* and *Licus*, feed their cattell in Summer. And yet not so contented thus to haue honored him, in whom he saw such approved valor, committed to his protection that side of the country wherein he dwelt, being in the very frontiers of his kingdome: which his charge he so well looked vnto, that all the country therabout, before much infested with the often incursions of the enemy, was by his vigilant care and prowesse well secured.

This is *Ertogrul* the *Oguzian* Turke, with his homely heardsmen, become a petty Lord of a country village, and in good fauour with the Sultan: whose followers, as sturdy heardsmen, with their families, liued in Winter with him in *Suguta*; but in Summer in tents, with their cattell vpon the mountains. Having thus liued certaine yeres, and brought great peace to his neighbors, as well the Christians as the Turkes, before much troubled with the inuasion of the Tartars, it fortuned that the Christians of *Cara-Chisar* (a castle thereby, called by the ancient Greeks, *Melanopyrgon*, and of later time *Maurocastron*, that is to say, the blacke tower or castle) weary of their owne ease, and of the peace they had by his cares enjoyed, fel out with him, and euill intreated both him and his people. Which their ingratitude he taking in euil part, thereof, and of the wrongs by them done vnto the Turkes, so grievously complained vnto the Sultan, that hee therewith moued, raised a great army, and so himselfe in person came and besieged

The Christians  
of cara Chisar  
fel out with  
the Turkes.

besieged the castle. But lying there at the siege, news was brought him, that the Tartars with a great army, vnder the leading of one *Baintzar*, were entred into Caria, and there spoiling the country, had taken *Heraclea*. For the repressing of whom, the Sultan was glad to rise with his army; yet leaving a sufficient strength behind him for the continuing of the siege, vnder the charge of *Ertogrul Beg*, for so the Turkes now called him. The Sultan afterwards encountering with the Tartars at *Baga*, ouerthrew them in a great battell: whilst *Ertogrul* in the mean space hardly besieged *Cara-Chisar*, wherein fortune so much fauoured him, that at length he took the castle, the spoile whereof he gaue vnto the souldiers, reseruing only the fift part thereof, as due vnto the Sultan, which he sent him for a present, together with the Captain of the castle, who he had taken aliue: which Captaine the Sultan afterward enlarged, and restored again to him his castle, for the payment of a yerely tribute, which he truly payd during the life of the Sultan; but he dying about two yeares after, he refused any more to pay it, and so reuolted from the Turkes.

Sultan *Aladin*, founder of the *Aladinian* kingdome (for so the Turkes call it) being dead at Iconium, after him succeeded *Azatines* his eldest son, and after him *Tashatines* his yonger brother: who slaine by *Theodorus Lascaris* the Greeke Emperor, (as is before declared) after him succeeded in that kingdome another *Tashatines*, the son of *Azatines*, who was by the Tartars expelled, and his kingdome subdued, as in the former part of this history it appeareth. After which time also the *Selzuccian* family there by the Tartars in the lesser Asia depressed, retained scarce the name and shadow of their former maiesty and glory. In which troublesome times, and confusion of the state, *Ertogrul* well beaten and wearied in the world, kept himselfe close in his house at *Suguta*, as well contented therewith as with a kingdome; seeking by all means to keep peace on euery side with his neighbours, as well Christians as others. In which quiet kind of life he sweetly passed ouer the troublesome times of *Mesoot* the son of *Kei-Cubades*, and of *Kei-Cubades* the son of *Feramuzin*, both Sultans, but the great Tartars tributaries, and reigning but at their pleasure, vntill the time of the second *Aladin*, the sole and last heire of the Iconian kingdome, before by the Tartars diuided, which was no few yeares. All which time *Ertogrul* liued quiet at *Suguta*, as one amongst many other of the Iconian Sultans subdued, wisely considering the fall of the *Selzuccian* Sultans, both in Persia and at Iconium; as also the ruine of his own house and family, both from royall state brought almost to nothing: and therefore with patience taking the world as it came, and making a vertue of necessity, contenting himselfe with a little, bare himselfe kindly towards all men. In which contented kind of life he grew to great yeares, with his three sons, great beloued and honored of their neighbors, as well Christians as Turkes; and no lesse fauoured by the second *Aladin* then Sultan, than he had been of all the Sultans before him: whom the young men his sons, after the manner of their nation (forbidding them with empty hands to salute their Princes) oftentimes visited with one present or other. In all which his sons were many good parts to be seen, yet so, as that in *Othoman* was easily to be seene a greater courage and spirit than in the other two his brethren: which was the cause that he was the more of them of his tribe regarded, but especially of the youthfull and warlike sort, which commonly resorted vnto him when he went to hawke or hunt, or to other delights of the field (the counterfeits of war) and was of them commonly called *Osman Gazi*, viz. *Osman* the Warlike.

In this frontier country neer vnto *Suguta*, the dwelling place of old *Ertogrul*, had Sultan *Aladin* diuers lieutenants and captaines, gouernors of his castles and strong holds vpon those frontiers, with whom *Othoman* was well acquainted, and vnto whom he for friendship sake oftentimes resorted: but especially to the captain of *In-Vngi*, for that he knew himselfe to be of him well beloued, and therefore vnto him very welcome. So it fortuned vpon a time, that as *Othoman*, being yet but yong, was going to make merry with the gouernor of *Eski-Chisar* (a castle about 24 miles off, called of the Greekes, *Palaocastron*) by the way as he went, at a place called *Itburne* (a towne in Phrygia) chanced there to see, and afterwards to fall in liking of a faire maiden, called *Malhatun*: vnto whom his affection dayly increasing, he without his fathers knowledge sent a secret friend of his to intreat with her of marriage. Which after long discourse to her made concerning *Othoman*'s affection and request, gaue him answer, that betwixt *Othoman* and her was great inequality, a thing especially to be regarded and eschewed of such as wished to liue a happy life in wedlock bands: she was (as she said) but meanly born,

Small things in  
time of trouble  
yeeld vnto the  
wise great con-  
sent.

Othoman ama-  
rous of Malha-  
tun: a country  
maid.

and therefore was not to expect so great a match: whereas he could not want choice of other maids of more worth, & in all respects more answerable vnto himselfe. But among other causes why he gaue him this answer, one was, for that some that wished her well, had put into her head, that *Othoman* meant not indeed to marry her, but vnder that color to obtain of her some few days pleasure, and so hauing dishonored her, afterward again to cast her off: which was indeed far from his thought; for he the more inflamed with her modest denial, the more desired her for his wife. In the mean time *Othoman* going againe to the gouernor of *Eski Chifar*, and courteously by him entertained, chanced (as it oftentimes doth among familiar friends in their merriments) to fall in speech of his Loue, with greater affection than discretion, commending her beauty, her feature, and gracious perfections, not dissembling also, to her greater praise, the repulse by him receiued at her hands: which the gouernor hearing, seemed greatly to like of his choice, saying, that she was by the diuine providence (for so the Turks religiously vse to speake) appointed only for him to haue. But in the meane time secretly inflamed with the immoderat commendation of *Othoman*, without respect of friendship, hee began to grow amorous of her himselfe, whom he had neuer seen; so light is that foolish affection: and that so farre, as that being otherwise a man of good discretion, he was not able to conceale or couer these new conceiued flames, but that *Othoman* by certain coniectures & tokens perceived the same, and yet dissembling the matter, as if he had suspected nothing, being risen from the banquet, calling vnto him one of his trusty seruants, secretly sent him away to certaint of the maids friends, willing them in his name, as they tendered her honour, presently to send her away to some place further off, for feare she were not ere long taken from them by a great man more amorous of her person, than respectiue of her honour. And by and by after taking leaue of his vnfaithfull friend, and bidding him farewell, tooke his way to the Captain of *In-Vngi*, whom he knew to be his deere friend. But whilst he there stayd certaine days, passing the time in hawking, hunting, and other youthful disports, with the captain his friend, the gouernor of *Eski-Chifar*, who commanded all the country therabout called *Sultan-Vngi*, sent one of his trusty seruants to *Iburne*, to see faire *Malbatun*, and how all things went there. Who comming thither, and vnderstanding of her secret departure, and that by the aduertisement from *Othoman* she was conueighed to certaine of her friends as far off, at his returne, from point to point certified his master thereof. Who exceedingly grieued with the report, and fretting about measure to see himselfe deluded by *Othoman*, presently sent vnto the Capitaine of *In-Vngi*, (being within his iurisdiction) to command him without delay to deliuer *Othoman* vnto him. But he louing of him well, as a faithfull man vnto his friend, could with no threats or intreaty be perswaded so to do. Wherefore the gouernour in a great rage presently raising the greatest power he was able to make, came to the castle of *In-Vngi*, requiring to haue *Othoman* forthwith deliuered vnto him. Where among the souldiers there in garrison with the capitaine, began to arise diuers opinions; some wishing, for the auerting of the present danger for which they were now vnprovided, to haue him deliuered; and other some abhorring so treacherous a fact, willing rather to indure all extremities. In the end, after much consultation honestly preuailed, and it was generally resolved, that he should be defended, who could not without their great infamy be deliuered. But *Othoman* terrified with that diuersity of opinions, which had euen at first shewed it selfe; and thinking it not for his safety, to commit himselfe to the trust of such wauering men, entred into a deep conceit of a matter of great aduenture, which was, by a sudden fall to make himselfe way through the midst of his enemies. Wherewith hauing made his brother *Tundus* and those few his followers there present acquainted, & therupon resolved, he fiercely fallied out, and by plain force brake through the midst of them, and so took his way towards *Suguta*, till notably repulsing them that were sent to pursue him: but being come into the frontiers of his fathers territory, & the report of his dangers known, and that being but weakely accompanied, he was by a great number of his enemies pursued, presently all the lusty youths and such as loued him well, tooke horse to come to his rescue: who meeting with the gouernors souldiers, that had *Othoman* in chase, in a sharp conflict slew diuers of them, and put the rest to flight. Of whom some were also taken prisoners, & among the rest one *Michael Cofse* a Christian, Captain of a little castle in that country, called *Hirmen-Caia*, or the rocke of *Ormeni*: Of whom *Othoman* taking compassion, freely pardoned him that offence. With which vnexpected courtesie he was so moued, that euer after he tooke part with him,

*As they comming  
vnto Iburne.*

*Notwithstanding  
in Iburne.*

*Othoman beset  
ged, & in danger  
of his life.*

him, and did him great seruice in his wars: whose posterity hath euer since euen vntil this our age continued, next vnto the *Othoman* family, most honourable and famous among the Turks; by the name of *Michael Ogles*, viz. the sons or posterity of *Michael*.

*Ertogrul*, now spent with age, shortly after died, in the yere of our Lord 1289. hauing liued 93 yeares, and thereof gouerned the *Oguzian* family after the death of his father *Solyman*, 52. His death was of all his tribe and kindred generally lamented, and his body after the Turkish manner honorably buried at *Suguta*, where he had of long time liued.

After whose death, these plaine *Oguzian* Turkes, in a generall assembly consulting whom they might chuse for their Lord and gouernor in stead of old *Ertogrul*, casting their eyes especially vpon two, stood in doubt of which of them to make choice. For although most men were of opinion, that *Othoman* for the rare gifts and vertues as well of body as mind, was to be preferred before the rest of his brethren the sons of *Ertogrul*; yet were there some, and they also men of great gravity and experience, who had in suspect the yong mans age, as of it selfe slippery, and for the most part prone to vice, especially in the liberty of great power, and therefore thought it better to make choice of *Dunder* (*Ertogrul*s brother and *Othoman*s vnkle) a man of far greater grauity, iudgement, and experience. But *Dunder* himselfe being indeed a wise man, and far from all ambition, perswaded them in that choice not to haue any regard at all to his honor or preferment, but to consider what were best for their state and welfare in generall. For he prouidently foresaw in what danger the *Oguzian* state stood, exposed on the one side to the mortall hatred and trecheries of the Greeks, grieued to see themselves spoyled by the Turks; and naturally hating them for the *Mahometan* religion; and on the other side not surely backt by the Sultans of *Iconium*, brought in thraldome to the Tartars, and dayly grown weaker & weaker. Vnto which inconueniences and dangers (he said) an old, weak, and ouergrown body (as his was) could giue no help or remedy at all, but required the help of a wise, politick, vigilant, stirring, and valiant man, such as they all well knew was *Othoman* his brothers sonne. Thus before he came vnto the election, he in priuat declared his mind vnto the chiefe of the *Oguzian* family: and afterward at their request comming to the generall assembly, all mens minds and eyes now fixed vpon *Othoman*, he first of all (by his example to encourage the rest) for the good of the *Oguzian* tribe, his ancient house and family, saluted him their great Lord and Gouernour, promising vnto him all loyalty, with the utmost of his seruice: whereunto by and by ensued the great applause of the rest of the people, as vnto a Gouernour sent vnto them by God, vnto whom they ioyfully wished all happy successe, with long life, and a prosperous gouernment. Thus with all mens good liking was *Othoman* made the great gouernour of the *Oguzian* Turkes, and so became among them a great commander, and honoured with the title of *Asman-Beg*, or the Lord *Osman*. Yet was this his honor included in a small circuit, plain and homely, without any great pomp or shew, as commanding amongst rough & rude herdsmen and shepherds, not acquainted with the courtesie of other more ciuil nations: for as yet they were the same homely *Seythian* Nomades that they were before, and could not as yet be perswaded to forsake their wonted rude and vnciuill manners, by long tradition receiued from their ancestors, and so best agreeing with their nature & calling. Amongst which rude herdsmen, this new gouernor himselfe, not too far exceeding the rest in ciuility, commanded much like to another *Romulus*, of whom also the Turks report many such things as do the *Romans* of their founder, which for breuity I thought good to passe ouer.

Now it fortuned that *Othoman* euen in the beginning of his gouernment fell first at oddes with one *Hagionicholam*, or *S. Nicholas* (captaine of *Einegiol*, a castle there by) for that he had oftentimes of purpose troubled and molested these *Oguzian* herdsmen, in passing to and fro with their cattell by his castle. For which cause *Othoman* was enforced to request the captain of *Bilezuga* (another castle therby, also his neighbor and friend) that his people in passing that way to the mountains, might with their goods and cattell, as occasion should require, take the refuge of his castle, which the courteous captain (well acquainted with old *Ertogrul*, *Othoman*s father) easily granted: yet with this prouiso, that none should with such goods or cattell haue access into his castle: but the Turks women only: which his courtesie *Othoman* refused not: so was the castle of *Bilezuga* from that time forward a refuge to the Turks women, who passing that way, and there shrouded with their goods and cattell, vsually presented the captain with some one homely country Present or other, which afterwards was the losse of the castle.

*The Oguzian  
Turkes in doubt  
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and therefore was not to expect so great a match: whereas he could not want choice of other maids of more worth, & in all respects more answerable unto himselfe. But among other causes why the gaue him this answer, one was, for that some that wished her well, had put into her head, that *Othoman* meant not indeed to marry her, but vnder that color to obtain of her some few days pleasure, and so hauing dishonored her, afterward again to cast her off: which was indeed far from his thought; for he the more inflamed with her modest deniall, the more desired her for his wife. 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And by and by after taking leaue of his vnfaithfull friend, and bidding him farewell, tooke his way to the Captain of In-Vngi, whom he knew to be his deere friend. But whilst he there staid certaine days, passing the time in hawking, hunting, and other youthful disports, with the captain his friend, the gouernor of Eski Chifar, who commanded all the country therabout called Sultan Vngi, sent one of his trusty seruants to Iburne, to see faire *Malhatun*, and how all things went there. Who coming thither, and vnderstanding of her secret departure, and that by the aduertisement from *Othoman* she was conueighed to certaine of her friends afar off, at his returne, from point to point certified his master thereof. Who exceedingly grieved with the report, and fretting about measure to see himselfe defoluded by *Othoman*, presently sent vnto the Capitaine of In-Vngi, (being within his iurisdiction) to command him without delay to deliuer *Othoman* vnto him. 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But *Othoman* terrified with that diuersity of opinions, which had euen at first shewed it selfe; and thinking it not for his safety, to commit himselfe to the trust of such wavering men, entred into a deep conceit of a matter of great aduenture, which was, by a sudden fallly to make himselfe way through the midst of his enemies. Wherewith hauing made his brother *Lundus*, and those few his followers there present acquainted, & therupon resolved; he fiercely sallied out, and by plain force brake through the midst of them, and so took his way towards Suguta, still notably repulsing them that were sent to pursue him: but being come into the frontiers of his fathers territory, & the report of his dangers known, and that being but weakly accompanied, he was by a great number of his enemies pursued; presently all the lusty youths and such as loued him well, tooke horse to come to his rescue: who meeting with the gouernors souldiers, that had *Othoman* in chase, in a sharp conflict slew diuers of them, and put the rest to flight. Of whom some were also taken prisoners, & among the rest one *Michael Cossa* a Christian, Captain of a little castle in that country, called Hirmen-Caia, or the rocke of *Ormeni*: Of whom *Othoman* taking compassion, freely pardoned him that offence. With which vnexpected courtesie he was so moued, that euer after he tooke part with him,

Affly commu-  
vnto Loue.

Friendship  
in Loue.

*Othoman* be-  
lieved, & in dan-  
ger for his Loue.

him, and did him great seruice in his wars: whose posterity hath euer since euen vntil this our age continued, next vnto the *Othoman* family, most honourable and famous among the Turks; by the name of *Michael Ogles*, viz. the sons or posterity of *Michael*.

*Ertogrul*, now spent with age, shortly after died, in the yere of our Lord 1289. hauing liued 93 yeares, and thereof gouerned the *Oguzian* family after the death of his father *Solyman*, 52. His death was of all his tribe and kined generally lamented, and his body after the Turkish manner honorably buried at Suguta, where he had of long time liued.

After whose death, these plaine *Oguzian* Turkes, in a generall assembly consulting whom they might chuse for their Lord and gouernor in stead of old *Ertogrul*, casting their eyes especially vpon two, stood in doubt of which of them to make choice. For although most men were of opinion, that *Othoman* for the rare gifts and vertues as well of body as mind, was to be preferred before the rest of his brethren the sons of *Ertogrul*; yet were there some, and they also men of great grauity and experience, who had in suspect the yong mans age, as of it selfe slippery, and for the most part prone to vice, especially in the liberty of great power, and therefore thought it better to make choice of *Dunder* (*Ertogruls* brother and *Othomans* vncle) a man of far greater grauity, iudgement, and experience. But *Dunder* himselfe being indeed a wise man, and far from all ambition, perswaded them in that choice not to haue any regard at all to his honor or preferment, but to consider what were best for their state and welfare in generall. For he providently foresaw in what danger the *Oguzian* state stood, exposed on the one side to the mortal hatred and trecheries of the Greeks, grieved to see themselves spoyled by the Turkes, and naturally hating them for the *Mahometan* religion: and on the other side not surely backt by the Sultans of Iconium, brought in thraldome to the Tartars, and dayly grown weaker & weaker. Vnto which inconueniences and dangers (he said) an old, weak and ouergrown body (as his was) could giue no help or remedy at all, but required the help of a wise, politick, vigilant, stirring, and valiant man, such as they all well knew was *Othoman* his brothers sonne. Thus before he came vnto the election, he in priuat declared his mind vnto the chiefe of the *Oguzian* family: and afterward at their request comming to the generall assembly, all mens minds and eyes now fixed vpon *Othoman*, he first of all (by his example to encourage the rest) for the good of the *Oguzian* tribe, his ancient house and family, saluted him their great Lord and Gouernour, promising vnto him all loyalty, with the utmost of his seruice: whereunto by and by ensued the great applause of the rest of the people, as vnto a Gouernor sent vnto them by God, vnto whom they loyfully wished all happy successe, with long life, and a prosperous government. Thus with all mens good liking was *Othoman* made the great gouernour of the *Oguzian* Turkes, and so became among them a great commander, and honoured with the title of *Asman-Beg*, or the Lord *Osman*. Yet was this his honor included in a small circuit, plain and homely, without any great pomp or shew, as commanding amongst rough & rude herdsmen and shepheards, not acquainted with the courtesie of other more ciuil nations: for as yet they were the same homely Seythian Nomades that they were before, and could not as yet be perswaded to forsake their wonted rude and vnciuill manners, by long tradition receiued from their ancestors, and so best agreeing with their nature & calling. Amongst which rude herdsmen, this new gouernor himselfe, not too far exceeding the rest in ciuility, commanded much like to another *Romulus*, of whom also the Turkes report many such things as do the Romanes of their founder, which for breuity I thought good to passe over.

Now it fortuned that *Othoman* euen in the beginning of his government fell first at oddes with one *Hagimicholam*, or *S. Nicholus* (captaine of Einegiol, a castle there by) for that he had oftentimes of purpose troubled and molested these *Oguzian* herdsmen, in passing to and fro with their cattell by his castle. For which cause *Othoman* was enforced to request the captain of Bilezuga (another castle therby, also his neighbor and friend) that his people in passing that way to the mountains, might with their goods and cattell, as occasion should require, take the refuge of his castle; which the courteous captain (well acquainted with old *Ertogrul*, *Othomans* father) easily granted: yet with this prouiso, that none should with such goods or cattell haue access into his castle, but the Turkes women only: which his courtesie *Othoman* refused not: so was the castle of Bilezuga from that time forward a refuge to the Turkes women, who passing that way, and there shrouded with their goods and cattell, vsually presented the captain with some one homely countrey Present or other, which afterwards was the losse of the castle.

The *Oguzian*  
Turkes in doubt  
of whom to  
make choice for  
their gouernor.

Yet was not *Othoman* vnmindfull of the wrong done vnto his people, by his euill neighbor the captain of Einegiol: but purposing to be thereof reuenged, made choice of seventy of his best and most able men, whom he appointed secretly to passe the mountain *Ormenius*, and so if it were possible, to surprise or set on fire his enemies castle. Of which his designement the wary Capitaine hauing intelligence by one of his espials, in place conuenient vpon the mountain laid a strong ambush for the cutting off of such as were by *Othoman* sent to haue surprised his castle: whereof *Othoman* (no lesse wary than he) before warned by his scouts, and augmenting the number of his men, marched directly to the place where the enemy lay. Where betwixt them (for so small a number) was fought a right bloody and cruell battell, and many slain on both sides; amongst whom *Hoza*, *Othomans* nephew was one. The victory neuertheles fell vnto *Othoman*: after which time his people in much more safety, fed their cattell in the Summer time on the mountains, as the manner was, and so in quiet passed to and fro.

The castle of Chalce surpris'd by *Othoman*.

The Christians complain of the wrong done vnto them by the Turks.

Shortly after, *Othoman* by night surpris'd the little castle of Chalce, not far from Einegiol, and there without mercy he put to the sword all the Christians he found therein, and so afterward burnt the castle: which outrage was the beginning, and occasion of great troubles thereof ensuing: for the Christians of the countries adioyning, much grieued therewith, and assembling themselves together, complained vnto the Capitaine of *Cara-Chifar* the greatest commander thereof. That these Turks, which not many yeres before were of meer pity receiued as poore herdsmen into that country, began now in warlike manner to lay violent hands vpon the ancient lands and possessions of the Christians, which infoleny (as they said) if it were longer winked at, and suffered by him, and other such men of account and authority as were to reforme the same, they would no doubt in short time driue both them and all the rest of the Christians out of their native countries: wherefore it were now high time, and more than necessary for him, and all the rest, to awake (as it were) out of the dead sleep wherein they had long time drowsily slept, and ioyning their forces together, to expulse those vnthankfull, ineroching, and mercilesse strangers out of their countries: the mischief (they said) being now spread far, therefore needed speedy remedy, and that repentance would come too late when it was past cure. The Capitaine moued with the indignity of the late fact, and iust complaint of the poore country people, sent with all speed a strong company of souldiers, vnder the leading of *Calanus* his brother, with commandment that they should march to the castle of Einegiol, and there to ioine with the rest of the Christian forces.

*Othoman* vnderstanding of this preparation made against him, gathering his souldiers together, marched to a place called *Opicium*, neere to mount *Tmolus* in *Phrygia*; where between him and the Christians was fought a sharp battell, wherein he lost his brother *Sarugatin* (whom the Turks account for a Saint or Martyr at this day) with many other of his souldiers. In this battell was also *Calanus* slaine, whose belly *Othoman* caused to be ripped, and his intrals to be pulled out, naming the place where he was buried, *Mesuri: Repe, viK*, the Dog-graue, by which name the place is at this day known. The body of his brother *Sarugatin* he carried to *Suguta*, and there honorably buried it neere to the body of his father *Krtogul*, *Aladin* Sultan of *Iconium* vnderstanding of this conflict, was very sorry for the losse happened vnto *Othoman*, being a Mahometan of his owne religion: wherefore in token of his good will and fauour, he gaue vnto him the city of *Paleopolis*, with all the territory thereunto belonging: giuing vnto him also leaue to besiege, take or spoile, the feigniory and castle of *Cara-Chifar* for accomplishment whereof he sent vnto him both souldiers and munition. *Othoman* incouraged with this great bounty of the Sultans, straightly besieged the castle of *Cara-Chifar*, which at last he woone, and slew all the Christians therein: the captain he tooke aliue, whom he cruelly executed: the spoile of the castle he gaue vnto his souldiers, reseruing only the fift part thereof, which he sent for a present to the Sultan. All this hapned in the yere of our Lord 1290. This castle of *Cara-Chifar*, with the rest of Einegiol, *Bilezuga*, *Chalce*, and others before and hereafter in the life of *Othoman* to be mentioned, were all situate in the borders of the greater *Phrygia*, or els neere therunto in the confines of *Bithynia* and *Mysia*: In which pleasant countries (but lately M part of the Constantinopolitan empire) the Christians the ancient inhabitants thereof, as yet dwelt, intermingled with the Turks at the rising of the *Othoman* empire; with whom they liued at continuall jarres, vntill that at length they were by them altogether vtterly oppressed and extinguished.

*Othoman*

*Othoman* encouraged with this good successe, and supported by the great Sultan of *Iconium*, began now after his ambitious nature to conceit great matters, for the further increase of his honor and territory: yet not trusting altogether to his owne aduice, he entred into consultation with his brother *Tundus*, which way was best to take to distresse and bring in subiection his neighbours the Christians. In which case, *Tundus* a man of greater courage than discretion, aduised him with al celerity to vrge his good fortune, and presently to invade the Christians already discouraged with the losse of *Cara-Chifar*. But this counsell altogether pleased not *Othoman*, for (sayd he) the castles and forts by vs gained, must be kept with strong garrisons, otherwise they will againe be recovered of the enemy; which garrisons cannot be maintained and kept, if we spoyle or dispeople the countries adioining vpon vs, for in so doing we shal (as it were) with our hands cut our owne throats: wherefore I thinke it better, that we enter into a league of amity and friendship with the Christians round about vs; which league we will keep with some, and break with others, as shal serue best for our purpose. And according to this resolution, he made peace indeed with all the Christians, but specially with *Michael Cost*, captain of *Himen-Caia* castle, of whom we haue before spoken, who afterward serued him to great vse in the managing of his wars, and became also a renegat of the Mahometan religion. All this *Othoman* did the rather, because he was then at great variance with one *Germean-Ogli* (a great man among the Turks, but one of the *Seluncian* family) who enuying at the rising of *Othoman*, sought by all means possible to hinder his greatness, as did also the others his quietnesse: which discord the Christians liked well, as a meane for them to liue in more rest by.

In the meane time, *Othoman* deuised with all carefullnes to beautifie and strengthen his new common people: and for the greater concourse of people, built a faire temple in *Cara-Chifar* for the exercise of the mahometan religion; appointed markets to be kept in a peaceable manner, in his great townes, granting great priuiledges to such as resorted thither, as well Christians as Turks: vsing therein such justice, that all sorts of people without feare, in hope of gaine resorting thither, furnished his countrey and towns with all things necessary: yet this care of ciuill policy and gouernment, could not so withdraw him, but that according to his aspiring mind, he had alwaies a greater desire and bare to enlarge his possessions and territory. Wherefore intending to make a rode into *Bithynia*, he requested *Michael Cost*, the Christian captain before mentioned, to deliuer his opinion what was best to be done: who so politickly directed him in that exploit, that he returned victorious, enriched with great spoyle and more honour. This road so terrified most of the Christians therabouts, that they were loth to giue *Othoman* any cause of offence, for feare lest they should by him be spoyled.

It fortuned about this time, that the captains of *Bilezuga* and *Cupri-Chifar* falling at odds, he of *Cupri-Chifar* first taking vp armes fiercely invaded the captain of *Bilezuga*: who thereupon sent vnto *Othoman*, to pray his ayd, which he easily granted, and so without further delay presently came to him with certaine companies of lusty tall souldiers. By whose comming, the capitaine of *Bilezuga* not a little incouraged and strengthened, set vpon his enemy: where betwixt them was made a sharp conflict, and diuers on both sides slaine: but the victory by the help of *Othoman* the Turke, at length inclining to the *Bilezugian*, the other vanquished Capitaine in all hast fled vnto his owne castle. After whom *Othoman* following, layd siege vnto the Castle, which at length he tooke together with the Capitaine, whom he caused to be presently slaine. It is strange to tell, how proud the Lord of *Bilezuga* was, to haue so reuenged himself of his enemy, and to haue gained the victory: although it were indeed gotten, not so much by his owne valour as by the prowess of the Turke: for whom and his followers in token of his thankfulness, he caused a great feast to be provided in the countrey there, whereby he honourably entertained them: and in the end of the feast, caused garments of great price (according to the manner of the Easterne nations) to be giuen to *Othoman*, in token of his fauour; and his souldiers to be also bountifullly rewarded: but this was done with such a presumptuous state and grace, as if he had been some great Prince, offering vnto the common souldiers of the Turkes, in passing by them, his hand to kisse, as a great fauour. With which exceeding infoleny, *Othoman* was so much offended, that he had much adoe to hold his hands from him: yet repressing his anger, hee in secret imparted his discontentment vnto his cousin *Dunder*, his vnkle *Dunders* sonne, grievously complaining of the intollerable pride of the Christian captain; and of the disgrace by him done to the Turks, in offering them his hand to kisse:

*Othoman* con-  
sulteth with  
his brother  
*Tundus* what  
course to take  
for the oppress-  
ing of the Chris-  
tians by  
neighbours.

*Othoman* fer-  
reth in ord'r  
his little com-  
monwealth.

kisse, requiring his opinion how he were for the same to be corrected: who but a little before, being by the said capitaine made his lieutenant, frankly told his kinsman, That as then nothing was to be attempted against him: first, for that on the one side they had *German-Ogli* (a great man among the *Seljuccian* Turks) their enemy, and round about them besides they were environed with the Christians, whom he should have all in his neck: at once if he should offer the *Bilezugian* capitaine any wrong. By which answer, *Othoman* perceiving his cousins great affection towards the Christian capitaine, and doubting to have the mischief he had imagined against him, by him revealed, or at leastwise hindered; without more ado suddenly taking up his bow in his hand, with an arrow shot him quite through, and so slew him.

Michael Cossi  
invents Otho-  
man to the ma-  
riage of his  
daughter.

Not long after, *Michael Cossi*, the capitaine of *Hirmen*. *Caia*, *Othomans* great friend, having concluded a marriage between a gentleman of that country and his daughter, invited all the Christian captaines of the castles thereabouts, requesting them to come to the marriage, and the rather, that so they might grow into acquaintance with *Othoman*, whose power began now to grow dreadfull vnto them: hoping that such means might be found at that merry meeting, that all being made friends, every man might in more security possesse his own without feare of being spoiled by him. Vnto this marriage came all these bidden guests, bringing with them such presents as they thought good to bestow vpon the new married folkes, according to the manner of the country: but *Othomans* gifts far exceeded all the rest, who besides many other rich things, gaue vnto them whole flocks and droues of sheep and cattel: which thing drew all the Christian captaines into no little admiration of his bounty; insomuch that they began to say among themselves, that *Othomans* wealth and good fortune did portend some greater matter, to their vtter ruin and fall: which to prevent, they thought it best by secret means to compass his death. The execution of which deuise they referred to the capitaine of *Bilezuga*, as vnto one with him best acquainted. This capitaine was of great wealth, credit, and authority among the Christian rulers thereabouts, but very full of craft and dissimulation: which his enuill disposition, *Othoman* of long time well perceived; yet having occasion to vse him, in subtil manner gaue him (in outward shew) all the honour he could, magnifying him in words, and debasing himselfe as plaine and poore in comparison of him. But to give a beginning to this treacherous deuise, the capitaine meeting with *Othoman*, in friendly manner told him, how that he intended shortly to marry the daughter of the Capitaine of *Iarchisar*, earnestly requesting him to honour that his marriage with his presence, of the time whereof, he said he would giue him farther knowledge afterwards: and all was but a colour, to bring *Othoman* within his danger, not fearing any such treason. *Othoman* vnderstanding that the time of the marriage drew nigh, sent thither a present of certain fat oxen and sheep, in the name of his brother *Iundus*, for the captaines provision against the marriage: certifying him, that *Othoman* himselfe, with his simple retinue, would be present at the marriage; and then present him, not with such presents as were agreeable vnto his honour, yet such as his poore ability could afford. This message with the Presents were wonderfull welcome to the Capitaine, hoping assuredly that his deuised treachery would take such effect as he wished: and therefore calling vnto him *Michael Cossi*, in whom he had reposed an especiall trust, declared to him his whole deuise (whereof he was not before altogether ignorant) requesting him to take the pains to go vnto *Othoman* to bring him to the marriage, the time being now certainly appointed & at hand; which he knew *Cossi* might easily do, being of his familiar acquaintance: and in token of great friendship, he sent to *Othoman* by the same messenger, a present of gilt plate. *Cossi* tooke vpon him this message, which when he had deliuer'd to *Othoman*, he found him very willing to go, as a man not doubting any harme. But *Cossi* inwardly grieving to see so braue a man, and his kind friend, by such treacherous manner to be brought to his end, moued with compassion, discovered vnto him the whole conspiracy of the capitaine against him, and of the plot laid for his destruction, willing him to take heed vnto himselfe: for which venture, *Othoman* gaue *Cossi* great thanks, as to his friend for saving his life; and withall richly rewarded him, promising greater matters if he would continue that his faithfull friendship. Now concerning the capitaine of *Bilezuga* (saith he) at your return recommend me vnto him, and tell him, That I thinke my selfe much bound vnto him for many courtesies, but especially for that he hath heretofore diuers times in most friendly manner protected my goods and cattell, within the safegard of his castle: which his friendship I most humbly request him to continue for one yeare more, inforced thereunto by rea-

reason of the dangerous wars betwixt me and the Prince *German-Ogli*, as he well knoweth: wherefore if it might stand with his good pleasure, I would presently send vnto his Castle such things as I make most reckoning of, requesting him once more to be the faithful keeper thereof, as he hath bin before: and telling him further, that my mother in law, with her daughter my wife, desire nothing more than to find opportunitie to be acquainted with the honourable Lade his mother, for which cause, if it please him, I will bring them both with mee to the marriage. This *Othoman* request when the Capitaine of *Bilezuga* vnderstood by *Michael Cossi*, he sent the same *Cossi* back again to hasten his coming, willing him to bring with him what guests he pleased; appointing the certain time and place when and where the marriage should be solemnised. And because the castle of *Bilezuga* was thought to be too little, conveniently to receiue the multitude of people that were expected at the marriage, there was another open place of greater receipt appointed in the country for that purpose, about 3 miles distant from the castle. The marriage day drew nigh, wherunto *Othoman* must repaire for his promise sake: and therefore prepared with all diligence to set forward, and to put in execution what he had deuised for his own safety, and destruction of his enemy. *Othoman* had of long accustomed in dangerous times to send by cariage the best of his things made up in packs, to be kept in safety in the castle of *Bilezuga*: vnder colour whereof he now made great packs in form as he was wont; but in stead of his rich household stuffe and other things of price he thrust in armed men, couering those packs with homely coverings, sending them by cariages to the castle of *Bilezuga*, charging that they should not come thither before twilight. After that, he apparelled certain of his best soldiers in womans attyre, as if it had bin his wife & mother in law with their women: so casting his journey, that he with these disguised soldiers and the other sent in packs, might at one instant meet at the castle aforesaid. The capitaine being now in the country, & vnderstanding that *Othoman* was coming in the evening with a great train of gentlewomen; thought the cause of his late coming to be, for that the Turkish women vse to shun the sight of Christian men by all means they can. *Othoman* being now come to the place in the country where the marriage was the next day to be solemnised, having done his humble reuerence to the Capitaine, requested him to do him the honor, that his gentlewomen which were nigh at hand, might by his appointment be sent to his Castle, there to haue some convenient lodging, where they might alight and bestow themselves apart from others, according to the homely manners of their nation, lest peradventure the presence of so honourable a company of noblemen and gallants might put them out of countenance: Which the Capitaine granted, & hauing saluted them afar off after the Turkish maner, commanded them to be conueied to his castle, making reckoning of them all as of a rich prey. At the same time that these disguised souldiers arriued at the castle, came thither also the other soldiers couered in packs in the cariages, who so soon as they came into the castle, suddenly leaping out of the packs and drawing their short swords, with the help of their disguised fellows slew the warders of the castle, and without more ado possessed the same; the greatest part of the Capitains people being before gon out of the castle to the place of the marriage. *Othoman* hauing tarried so long with the Capitaine, as he supposed the Castle at that time was by his men surprised; so soon as the Capitaine had taken his chamber, suddenly took horse with all his followers, accompanied also with *Cossi*, taking his way directly to the castle of *Bilezuga*. Of whose sudden departure the Capitaine vnderstanding, presently took horse and pursued him with all his train (which were for the most part drunk) and overtaking him before he came to the Castle, set vpon him, in which conflict he was by *Othoman* slain, and the rest put to flight.

The capitaine of  
Bilezuga trea-  
cherously sur-  
prising the army  
of Othoman, is  
by him slaine &  
fluried.

The same night *Othoman* vsing great celeritie, early in the morning surpris'd the Castle of *Iarchisar*, where also he took prisoner the Capitaine thereof, with his fair daughter *Lulusfer* (who should haue bin married vnto the Capitaine of *Bilezuga* the next day) with all her friends, as they were ready to haue gon vnto the marriage: which fair Lady he shortly after married vnto his eldest son *Orchanes*, who had issue by her *Amurath* third King of the Turkes, and *Solyman*

*Bassa*. *Othoman* omitting no opportunitie, presently sent one of his Captains called *Durent Alpes*, a man of great esteem and valor, to besiege the castle of *Einegiol*. Wherin he vsed such celeritie, that preventing the same of that was done at *Bilezuga*, hee suddenly environed the Castle in such sort that none could passe in or out; vntill such time as that *Othoman* hauing brought

brought his prisoners and prey to the castle of Belizuga, and there hauing set all things in good order, came with the rest of his men of war to Enegiol, which he presently by force took promising the spoile thereof vnto his souldiers. The capitaine called *Hagio Nicholas* his ancient enemy, he caused to be cut in small pieces, and all the men to be slaine; which crueltie he vfed, because they a little before had vfed the like tyranny against his Turkes.

Othoman by  
administration  
of justice  
found birth  
his government

When *Othoman* had thus got into his subiection a great part of the strong castles and forces of the greater Phrygia, with the territory to them belonging, he began with all carefullnes to make good lawes, and to execute justice to all his subiects as well Christians as Turkes; with great indifferencie studying by all means to keep his countrey in peace and quietnesse, and to protect his subiects from the spoile of others, as well Christians as Turkes: whereby it came to passe, that the old inhabitants which had for the most part forsaken the countrey, by reason of the great troubles therein, repaired now againe to their ancient dwellings; and not only they, but many other strangers also, supplying the places of them whom the late warres had consumed. So that by his good government, that wasted countrey in short time grew to be againe very populous.

The city of  
Nice besieged  
by Othoman.

The ciuill government of his countrey well established, he besieged the city of *Isnica*, in ancient time called *Nice*, a city of *Bithynia*, famous for the generall Councell there holden against *Arius* in the time of *Constantine* the Great. This city he brought into great distresse, by placing his men of war in forts new built vpon euery passage and way leading to the same, so that nothing could be brought out of the countrey for the reliefe of the poore citifens. They in this extremity by a secret messenger certified the Emperour of *Constantinople* (vnder whose obedience they were) in what distresse the city stood; and that except he sent them present reliefe, they must of necessity either perish with famine, or yeeld themselves into the hands of their enemies the Turkes. The Emperour moued with the pittifull complaint of this messenger, with all expedition embarked certain companies of souldiers from *Constantinople* to relieue his besieged city. But *Othoman* vnderstanding by his espials, where these souldiers were appointed to land, in secret manner withdrawing most of his forces from the siege, lay in ambush neer to the same place where the Emperours soldiers (casting no perill) landed; who before they could put themselves in order of battell were by *Othoman* and his Turkes in such sort charged, that most part of them were there slaine, and the rest driuen into the sea, where they miserably perished. *Othoman* hauing thus politickly ouerthrowne the *Constantinopolitan* souldiers, returning to the siege, continued the same in straiter manner than before. The besieged citifens driuen into great penury, and now despairing of al help, yeelded themselves with the great and rich city of *Nice* into the hands of *Othoman*, with the spoile whereof he greatly enriched his men of war.

*Aladin* the great Sultan of *Iconium*, glad to heare of the good successe of *Othoman* against the Christians, in token of his fauour and loue, sent vnto him a faire ensigne, with certaine drums, and trumpets, a sword and princely robe, with large charters, That whatsoeuer he took from the Christians should be all his owne; and also that publicke prayers should be said in all the Turkes temples, in the name of *Othoman*, for his health and prosperous estate; which two things properly belonged to the dignity of the Sultan. These extraordinary fauours gaue occasion for many to think, that Sultan *Aladin* (hauing no children) intended to make *Othoman* his adoptiue son and successor in his kingdom.

The presents and charters sent him, *Othoman* humbly accepted, sending to *Aladin* the fifth part of the spoile of *Nice*, taken from the Christians; but the princely honors due to the Sultan only, he vfed not during the life of *Aladin*: intending not long after to haue gon himselfe in person to visit the Sultan, and so to haue grown into his further fauor. But hauing prepared all things for so honourable a iourny, at what time as he was about to set forward, he was certainly informed of the death of *Aladin*; and that *Sahib* (one of his great counsellors) had taken vpon him the dignity of the Sultan (as is before declared:) which newes much discontented the aspiring mind of this *Oguzian* Turk, in good hope to haue succeeded him in the kingdom, or at leastwise to haue shared the greatest part thereof vnto himselfe, whereof he was now altogether disappointed. Yet immediatly after the death of *Aladin*, he thought it now fit time to take vpon him the princely honors before graunted vnto him by the Sultan in his life time, which he for modesty sake had forborn, *Aladin* yet liuing; wherefore he made one *Dursu* fir-  
named

named *Fakitch*, (viz. a man learned in the Turkish law) Bishop and Iudge of *Cara-Chifar*, commanding the publick prayers which were wont to be made for the health and prosperous reigne of the great Sultan, to be now made in his owne name; which was first openly done by the said Bishop in the pulpit of *Cara-Chifar*. At the same time also he began to coin money in his owne name, and to take vpon him all other honours belonging vnto a Sultan or a King: which was about ten yeares after the death of his father *Eriogru*, and in the y. re of our Lord 1300, vnto which time the beginning of the great empire of the Turkes is vnder the fortune of this *Othoman*, to be of right referred, as then by him thus begun.

+  
1300

When *Othoman* had thus taken vpon him the maiesty of a King, hee made his son *Orchanes* Prince and gouernor of *Cara-Chifar*; promoting his principall followers, to be gouernours of other strong castles and forts, diuers of which places retain the name of those captains at this day. He himselfe made choice of the city *Neapolis*, about twenty miles from *Nice*, to seat his regall Palace in; where also diuers of his nobility built them houses, and changed the name of the city, calling it *Desporopolis*, as who should say, the city of the Lord or Prince. For all this, *Othoman* ceased not to deuise by all meanes he could, to augment his kingdom: and for that cause being accompanied with his son *Orchanes*, made many rodes into the countreys adioyning vpon him, surprizing such places as might best serue his purpose, for the enlargement of his kingdom, all which in particular to rehearse were tedious.

Neapolis the  
first regall city  
of the Othomans  
Kings.

The Christian Princes, rulers of the countreys bordering vpon this new kingdom, fearing lest the greatnes of *Othoman* might in short time be their vtter confusion, agreed to ioyne all their forces together, and so to commit to the fortune of one great battell their owne estates with his: according to which resolution, the Christian confederate Princes, which were for the most part of *Myfia* and *Bithynia*, leuying the greatest forces they were able to make, with fire and sword invaded *Othomans* kingdom: who hauing knowledge before hand of this great preparation made against him, had in a readinesse all his captains and men of warre: and hearing that his enemies had entred his dominion, in warlike manner marched directly towards them; and meeting with him in the confines of *Phrygia* and *Bithynia*, fought with them a great and mortall battell, wherein many were slain on both sides, as well Turkes as Christians: and after a long fight, obtained of them a right bloody victory. In this battell *Cassellianus*, one of the greatest Christian captains was slain: another called *Tekenis* of the countrey which he gouerned in *Phrygia*, chased by *Othoman* vnto the castle of *Ulubad*, not farre distant from the place where the battell was fought, was for feare deliuered vnto him by the capitaine of the same castle, and was afterward by *Othomans* commandement most cruelly cut in pieces, within the view of his chiefe castle: which *Othoman* afterward subdued, with all the countrey thereabouts. The other Christian Princes and captaines saued themselves by flying into stronger holds farther off. The Prince of *Bithynia* chiefe author of this warre, fled into the strong city, *Prusa*, which the Turkes now call *Burusa*, whether *Othoman* not long after led his army, in hope to haue woon the same: but finding it not possible to bee taken by force began presently at one time to build two great and strong castles vpon the chief passages leading to the city, which castles he with great industry finished in one yeare: and in the one, placed as capitaine *Afemur* his nephew, in the other one *Balaban-zuck*, both men of great courage, and skilfull in feats of warre: and in this fort hauing blocked vp the city of *Prusa*, so that little or nothing could without great danger be brought into it, he subdued the most part of *Bithynia*; and so returned home, leaving the two castles well manned with strong garrisons, vnder the charge of the captaines before named.

Prusa besieged  
by Othoman.

*Othoman* returning home to *Neapolis*, honorably rewarded his soldiers, according to their deserts, establishing such a quiet & pleasing government in his kingdom, that people in great number resorted from far into his dominions, there to seat themselves: whereby his kingdom became in few yeares exceeding populous, and he for his politick government most famous. And so liuing in great quietnesse certaine yeares, being now become aged and much troubled with the gout; his old soldiers accustomed to liue by the wars, abhorring peace, came to him, requesting him as it were with one voice, to take some honourable war in hand, for the enlarging of his kingdom, with great cheerfulness offering to spend their liues in his seruice, rather than to grow old in idleness: which frowardnesse of his men of war greatly pleased him, and so giuing them thanks, for that time dismissed them, promising that he would not be long vnmind-  
full

full of their request. But yet thinking it good to make all things safe at home before he took any great wars in hand abroad, thought it expedient to call vnto him *Michael Cossi* the only Christian Captain whom for his great deserts he had at all times suffered to liue in quiet with his possessions, as it were in the heart of his kingdom; and by faire means (if it might be) to persuade him to forsake the Christian Religion, and become a follower of *Mahomets*, so to take away all occasion of mistrust: which if he should refuse to do, then forgetting all former friendship, to make war vpon him as his vtter enemy. Whereupon *Cossi* was sent for, being persuaded by the messenger, that *Othoman* had sent for him, because he had occasion to vie his wonted faithfull counsell & seruice in a great exploit which he had intended, as he had oftentimes before. *Cossi* thinking of nothing lesse than of that which ensued, came accompanied with such foldiers as he thought to vie in that seruice: But comming vnto *Othoman*, and vnderstanding the very cause why he was sent for, and seeing danger eminent on euery side, kissing *Othoman* hand, alter the maner of the Turkes, requested him in courteous manner to enter him in the principles of the Mahometan religion, which he promised euer after to embrace: And so saying certaine words after *Othoman*, he turned Turke, to the great displeasure of God, and the contentment of *Othoman* & his nobility. For which his reuolting, *Othoman* presently gaue him an ensigne and a rich robe, tokens wherby the Mahometan Sultans assure their vassals of their fauour and the vndoubted possession of such land and liuing as they then hold.

Oftentimes after this, *Othoman* for the contenting of his souldiers, inuaded the countries bordering vpon him, tooke many strong castles and forts, subdued the most part of Phrygia, Misia, and Bithynia, and other great regions, vnto the Euxin sea: and being now very aged and diseased as is aforesaid with the gout, and thereby vnable to go into the field in person himselfe, oftentimes sent his sonne *Orchanes* against his enemies; who to the imitation of his father achieued many great enterprises, *Othoman* his father yet liuing.

Now happily might the considerate reader (and not without iust cause) marvel, what dead sleep had overwhelmed the Greeke Emperors of those times; first *Michael Paleologus*, and afterwards his sonne *Andronicus*, both men of great valour, and still resiant at Constantinople, thus to suffer the Turkes (not *Othoman* for he as yet bare no sway, but others the sharers of Sultan *Aladins* Kingdom) to take their cities, spoyle their countries, kill their subiects, and daily to inroch vpon them in the lesser Asia, and especially in Bithynia, so neere vnto them, and as it were euen vnder their noses: But let him with me, here as in a most conuenient place but breathe a little, and consider the troubled state of that declining Empire, now hastning to an end, and he shal plainly see the causes of the decay thereof, and how like an old diseased body quite overthrow and sicke to death, it became at length a prey vnto the aspiring Turkes: *Michael Paleologus* hauing by great trechery obtained the Greeke empire, and by rare fortune recovered also the city of Constantinople from *Baldwin* the Emperor (as is in the former part of this History declared) fearing the power of the Princes of the West, but especially of *Charles* king of Sicilia, then a prince of great fame and power, whom he knew *Baldwin* (the late Emperor) ceased not to sollicite for the restitution of him againe into his Empire, and to haue also ioyned with him a neere bond of affinity, by marrying his daughter vnto *Charles* his sonne: to auert this danger, and to intangle *Charles* with troubles neere home, by his Embassadors offered vnto *Gregory* the tenth, then Bishop of Rome, to vnite and confirme the Greeke Church vnto the Latine, and to acknowledge the Bishops supremacy, in such sort as that it should be lawful for any man to appeale vnto the Court of Rome, as vnto the higher and most excellent Court; of which his offer the Pope gladly accepted, promising to performe what he had before requested, for the keeping of *Charles* otherwise busied. But when it came to the point, that this reformation and alteration of Religion in the Greeke Church should be made, *Ioseph* the Patriarch, to begin withall, gaue vp his place, and shortly after forsaking the city, retired himselfe into a monastery neer vnto the streit of Bosphorus, where he at quiet deuoutly spent the rest of his life. The rest of the clergy also discontented with this inuolution, in their sermons openly inueighed against it, persuading the people not to receiue it; crying out, That now was come the time of their trial, the time of their martyrdom, and the time wherein they were to receiue the glorious crown of their painfull sufferings; inso much, that great tumults were therupon raised, and all the city and country in an uproare: for it was not the clergy only, and the vulgar people by them moued, which disliked & abhorred these the Emperors proceedings,

Alteration of  
the Greeke Church.

ings, & made these stirs, but many of the better sort, yea, of the chiefe magistrats themselves also. So that *Michael Paleologus* the Emperor leauing all other forrein busines, was enforced to conuert all his power and study vnto the appeasing of these domesticke troubles, as deeming them of greater danger than those abroad. And first to persuade his discontented subiects, he told them, That this alteration was made not for any good liking he had thereunto, but in respect of the dangerousnes of the time: and that it was a point of wisdom, to foresee dangers hanging ouer our heads, & not to delay, if any thing were to be altdred, for the auerting thereof: for if the enemies (as he said) should come, the city yet in many places rent, or but lately repaired, and as it were but newly raised from death to life, the present mischiefs would be far greater than those forepassed, and that then their enemies would become lords not of their religion and ceremonies only, but of all at once, their wiues, their children, & whatsoever els they had: where their liberty changed into bondage, they should be constrained to conforme themselves not with their bodily seruice only, but euen with their minds also, vnto the wills of the Latines their enemies. And that so it would come to passe, that no man should be able to keep the old customs and maners of their ancestors, but should see euen their most sacred rites and ceremonies changed & quite ouerthrowen. Which he carefully foreseeing, had not (as he said) refused to yeeld vnto necessity, and as wisdom would, neglected a little harme in respect of a greater benefit; and in the lesse to haue yeelded vnto his enemies, to enjoy the benefit of the greater. With which the emperors persuasion some were moued, and so held themselves contented: and some others not, against whom he was enforced to vie other more seuerer remedies, as against his rebellious subiects: of whom some he imprisoned, some he banished, some he tormented, some he dismembred, some he bereft of their sight, or confiscated their goods, vntil (in briefe) all the means whereby the minds of the resolute or the weak were to be mouing (with patience indured: but the greater part void of judgement, and the refuse of the people in simple attire, ranne roguing abroad, some into Peloponessus, some into Thracia, some into Achaia, & some as far as Colchos, as men persecuted for their conscience, not regarding greatly whither, so it were out of the emperors iurisdiction, and something fitting their own humors; neither conforming themselves vnto the religion then commonly by the emperor established, neither yet agreeing among themselves, but taking vnto them diuers names, some as the disciples of *Armenius*, some of *Ioseph*, and some of others; some of them, themselves deceiued, and deceiuing others also. Thus for the auoiding of forrein danger out of the West, was the Empire at home no little endangered, and the state thereof shaken. Wherewith the Emperor was so encombred, as that he had no leifure to provide for the tempest arising by the Turkes out of the East, but was enforced wholly to imploy himself & al his indeauors to the keeping of his people & subiects in their due obedience at home. All whose deep deuises, first in aspiring to the empire, no way vnto him due, & great trauels afterwards for the assuring of the same to himselfe and his posterity, against all right, euen with the alteration of the religion of his fathers, yeelding him in the winding vp of all, not so much as credit of an honorable sepulture: but dying in these troubles not far from *Lisymachia*, as he was making preparation against the prince of Thessalie, was there by his son *Andronicus* his commandement (for whose aduancement he had strained both his faith and honor) obscurely buried in a field, a good way from his camp, as vnworthy of a better sepulture, for reuolting from the ancient religion of his ancestors, although his obsequies were for fashion sake afterward with some solemnity celebrated. This was the end of the great emperor *Michael Paleologus*, in whose time the Turkes, the successors of *Aladin*, greatly inroched vpon him in the lesser Asia, as is in part before declared: a man greatly adorned with the good gifts both of the body and the mind, had he not for the aduancement of himselfe and his posterity, stained the same with foule treachery and apostacie: for which (as some say) he euer after liued in conscience troubled, and dying was euen by his owne son not thought worthy of an honorable funerall. A notable example vnto all such as with agree-  
dineffe seeke after vaine glory, and foolishly expose themselves vnto such aduencures, as oftentimes overwhelmeth their deepest deuices, hauing in themselves no certainty, preferring their inordinate desires (either for themselves or their posterity) before that which is good and vertuous. Twice wretched in so doing; first in their folly, and then in their indeauors: who beside that they finde God himselfe against their designs and purposes, they by and by also evidently meet with other things than what they had casted,

persecution in  
the Greeke  
church for mat-  
ters of religion.

casted contrary vnto them; and so themselves oftentimes, contrary to their expectation, cast headlong into extreame misery: for lo, euen he of whom we now speake, otherwise a man of great wisdom, and happy in his doings, ouercome with his affection towards his children, in desiring to leaue vnto them the Empire, when as he ought to haue cast all the care both of himselfe and of them, especially vpon the providence of God; he like a blind man following his owne deepe conceits, not grounded vpon the feare of God, but vpon mans wisdom onely, cast himselfe before he was aware, into miserable troubles, and became odium euen vnto his subjects, and them also for whom he had forgot himselfe. For whereas God had euen from his childhood allotted vnto him the Empire (as was by many euident signes and tokens to haue bene gathered) if he could haue moderated his vntimely desires, kept his tongue from perjury, and his hands from blood, and not turned out of the way after strange doctrine; he had by many degrees excelled euen the best Emperors his predecessors: whereas now he lieth obscurely buried, shrouded in the sheet of desame, the report of his soule and faultlesse dealings far exceeding all his other worthy vertues.

Andronicus Paleologus succeeding his father in the Empire, and thinking by restoring again the gouernment of the church, together with the rites and customes of the Greeks, to haue appeased all such troubles as were before by his father raised, by bringing in those of the Latines, found himselfe therein much deceiued, and his troubles no lesse than his fathers: they which had before receiued the Latine customes, and well liking of them, with great obstinacie defending the same; and the other of the contrary faction now countenanced by the Emperour, without modesty or measure insulting vpon them: whereof arose exceeding great stirs and troubles, especially in the beginning of his raigne: to the great benefit of the incroching Turks, who in the mean time ceased not by all means to increase their territories in Asia; and not only there, but in the Islands of the Mediterranean sea also. For Andronicus by the death of Charles King of Sicily, deliuered of the greatest feare for which both he and his father before him had to their great cost and charge both built and maintained a strong fleet of gallies; now perswaded by some, whose action and speeches were after the manner of the Court, all framed vpon the Princes appetite, (as the readiest way to thriue, without respect of the common good) to spare that needlesse charge (as they termed it) which yerely cost him more than any thing else; had discharged all his mariners and sea men, and commanded all the gallies to be laid vp, some in one creeke, some in another; where neglected and not looked vnto, they in time for the most part rotted and perished. As for the mariners, they went some one way, some another, as their fortunes led them, to seeke for their liuings in forrein countries, euen with the Emperors enemies; and some gaue themselves to husbundry, thinking it better by doing something to liue, than by sitting still to perish. Which good husbundry at the first seemed to be very profitable vnto the Emperour, but especially vnto such as being neere vnto him, and couetously giuen, made small reckoning of all other the most necessary defences of the empire, in comparison of hoarding vp of mony, vntill that it was afterward too late by experience found hereof to haue sprung many great mischiefs, vnto the great weakning of the Greeke Empire. For besides, that the Turks without let did great harme on the sea, the Pyrats now out of feare of the Emperours gallies, at their pleasure tooke the spoile of the rich Islands in the Mediterranean, and robbed the towns all along the sea coast, to the vnspcakable griefe of the poore country people: and yet not so contented, came with their gallies, sometime two, sometime three, and sometime moe, as it were in contempt, euen close vnto the Imperiall city. Yea, the Venetians were so bold, as vpon a right small displeasure to rise and afterward to set fire vpon the suburbs thereof, which they would hardly haue aduentured, had the Emperors fleet been preferred and maintained in the wonted strength.

At the same time also Andronicus the Emperour (to the great hindrance of the affaires of the empire, and aduantage of the forrein enemy) was not a little troubled with a jealous suspicion of his brother Constantine (commonly called Porphyrogenitus) as if he had sought to haue aspired vnto the empire; seeking by all means to win vnto himselfe the loue and fauor of all men, but especially of the nobility both at home & abroad, and so by that means to mounie vnto the height of his desires: All which (as most men thought) were but meere slanders, maliciously deuised by such as enuying at his honor, & taking occasion by the Emperors suspicion, ceased not to increase the same, vntill they had wrought his vnworthy destruction. The first ground of this false suspicion in the Emperors head, was, for that, that this Constantine euen from his childhood, was for many causes, better beloued of the old Emperour his father, than Andronicus,

Andronicus, as better furnished with those gifts of nature which beautified a Prince, and of a more surteous behauior than was his brother: in so much that had he not bin the younger brother, his father could willingly haue left him his successor in the empire. This was one and the chiefest cause of the Emperors grudge, and the ground of his suspicion. Yet was there another also, and that not much lesse than this: for that his father in his life time had of long thought to haue separated from the empire a great part of Thessalia & Macedonia, and to haue made him absolute Prince thereof; and had haply so done, had he not bin by death preuented: which thing also much grieved Andronicus, and the more incensed him against his brother. Which his secret hatred he for all that, according to his wisdom, cunningly dissembled, not only during the time that his father liued, but three yeres after his death also, making theu of the greatest loue and kindenesse towards him that was possible. Constantine in the meane time, of such great reuenues as were by his father assigned vnto him, reaping great profit, most bountifully bestowed the same vpon his followers and fauorites, and others that made suite vnto him, as well the meane sort as the greater, and with his sweet behauiour woon vnto him the hearts of all men: for affability and curtesie in high degree easily allureth mens minds, as do faire floures in the spring the passengers eyes. This was the precept of the wise Indians, That the higher a Prince was in dignity, and the more curteous he shewed himselfe vnto his inferiors, the better he should be of them beloued. He therefore that should for the two first causes blame Constantine, should do him wrong; as both proceeding not of himselfe, but of his fathers too much loue: but in the third he was not altogether blamelesse; for if for want of experience he prodigally gaue such gifts, as for the most part might haue befecmed the Emperour himselfe, he ignorantly erred, yet did he no little offend: but if he knew, that for his too profuse bounty he could not be vn suspected of his brother, and yet without regard held on that course, he was greatly to be blamed therein. For if nothing else might haue moued him, yet he should haue considered, to what end the like doings of others in former times had sorted, and how many it had brought to vntimely end. So although perhaps that Constantine meant no harme vnto his brother, or any way to supplant him, yet did not these things a little increase and aggravate the former suspicions, and open the eares of the Emperour his brother vnto such calumniation as commonly attend vpon immoderate bounty. But to returne to our purpose, this honorable Constantine then liued in Lydia, but lately married, and in good hope long to liue, being not past thirty yeres old: but pleasantly spending the time with his wife at Nymphaea in Lydia, at such time as he was thus secretly accused vnto his brother, the Emperour thought it good, as vpon other occasions of businesse, to passe ouer into Asia himselfe, but indeed with a secret resolution, vpon the sudden to oppress his brother vnawares, as by proofe it fell out. For at his comming ouer, Constantine fearing nothing lesse, was forthwith apprehended, with all his greatest fauorites, of whom one Michael Strategopolus (sometime a man in great authority with the emperor his father, and of all other, for wealth, honor, and noble acts most famous) was chiefe: who together with Constantine were fast clapt in prison, where we will leaue them euery houre looking to die, their lands and goods being before confiscated. But these worthy men, especially Constantine and Strategopolus, thus laid fast: who many times in great battels discomfited the Turks, and notably defended the frontiers of the Empire a long time on the East side of the riuer Meander; they now finding none to withstand them, foraged not only all the rich country beyond the riuer, but with an infinit multitude passing the same, did there great harme also: so that there was no remedy, but that the Emperour must of necessity make chiefe of some other worthy capitaine for the defence of those his cities and countries, by the incursion of the Turks then in danger in that part of Asia.

There was then in the Emperours court one Alexius Philanthropenus, a right valiant and renowned capitaine, and then in the floure of his youth; of him the Emperour thought good to make choice for defence of those frontiers of his empire in the lesser Asia (against the Turks) which were before, the charge of his brother Constantine and Strategopolus, joyning to him one Libadarius, an old famous captain, and a man of great experience also: appointing vnto him the gouernment of the cities of Ionia; and vnto the other the frontiers along the winding banks of Meander. Where Alexius hauing now gotten a charge worthy his valor, and in many great conflicts with the Turks still carrying away the victory, became in short time of great fame: besides that, he was exceeding bountifull and curteous vnto all men; a costly, but a ready way

Andronicus  
sparing to  
maintain his  
navy, weak-  
ned his em-  
pire.

Immoderate  
bounty in gre-  
at men dangerous.



the Massagers fly, and not daring with those few hee had left, to oppose himselfe against his enemies, retired himselfe into the strong castle of Magnesia, there to expect what would become of these mischiefs. But the Massagers spoiling the country of the poore Christians as they went, marching directly to the streit of Helespontus, and there againe passed over into Europe, as if they had bene therefore only sent for ouer the riuer Ister, to shew the Turks the sooner the way vnto the sea in Asia. For it was not many daies after, but that *Michael* the Emperor being returned to Constantinople, the Turks comming downe with a great power, subdued all the Countries, euen vnto the coast of Lesbos, to the great ruine and weakening of the Greeke Empire.

Ronzerius was  
by war.

It was not long after these great stirs made by the Massagers, but that one *Ronzerius* (sometime a notable pirat, but as then a most famous Captaine) hearing of the great entertainment that the Greeke Emperor gaue vnto strangers, by messengers sent for that purpose offered vnto him his seruice in his wars against the Turks, as had before the Massagers. This *Ronzerius* of whom we speake, had out of Catalonia a Prouince of Spaine, and out of that part of France which is called Narbonensis, and some other places also, gathered together a great number of bafe needy naked men, yet lusty able bodies, and fit for seruice either by sea or land: with whom he manned foure tall gallies, and so as a notable pirat long time robbed, not only the merchants trading to and fro in the Mediterranean, but landing his men oftentimes in the rich Islands, carried away thence much rich spoile also; vntill at length by the mischiefe he did being become famous, and great wars then arising betwixt *Charles* King of Naples, and *Theodorus* King of Sicilia, he was by *Theodorus* sent for and requested of aid: which he (liuing of the spoile) easily granted, and so came vnto him with a thousand horse and as many foot, all old expert soldiers, whose good seruice stood the King in those wars in great stead. But as the end of war is peace, so at length vpon the euill successe of *Charles*, a peace being concluded betwixt the two Kings, and confirmed by a marriage betwixt their children, *Ronzerius* liuing altogether by his fortunes, was to seeke for new entertainment, both for himselfe and his men, as hauing neither house nor certain dwelling place to repaire to; but being as needy men met together, some out of one place, some out of another, in hope of booty as their fortune led them. In which case *Ronzerius* their Generall thought it best to offer his seruice to the Greeke Emperor in his wars against the Turks, whereof he gladly accepted, and so sent for him: vnto whom he shortly after came with two thousand good soldiers, called (after the proud Spanish manner) by the name of Catalanians, for that they were for the most part Spaniards of the country of Catalonia. Of whose comming the Emperor rejoycing more than he had cause (as afterward by prooffe it fell out) in token of his great fauor, honored him with the name of the Great Captaine, and afterwards gaue him his neece *Mary* in marriage. But within a while after, when as one *Tenza* another Catalanian Captaine sent for by *Ronzerius*, was come thither also with more aid, the Emperor to gratifie them both, gaue vnto *Ronzerius* the name of *Cesar*, and vnto the other, the name of the Great Captaine. But when these new Captains with their followers were to be transported into Asia, it is not to be spoken what harme they did by the way vnto the country people, and in the villages alongst the sea coast; abusing the men and women as their slaves, and spending their substance at their pleasure, for which they had many a bitter curse: and this was their first yeares entertainment. The next spring they set forward to relieue the great City of Philadelphia, being as then long besieged by the Turks, and hardly bested without with the enemy; and within, with extreme penury and famine: which good seruice they most valiantly performed, and raised the siege. For the Turks beholding the good order of these Latine souldiers, their bright armour, and courageous comming on, rose presently and departed, not only from the city, but quite out of the Emperours territorie. Besides that, in this army were joyned vnto these Catalanians great numbers of the best souldiers of the Greeks, and all the power of the Massagers: so that had not the Emperor expressly before commanded, not to pursue them too farre, it was by many thought, all those cities and countries might then againe haue bene in short time recovered from the Turks, which they had before taken from him. But in Kingdomes appointed vnto ruine, faire occasions helpe not for the stay thereof; yea the greatest helpes provided by the worldly wise, by a secret commanding power aboue, being oftentimes conuerted to the destruction of that they were provided for the safeguard of; as it now fell out with the Emperour and these

these Spanish souldiers: for this seruice done, the Greekes returned home, as did the Massagers also. But these Catalanians with *Ronzerius* their Generall, roaming ype and downe the Emperours territories in Asia, did there great harme, turning their forces (as enemies) vpon them whom they were sent for to relieue: alleading that they had not their pay according to the Emperours promise; and that therefore they must liue vpon them that had sent for them and deceived them. So were the poore people in euery place spoiled, their wiues and daughters rauished, their Priests and aged fathers tortured to confesse such secret store as they had: all was subiect to these dissolute soldiers rage and lust; yea many of them that had nothing to redeeme themselves, vpon the greedy soldiers imagination, hauing their hands or feet, or some other part of their bodies cut off, lay by the high waies side begging an halfe penny or a peece of bread, hauing nothing left to comfort themselves with, more than their miserable voice and fountaines of teares: with which their wrongs and miseries, worse than those they had sustained by the Turks, the Emperor much grieved, and well the more, for that they were done by him by whom he had entertained to relieue them: but what remedy, his coffers were so bare as that he was not able to do any thing for the redresse thereof. *Ronzerius* hauing thus spoiled the Emperours country in Asia, and left nothing that pleased either him or his, with all his power passed ouer into Europe: and leauing all the rest his army at Calipolis, with two hundred of his men went to the young Emperour *Michael* (then lying with a small power at Orestias in Thracia) to demand of him his pay, or if need were to extort it from him with threats: with whose insolencie at his comming, the Emperor more offended than before, his souldiers there present perceiuing the same, with their drawne swords compassing him in, fast by the court, slew him, with certaine of his followers, the rest fled in all haste to Calipolis to certifie their fellowes what had happened.

Ronzerius for  
want of pay  
sent the Emper-  
ours souldiers

Ronzerius slain

Thus by the death of *Ronzerius*, the young Emperour had thought to haue discouraged the Catalanians and abated their pride, as like enough it was to haue done: yet in prooffe it fell not out so, but was the cause of far greater evils. So when God prospers not mens actions, the best falleth out vnto the worst, and their wisest deuises turn to mere follies: for the Catalanians at Calipolis hearing of the death of *Ronzerius* their Generall, first slew all the citizens in the city, and notably fortifying the same, tooke that as their refuge. Then diuiding their soldiers into two parts, with the one part of them manned with eight gallies, which vnder the leading of the great captain *Tenza*, robbed and spoiled all the Merchants ships, passing the streits of Helespontus, to or from Constantinople: the other part left in the city, in the mean time forraging the country all about them. But *Tenza* shortly after encountering with a fleet of the Genowaies, well provided for him, was by them ouerthrown, and most of his gallies sunk, and himselfe taken; but yet afterwards redeemed by his fellows, and so againe enlarged. Now the Catalanians at Calipolis somewhat discouraged with the losse of their fleet and so many of their men, for certain daies kept themselves in quiet within their wals, not knowing wel what course to take, for they feared both the Massagers and Thracians: them for that they had vpon light causes abused them, and slain diuers of them in the late Asian war; and these, for that they had but euen the other day burnt their houses and spoiled their labors in the country there by: for which and other their outrages, they vtterly despaired of the Emperours fauor, whom they had so highly offended. But that which most of all terrified them, was, for that they looked for euery day, when *Michael* the yong Emperour, who as then lay not far off, should with a great power come to assault them: for feare of whom they cast a deepe ditch about the city, with a strong counterscarpe, so preparing themselves, as if they should haue bene euen presently besieged. But the time for passing, and the Emperor delaying his comming, they began to think of other matters: for being brought to that streit, that they could not wel tell which way to turn them, but that they were on euery side beset with danger, they vpon a malicious resolution, and vnto the Greekes most fatal, by messengers sent of purpose, craued aid of the Turks that dwelt on the other side of the streit ouer against them, in Asia; who presently sent them five hundred good soldiers, after whom followed also many other fugitiues and loose companions, in hope of spoile, with whom the Catalanians for the present strengthened, and being themselves three thousand strong, issued out of the city, and forraged the country therabouts, bringing in with them great herds and flocks of sheep and other cattel, together with their keepers: wherewith both the Emperours & their subiects incensed, prepared themselves for reuenge. This was the

first

first calling in of the Turks into Europe (that I read of) and the beginning of those endlesse miseries wherewith the Christian commonweale hath beene ever since most grievously afflicted, and a great part thereof overwhelmed; few or none grieving thereat, but such as themselves feeble the heavinesse thereof, whom God in his mercy comfort.

The Catalonians and Turks now lying about Cypella and Apri in Thrace, Michael the Emperor with his Macedonian and Thracian souldiers, the Massagers and the Turcopuli encamped at Apri. These Turcopuli were Turks, also in number about a thousand (who as is in the former part of this History declared) being fled with their Sultan *Iathatins* vnto the Greeke Emperor, and left behind him at such time as he was by the European Tartars deliqued, had forsaken their Mahometane superstition, and so being become Christians, were inrolled amongst the Greeke soldiers. Shortly after the Emperor (aduertised by his scouts of the approach of his enemies) commanded every man to be in readinesse, and his captaines to put his army in order of battell: who seeing the enemies battell diuided into three parts, put theirs also in like order, placing the Turcopuli & Massagers in the left wing, the Macedonian and Thracian choise horsemen in the right wing, and the rest with the footmen in the maine battell. At which time the Emperor himselfe riding from place to place, with comfortable speeches encouraged his men to fight valiantly against their enemies. The Sun rising, the enemies battell began to come on, in number much inferiour vnto the Emperours, yet in like order, the Turks being placed in both wings, and the Catalonians well armed in the midst. But the signall of battell being giuen on both sides, the Massagers, whether it were by agreement to before made with the enemy, or vpon a sudden conceiued treason, presently withdrew themselves aloofe off, and so stood as idle beholders, giuing aid neither to the one nor to the other, as did also their Turcopuli their companions, which greatly dismaid the Grecians, and encouraged their enemies: for the Greekes dismaid with that sudden defection of their fellows, were euen in the joyning of the battell discouraged. Which the Emperour perceiuing, with great instancy intreated the captaines and commanders of his army, calling them oftentimes by name, not to be so suddenly discouraged: but they in so great a danger little regarding his words, and stil shrinking from him, when as the greatest part of the footmen were trodden under foot and slaine, turning himselfe vnto them that were left, which were but few, he said, *Now worthy men is the time wherein death is better than life, and life more better than death.* And having so said valiantly charged the enemy: in which charge his horse was slaine vnder him, and he in danger to haue bin taken, had not one of his faithfull followers remounted him vpon his owne horse, and so saved his life with the losse of his owne. The Emperor flying to Dydimotichum, where *Andronicus* his father then lay, was of him joyfully receiued, but sharply reprimanded for aduenturing his person so far. The enemies pursuing the chace, slew some, tooke others, vntill that by the coming on of the night, and weary with the long fight they retired: and the next day diuiding the spoile, afterwards at their pleasure forraged the country. The renegat Turks, called Turcopuli, within a few daies after reuolting to the Catalonians, were of them joyfully entertained, and inrolled into the regiment of *Chaleh*, the Turks Generall.

Shortly after this victory, the Catalonians began to mutiny among themselves; the great captaine *Tenza*, and *Pharenza* his companion, disdained to be commanded by *Recasfort* their Generall: in which tumult, the matter coming to blowes *Tenza* was slaine, and *Pharenza* for safeguard of his life glad to fly vnto the Emperor *Andronicus*; of whom he was, contrary to his expectation, right honourably entertained. About this time also the Massagers hauing done the Greekes more harme, than the Turks against whom they were entertained, and enriched themselves with the spoile of their friends both in Asia and Europe, were about with their wives and children, and wealth, to returne again vnto their old dwellings beyond Ister. Which the Turcopuli, with the Catalonians vnderstanding, and bearing vnto them a secret grudge, for that they (as the weaker) had of them oftentimes bene wronged in the diuision of the spoile of the Greekes, lay now secretly in wait for them, as they should passe the straits of the great mountain Hemus, which bounded the Greeke Empire from the Bulgarians: where setting vpon them, fearing no such danger, they slew them almost all, and with the spoile of them, recompensed themselves for all the wrongs they had from them before receiued.

The Catalonians proud of their victory at Apri, and well strengthened by the reuolt of the Turcopuli with continuall rodes spoiled not onely all alongst the Sea coast of Thracia, but

- A but all the inland country also, as far as Maronea, Rhodope, and Bizia, laying all waste before them. And hauing forraged most part of Thracia, brake into Macedonia, and there wintered about *Cassandria*, sometime a famous city, but as then all desolate and ruinous. But the Spring being come, they remoued thence, with purpose to haue spoiled the cities of Macedonia, and especially the rich city of Thessalonica, where the emperesse *Irene* then lay: wherein they were by the Emperours good care and foresight prevented; who doubting such a matter, had fortified his cities in that country, and furnished them with strong garrisons, and all other things needfull for their defence: which they quickly perceiuing, and finding the country all desolate and forsaken by the inhabitants, were about to haue againe returned into Thracia: but as they were thereupon resolving, they were informed by one that was with them captiue, how that the
- B Emperour by a mighty strong wall built at a place called *Christopolis*, from the sea side euen vnto the top of the mountains, had so shut vp the passage, as that it was not possible for them that way to enter. With which vnexpected news they were at the first exceedingly troubled, as foreseeing, That if they should there long stay in that spoiled country, they should in short time be driuen to exceeding wants (for they were now in number about 8000 fighting men) and afraid also by a generall conspiracie of the people about them, to be oppressed. Thus beset, and not well knowing what to doe, or which was to turne themselves, they desperately resolved, no longer there to stay, but forthwith to set forward, and to breake into Thessaly, with the plentifulnesse thereof to relieue their wants, or into some other country further off, towards Peloponnesus, and there to seat themselves, and to end their long trauels: or at leastwise,
- C if they could not so do, to enter into league with some that dwelt vpon the sea coast, and so returne againe into their owne country. Wherefore leauing Thessalonica, and deliuering the Emperour of a great feare, they in three daies came to the Thessalonian mountains, *Olympus*, *Ossa*, and *Pelios*; where they at the foot of them found such plenty of all things necessary for their reliefe, that they there wintered. But Winter past, and the Spring being come, they passed ouer those high mountaines and the pleasant vallies called *Tempe*, and so at last came downe into the fruitfull plaines of Thessaly, where they spent that yeare at their pleasure without resistance, deuouring the labours of the poore country people, and making hauocke of whatsoeuer thing came in their way: for as then the state of that country was but weake, the Prince thereof being but young, and withall very sicke and like to die, and the succession
- D so ending in him, as that it was feared, who after his death should lay hand thereon; and euery man therefore more carefull of his own priuat than of the common good. Yet to adert these forreine enemies, who like a consuming fire deuoured the country before them; the nobility thought it good, with great gifts to overcome their Captains and Commanders, and then to offer them guides to conduct them into Achaia and Boetia, Countries more pleasant and fruitfull than was theirs, and more commodious for them to dwell in: promising also to giue them aid for the seating of them there, if they should so need. Of which their offers the Catalonians accepted, as thinking it better with their hands full of gold so easily gotten, to go seek their better fortunes, with their power yet whole and strong, and help also if need were, than to hazard all vpon the successe of a doubtfull victory, and so foolishly to preferre an vncertain
- E hope before a most certaine benefit. So making peace with the Thessalians, and the Spring being come, receiued of them their promised rewards, and guides to conduct them, passing ouer the Mountaines beyond Thessaly, and the streits of *Thermopile*, they encamped neere vnto *Locris* and the riuer *Cephissus*: which rising out of the Mountaine *Parnassus*, and running towards the East, hath on the North side of them *Locris* and *Opus*; and on the South the inland country of Achaia and Boetia: and being a great riuer vntill it come to *Lebadia* and *Haliartus*, is there diuided into two riuers; the one called *Aëtopus*, and the other *Isme-nus*; whereof the former runneth thorow the Country of Attica, vntill it come into the Sea; and the other neere vnto *Aulis* (where the noble Grecians, as they say, being about to goe vnto Troy, met, and their staid) falleth into the Eubœan Sea. But the Duke of Thebes and
- F Athens, and of all that Country, hearing of their coming, and (as he thought) well provided also for them (as hauing all the Winter and Spring time before put his forces in readinesse) with great pride and contempt denied them passage thorow his Countrey, at such time as they asked the same, making no more reckning of them, than as of a sort of loose wandering rogues that could find no place to rest or thrive in: wherewith they enraged, resolved among

A notable first  
action of the  
Catalonians.

among themselves, either there to fear themselves in his country, or to die therefore. And so passing the river into Beotia, not far from the same encamped themselves, being in number about 3500 horse, and 4000 foot. But so lying and expecting the coming of their enemies, they caused all the plaine ground about where they lay and meant to fight, to be plowed up, which they with certaine small cuts out of the river so watered, as that it differed but a little from a deepe marsh or bog. Hither about the middle of the Spring commeth the Prince of the Countrey, with a gallant army raised out of Athens, Thebes, Platea, Locris, Phocis, and Megara, in number about 6400 horse, and 4000 foot, an army too strong he thought for so contemptible an enemy. But the weakest enemy not feared, doth oftentimes the greatest harme, as here by proove was to be seene: for the Prince coming into the aforesaid plaine, now growne greene with grasse, and casting no perill, encouraging his men, came brauely on with all his horsemen to haue charged his enemies: who stood fast vpon the firme ground, a little without their trenches, as ready to encounter him. But before he was come to the middle of the plaine, his horses sinking deepe into the rotten and new plowed ground, and there intangled as in a marth, lay for the most part tumbling in the mire, together with their riders, or else plunging in the deepe, and hauing cast them, ran vp and downe the plaine, as fortune led them; other some sticking fast, stood with their riders vpon their backs, as if they had bin very images, not able for to moue. Which the Catalonians beholding, and therewith encouraged, ouerwhelmed them with all manner of shot, and slew them at their pleasure, vntill they had almost made an end of them: and with their horsemen so speedily pursued the rest in chace, euen vnto the cities of Thebes and Athens, that they without more adoe euen at that instant surprised them both, with all that was in them. So the Catalonians hauing as it were at a cast at dice won a most goodly country, garnished with faire towns and cities, which they neuer built; and stored with all manner of wealth, which they neuer sweat for, there ended their long trauels, and seated themselves: not ceasing (as saith *Nicephorus Gregorius*, the reporter of this history, speaking of the time wherein these things were done, and wherein he himselfe lived in Constantinople) vnto this present day, by little and little to extend the bounds of their territory. Where leaving them, with whom we haply haue too long strayed from our purpose, let vs againe returne vnto the Turks and Turcopuli their companions.

In the army of the Catalonians, at such time as they were about to haue besieged Thessalonica, were three thousand Turks, of whom eleuen hundred were of them (as we said) which remained with *Melech* at *Ænum*, after the flight of *Iathaines* their Sultan vnto the Tartars, and renouncing their superstition, became Christians; and so being baptized, and hauing wiues and children, were enrolled among the Emperours souldiers; but at the battell of *Apri* revolted vnto the Catalonians, and were commonly knowne by the name of Turcopuli: the other being the greater part, were such Turks, as with *Chalel* their captaine came out of Asia, being sent for by the Catalonians. Now all these Turks, as well the one as the other, at such time as the Catalonians were about to invade Thessalia, and to seeke their new fortunes in the countries more Westward, and so farther off from Asia: partly distrusting the society of them, as dangerous vnto them; and loth also further to follow their vncertaine fortunes into countries farther off, amongst people to them vnkowne, began to rise in mutiny, and to refuse to go. Whereupon their captaines *Melech* and *Chalel* requested of the Generall of the Catalonians to giue them leaue with quietnesse to returne: which their request he easily granted, (as now not greatly needing their helpe, after that he was departing out of the Emperours dominion) and so they gladly departed; proportionally diuiding all the captiues and spoiles they had taken in that long war, according to the number of both parts.

The Turke di-  
uisio into two  
partes.

These Turks after their departure from the Catalonians, diuided themselves into two parts, the Turcopuli or renegat Turks following *Melech*, and the rest *Chalel* their General. But *Melech* being before become a Christian, as were his followers also, & after that hauing receiued most honorable entertainment at the Emperours hands, and yet again most shamefully breaking his faith before giuen, and violating his religion, had revolted to his enemies; despairing of the Emperours further friendship, which he had so euill deserued, made choice rather to goe vnto *Charles* Prince of Serua, by whom he was sent for, than to come again into the sight of *Andronicus* the Greeke Emperour. And so going vnto him with a thousand horse, and five hundred foot, was there of him well entertained himselfe: but his souldiers all commanded to deliuer vnto

A vnto the Prince both their horses and armour, and to fall to other trades, and not to beare armes but at such time, and so many of them as should seeme good vnto the Prince, that had receiued them into his countrey.

But *Chalel* with the Turkes his followers, in number about 1300 horse and eight hundred foot, staying at Macedonia, offered vnto the Greeke Emperour quietly to depart his country, so that he would giue him passage by the streits of *Christopolis* by him fortified; and in safetie transport him and his souldiers with all their substance, ouer the streit of *Hellespontus* into Asia: vnto which his request, the Emperour considering the great harme done in his prouinces, and desirous also to be discharged of so great a burthen, easily granted; and so sent *Sennacherib*, one of his most valiant captaines, to condu& them out of Macedonia into Thracia, vnto the streits of *Hellespontus*. Where the Greeke captaines and souldiers seeing the great multitude of horses, and abundance of money and other spoiles, which they hauing taken from the Greekes, were now about to carry away with them into Asia, they thought it a great indignitie to suffer them to do so: and allured also with the hope of so rich a prey, as had bin of long in gathering, they entred into a deuice far different from that which was vnto the Turks before promised, neither prouiding them of shipping, neither carefull of their safety, but purposing vpon the sudden by night to destroy them. Whereof the Turks hauing got vnderstanding, suddenly rising, surprised a castle in the country there by, which they notably fortified for the defence of themselves, to the great astonishment of them that had purposed their destruction; who now not able to force them, were glad to get them farther off, and to certifie the Emperour what had happened: who (after I wot not what receiued custome of the Greeke Emperours his predecessors) slowly dispatching things requiring greatest hast, carelesly delaid the time, to the great trouble of his state, and aduantage of his enemies. For they wisely considering the danger and distresse they were in, by speedy messengers sent ouer the streit, craued aid of the Turks their countrymen in Asia, which they presently sent them; wherewith they not a little both encouraged and strengthened, with their often & sudden incurfions grievously wasted the country round about them, to the great discontentment of the Greeke captaines, not able without greater helpe to remedy the same. Who thereof certified the yong Emperour *Michael Palologus*, requesting him with all the power he could make, to come and besiege the castle, and to suppress these so dangerous enemies. For the performance whereof not only the captains with their souldiers, but the country people in generall with their spades and mattocks came flocking to the Emperour; not as if they would haue besieged the castle, but haue digged it downe and ouerthrowne it together with the Turks their enemies.

Now the Emperour with his captains and souldiers, and a multitude of those country people, being come thither, who all gladly followed him, most part of them foolish, thinking of nothing but of the spoile of their enemies, not considering with what danger the same was to be gained: so that the more the enemies provided for the necessary defence of themselves, as in number but few, and shut vp in their enemies country, the more carelesly & negligently, and without all order, the Greekes proceeded in their siege, for that they were in number far more, and better provided of all things than their enemies: not reputing with themselves, nothing in this world to be firm and sure, and al worldly things (as saith the diuine Philosopher) to be but the mockery of God, and to be hastily turned vp-side downe, and with most vncertaine course this and that way to wander. But their enemies, who before feared euen the very fame of their coming, accounting themselves rather among the dead than the liuing, seeing their confused and disordered rashnes, therewith much more than before encouraged, bestowed all their wealth, their women, and other things vnnecessary for battell, in good safety within their trenches: but themselves, with eight hundred chosen horsemen onely, and they very well armed, sallied out euen to the place where the imperial ensigne stood, being neither of any great safety, neither guarded with any such strength or carefullnes as becomed: with which sudden and desperat eruption of the enemies, the Grecians terrified, especially that rustical and vplandish company, began to fly: after whom by little and little others followed, vntill at length all the rest without further resistance fled also: which the Emperour seeing, did what he might to haue staid their flight: but in so generall a confusion and feare, when euery man was to shif for one, who regarded him? wherefore wearied and seeing no other remedy, he was glad to take the same course and to fly with the rest: yet many of the more expert captaines, ashamed of so

The vnforsunate  
battell of the  
Emperour *Michael*  
*Palologus* with the  
Turkes in *Thracia*.

foule

fole a flight, made diuers stands : and so staid the barbarous enemy from further pursuit of the Emperour and the other flying Greekes. In which doing, many of them inclosed by the Turks, were of them taken prisoners : vnto whom all the Emperours treasure became a prey also, and whatsoeuer honourable ensignes of the Empire else that were found in the Emperours tent ; yea, the Imperiall crowne it selfe, richly set with pearle and pretious stones, was there taken also, which (they say) *Chael* putting vpon his head, pleasantly scoffed at the Greeke Emperour that but late before wore it.

*Thracia spoiled  
by the Turke.*

After this victory, the Turks with great pride spoiled almost all Thracia, in such sort as that the people for two yeres together durst scarcely go out of their strong walled townes to plow and sow their land ; which exceedingly grieved both the Emperours, the father and the son : for in their owne power they had no great confidence, God hauing (as it were) taken from their people, both their hearts and courage, so that all their hope was to entertaine forrein aid (the miserable shift of the great distressed ones) wherein also they found many difficulties and lers, whilst they considered the greatnes of their charge, their coffers being then, if euer, empty by reason their territories were so long and grievously by their enemies wasted : yet need admitted no law, *Andronicus* the old Emperour was glad to lend to *Charles* Prince of Seruia, his son in law, to pray his aid. But in the meane time he making no hast (as men in relieuing others commonly do) and the misery more and more increasing, it pleased God to stir vp the heart of one *Philes Paleologus* the Emperours neere kinsman, to vnder take the protection and deliuerance of his Prince and Country ; and was afterward for his great valour by the Emperour worthily made Lord great martiall of the empire. This *Philes* of whom we now speake, had all his life time bin brought vp in the court, and was for his vpright dealing and integrity of life beloved of all men, but specially of the old emperour his kinsman, whom he with like affection honored, but was a man altogether vnskillful of the wars, as being by nature of a weake constitution of body, and so very sickly, and withall more giuen to deuotion and the seruice of God, than the affaires of the world, oftentimes spending most part of the day at his prayers in the church. He now grieved to see the perplexed Emperour, and the misery of his country, requested of him that he might with some small power, and some few captains of his owne choice, goe out against these proud Turkes : hoping (as he said) by Gods grace to reuenge the wrong by them done, and to returne to him againe with victory. Vnto which his request, the Emperour easily yeelded, saying, that God was just, which delighted not in many legs, neither in the greatnes of any mans strength, but in a contrite heart and humble mind : nor so giuing his help vnto *Michael* the Emperour, his son, for the offences of his parents : as happily he might vnto this so vpright and deuout a man, regarding more his integrity of life, than his skill in armes : for turning me about, I haue seen in this world (said he) I haue seene, the swift not to gaine the prize, neither the valiant the victory ; wise men to want bread, and men of vnderstanding, wealth, the simple to gain fauor, and the subtile to fall into disgrace : such alteration worldly things in time find. So the emperour (as is afore said) yeelding to his request, furnished him with money, horses, and armor, and such a conuenient power, as he himselfe desired. Which he hauing receiued, first of all encouraged his captains and soldiers with all manner of courtesie and kindnes, giuing vnto them money, horses, armour, jewels ; yea, sometime he gaue vnto one his purse, vnto another his cloke, his rapier, or some other such thing, as he had about him, to encourage them in their forwardnes : after that, he perswaded them to an honest temperate course of life, and valiantly to play the men, promising according to their deserts to reward euery one of them, the war once happily ended : and before his setting forth, vnderstanding by his espials, that *Chael* with a thousand foot & two hundred horse was foraging the country about *Bizia*, he hastid his departure, that so he might by the way encounter them, laded with the spoile of the country : and so setting forward, came the third day to a little riuer, which the inhabitants call *Xerogisum*, and there in a great plain neer vnto the same, encamped. Where after he had set all things in order fit for battell, he with cheerfull speeches as a great commander, encouraged his captains and soldiers, leauing nothing vnfaid or vdone, that might serue for the animating of them to fight. But he had not so lient two daies, but that his scouts about midnight coming in, brought him tidings, that the enemy laded with spoile, was euen fast by at hand : who by the rising of the Sun were come within sight, and had themselves a far off also discovered the Christian army, all glistering in bright armor. Wherefore staying a while to prepare them-

*Philes Paleologus  
requested  
of the Emperour  
that he might  
goe against the  
Turkes.*

A themselves for battell : and first of all compassing themselves round with their waggons and other cariages, they bestowed in them all their captiues fast bound together, with their booty taken ; and afterwards as their manner was, casting dust vpon their heads, and their hands vp toward heauen, they came on. And now the Christian Army came on forward also, *Philes* still encouraging both the horsemen and the footmen, and right well conducting them, as the time and place required. So it fortuned, that he that had the leading of the right wing of the army, gaue the first charge vpon a squadron of the enemies, and at the first onset vnhorsed one of the enemies, and after him another. But hauing his horse forewounded vnder him, he hastily retyred out of the battell : which somewhat troubled the Christians, and encouraged the Turks, who now with a barbarous outcry began most fiercely to presse vpon the retyring Christians : *Philes* in the mean time with many cheerful words and comfortable persuasions still encouraging them to play the men ; and with his eies oftentimes cast vp to heauen, with tears running down his face, most heartily besought God, the giuer of all victory, no longer to suffer those his enemies, and the ministers of his wrath, to triumph ouer his people : as did also the poor captiues which lay bound, doubtfully betwixt hope and feare expecting the euent of the battell. The Christian footmen at the same time encountering hand to hand with the Barbarians, assailed them, and were assailed ; slew of them, and were themselves slain by them : so that there was a cruel fight made on both sides. But *Philes* with the multitude of his men hauing almost incompassed the Barbarian horsemen, with a company of his most valiant soldiers broke in vpon the side of the enemies battell, and so made way thorow the midst of it : which so troubled the Turks, as that they well knew not how to stay, or what to do. So being on euery side circumented and hardly charged, most of them there fell, except some few horsemen, whom the Greek horsemen pursued vnto the entrance of *Cheroneus*, with purpose there to shut them vp. *Philes* coming thither also, there vpon those streits incamped. At which time the Emperour presently sent out five gallies to keep the streit of *Hellepont*, so that no aid might be brought vnto these Turkes out of Asia. Whilst these things thus went, two thousand choice horsemen came to the aid of *Philes* out of *Servia* : and the Porestare of *Pera* came by sea also with eight gallies more into *Helespontus*, to the aid of the Christians. Wherefore when the Grecians and Seruians had thus on the one side shut them vp by land, and they that were in the gallies on the other side by sea ; *Philes* with all his power came and camped about the town and trenches wherein the Turks lay ; planting his battery against the castle, wherewith he greatly shook the same, and made great slaughter of the Turks and their horses, and that not only by day, but by night also. But the Turks seeing death now present before their eies, and no way left for them to escape, for that they were on euery side both by sea and land inclosed, thought good thus to aduventure their liues, resolving by night to set vpon the Grecians, rather than vpon the Seruians, whom they had hitherto accustomed to overcome, and whom they had with often slaughters much terrified ; that so the rest by them also haply discouraged, might so delay the assault. But in attempting the same they perceived themselves much deceived, finding them euen at their first falling out ready in arms to receive them : wherefore hauing in vaine giuen the attempt as against a strong fortresse, they were shamefully inforced to retyre. Yet were they not therewith so discouraged, but that the streit siege still continuing, they made the like attempt vpon the Seruians : but being also by them in like maner with losse repulsed, they began now vterly to despair. Wherefore the next day about midnight casting away their arms, they with their bosoms and pockets full of coin ran down to the sea side towards the Gallies, with purpose to yeeld themselves vnto the *Genowais* that were therein, as fearing of them lesse harm, as of men whom they had neuer hurt : but the night being dark and misty, and the Moon giuing little light, many of them vnwares came vnto the Greek gallies, and there flying the smoke, fell into the fire : for being lightned of their money, they were by them forthwith without any pitty slain also. But the *Genowais* slew not all their prisoners, but only such as had brought with them the most coin ; left afterward bewraying the same, it should haue bin sought after by the Greeks. The rest they cast into bonds, of whom some they sent vnto the Emperour, other some they kept to themselves as their own prisoners. Thus by the valor and good conduct of this worthy deuout Captain, the Turks were for that time again chased out of *Europ*, and the country of *Thracia* deliuered of a great fear.

*The battell betwixt Philes and the Turkes.*

*The Turkes out of throwne.*

The causes of  
the decay of  
the Empire  
to come.

Now by that we haue already written is easily to be seen the chief causes of the decay and G  
ruin of the Greek Empire to haue bin, first, The innouation and change of their ancient religion and ceremonies by *Michael Paleologus*, wherof ensued a world of wo. Then by *Couetou-  
ness*, couered with the name of good husbandry, the utter destruction of the chief strength of  
the Empire. Next to that, by Envy, the ruin of the Great: by false Suspect, the loser of friends;  
Ambition, Honors ouerthrow; Distrust, the great minds torment; and Forrein aid, the Em-  
pires faithlesse porter, opening the gate euen vnto the Enemy himself: wherunto foul discord  
joined (as shall be forthwith declared) what wanted that the barbarous enemy could desire,  
for the helping of them in the supplanting of so great an empire? But again to our purpose.

*Michael* companion with his father *Andronicus* in the Empire, had by his Wife *Mary* two H  
sons, *Andronicus* who had afterwards the Empire, and *Michael* surnamed the Despot, and two  
daughters, *Anne* married to *Thomas* prince of Epirus, and *Theodora* married to the prince of Bul-  
garia. Of all these, the old Emperor *Andronicus* their grandfather so intirely loued *Andronicus*  
his nephew, as that in comparison of him he seemed little to regard either his own children,  
or the rest of his nephews, wishing them all rather to perish than him. Which many suppo-  
sed him to do, as purposing by him the better to establish the succession of the empire in his  
house, as also for his excellencie of wit, and comliness of person; the likenesse of name also  
happily furthering his kind affection. For which reasons he caused him to be honorably brought  
vp in his court, as not willing to spare him out of his sight either day or night. But when he  
was out of his childhood, and grown to be a lusty youth (at which time mens hot desires are  
commonly most vehement) he began to contemn all chastisement and gouernment, especial-  
ly in to high a calling, and in the prime of his youth. Besides that, his Companions became I  
vnto him the ministers and persuaders of all those vain delights which vnstaid youth most de-  
sireth, and at the first began to lead him forth to walk the streets, to hawk, to hunt, and haunt  
playes, and afterwards to night walks also, not well becomming his state. Which riotous course  
of life, when as it required great expence, and his aged grandfather gaue him but a certaine  
spare allowance for his conuenient maintenance; he acquainted himselfe with the rich mer-  
chants of Genoa which dwelt at Pera. Hereof arose hard taking vp of mony, great debt, fine  
deuices how to come by Coin, with secret consultations and purposes of flight. For when  
he saw his grandfather old *Andronicus* long to liue, and his father *Michael* like to succeed him, K  
he had no hope of aspiring to the Empire: wherupon his ambitious thoughts and impotent  
desires long time tormenting his haughty heart suggested vnto him such purposes. For when  
as he would not obey his grandfather as his tutor, nor follow other mens counsels, as a child,  
he fought after the Imperial liberty, and abundance of wealth, that he might haue that was  
sufficient for himself, and wherewith to reward others as the followers of an Emperor. Which  
seeing he could not do, his grandfather yet liuing, and his father reigning, he fought after the  
soveraignty of other Principalities and Countries: one while after Armenia, as belonging  
vnto him in the right of his mother the King of Armenia's Daughter: Another while after  
Peloponnesus; and sometimes he dreamed of Lesbos and Lemnos, and other the fruitful Isles  
of the Aegean sea. Which when it was secretly told, sometime to his Father, and sometime to  
his grandfather, he was now crossed and reprooued of the one, and afterwards of the other. L  
And to passe ouer many other his youthfull pranks, he vsed in his night walks secretly to re-  
pare vnto a certaine Gentlewomans house, more honourably borne, than honestly qualified;  
which woman, a certaine Gallant (and another *Adonis*) no lesse affected than himselfe.  
Wherewith he highly offended, as with his Riual, appointed certaine Ruffians and Fencers  
to watch her house. But vpon a certain time about midnight, *Manuel* the Despot (his younger  
brother) seeking after him, chanced to passe that way where these Watchmen lay, who seeing  
him hasten by, and not knowing him in the darke, and supposing him to haue bin the man  
which they looked for, the Gentlewomans best beloued, set vpon him, and so wounded him  
that he fell down for dead from his horse: but beeing by and by after known by others com-  
ming in, he was taken vp and halfe dead caried vnto the Court. Which outrage in the morn-  
ing beeing knowne vnto the Emperour, cast him into a great heauinesse, as beholding not  
the time present only, but wisely considering what was like to insue in the time to come also.  
But *Manuel* the Despot being dead of the wounds there receiued, and the report thereof  
brought vnto *Michael* the yong Emperor his father, then lying at Theffalonica, strooke him  
to

A to the heart with so great a griefe, that falling sick with the conceit thereof, he shortly after  
died.

*Andronicus* the vnstaid Youth neuertheless holding on his wonted course, with a secret  
purpose to haue fled, became thereby still more and more suspitious to his aged grandfather,  
not a little carefull vnto what end those his violent passions would at length tend. And there-  
fore appointed one *Syrigianus*, a man of great credit and authority in the Court (in whom as  
in a reconciled enemy, he had vnaduisedly reposed too much trust) to insinuate himselfe in-  
to the youthfull Princes acquaintance and fauor; that so founding him and his secret de-  
signes, he should not possibly be able without his knowledge to step aside: which of all things  
the old Emperor feared most, as the beginning of greater troubles. This *Syrigianus* beeing a  
B man of great place, and of a subtil wit, was sometime himself suspected of aspiring, and there-  
fore as vpon the misprision of treason, was by the old Emperor imprisoned: but afterwards  
by him againe enlarged and receiued into fauour, was now by him put in trust, warily to ob-  
serue the doings of the yong Prince. But he not vnmindefull of the wrong before done vnto  
him, and in hope by troubling the State, either to aspire vnto the empire himselfe, or at least-  
wise to some good part thereof; thought now a fit occasion to be ministred vnto him, for him  
to work vpon, both for the one and the other, by setting the old Emperour and his ambitious  
yong Nephew together by the ears. Which opportunitie he not minding to let slip, taking  
the yong Prince one day aside, discovered vnto him all his Grandfathers deuices, in briebe as  
followeth.

C Your Grandfather, Noble Prince (said he) hath set me as a Watch over your actions, or more truly  
to say, as a Blood-hound, to seeke after not your doings only, but if it were possible, euen after your most  
secret thoughts also: and so whilst he maliciously prepareth for you snares and fetters, you not aware  
thereof, foolishly follow your shallow and childish conceits. For what shall it auail you secretly to fly a-  
way? whereas if the best chance, yet must you (as the common saying is) put your feet vnder another mans  
table, and line at his charge; if it fall not out worse, that you be slain or made away by them you fly vnto  
for reliefe, or els fall into the snares by your Grandfather layd for you. But if so be that casting behind  
you these your fond deuices, you will hearken to my counsell, I will shew you a ready way, how you shall in  
short time, and without any danger, aspire vnto the Imperial seat and dignitie: The only way wherunto  
D is this, If you leauing the City of Constantinople, shall flie out into the Cities and Provinces of Thracia:  
For seeing men are commonly by nature desirous of change, and the miserable Thracians are by often ex-  
actions grievously vexed; if you shall but once proclaim a redresse of their grievances, with immunity for  
euer, they will all with one accord follow you whithersoever you will, your grandfathers long and heauy  
yoke being cast off, as if it were *Silphus* his heauy stone, which they had long rolled, and neuer the neere.  
If you like of this aduice, I will be vnto you both the Author and leader of this exploit, and will easily  
bring to good effect the whole matter: so that you again on the other side promise vnto mee vpon your  
Faith, to reward this my trauell according to my desert therein. But what rewards shall these be? Honou-  
rable preferments, large possissions, great reuenues, the first place in your fauor, and that no great matter  
be done or concluded without my consent and knowledge. For you see how willingly I make myselfe parta-  
ker of your calamity, and companion of your dangers, no necessity inforcing me therunto; forgetting euen  
E my very faith, in comparison of the loue and Zeal I bear towards you; wherein if any mishap shall by the  
mutabilitie of fortune befall me, I haue set down my selfe with patience to endure it: all which conside-  
red, you need not to grudge to yeeld to my requests, if you tender your owne safety. And forasmuch as the  
shortnesse of time will suffer no long consultations, and that delay bringeth extream danger; let vs speedi-  
ly impart the matter vnto such others as for the hatred of the Emperour are like to keep our counsell, and  
may yet much further our designs.

The yong Prince moued with this speech as if it had bin with a Charm, easily consented  
to his desire, confirming the same by his Oath conceiued in writing. At which time were pre-  
F sent such as were especially to be acquainted with the plot of the conspiracie, namely *Iohn*  
*Catacagenus* and *Theodorus Synadenus* (both men of great honor, and the old Emperors ancient  
supposed friends, and of him beloued, much of like age vnto himselfe) and *Alexius Apocaneus*  
the third (not of like honor with the other, yet a man of great place, and of a most subtil and  
deep wit) who all vnderstanding the matter, shewed themselves not as ministers, but as Ring-  
leaders,

leaders and captains of the intended rebellion. This conspiracy with most solemn oaths and promises on every part confirmed, they began right cunningly to attempt the matter: and to begin withall, *Syrgianus* and *Catacuzenus*, by corrupting diuers of the great and most gracious countie, procured to themselves the government of such cities and prouinces in Thracia, as they thought fittest for them to begin their rebellion in. *Syrgianus* hauing the government of the sea coast, and the inland country euen from the sea side to the top of mount Rhodope; and *Catacuzenus* the government of the country about Orestias. In all which places they mustered souldiers, provided armor, entertaining also strangers and other vagrant and masterlesse men, as for some great War. Besides that, in the government of the Cities they placed their trustiest friends, removing such others as they had in suspect. All which they colored by rumors falsely raised, one while of the coming of the European Tartars from Danubius, and another while by the coming of the Turks out of Asia: against whose inuasions these preparations were giuen out to be made, for auoiding of suspicion; and the traitors for their proud and carelessly commended euen by the Emperor himselfe, against whom they were intended. All which things *Syrgianus* notably dissembled, oftentimes withall certifying the yong Prince, what he had done, and what was likewise of him to be performed.

But the old Emperor seeing his youthful Nephew not to hearken to his graue aduice, but still to proceed in his dissolute kind of life, was about solemnly to haue reproofed him before the Patriark and some others of the chiefe nobility, if haply such open reproofe might haue wrought in him some change of maners; if not, then to haue committed him to prison. And like enough he was to haue so done, had he not bin otherwise perswaded by *Theodorus Mitochitis* (who of all others was able to do most with him) by reason of the liberty of the time; for then it was almost Shrouetyde, when as the people dis tempered with the excesse of meat and drink, were of all other times most fit, vpon any light occasion to be drawn into a tumult or vprore: for fear whereof, he was contented at that time to let him alone. But Shrouetyde past, and a good part of Lent also; the old Emperor seeing no amendment in his Nephew, calling vnto him *Gerasimus* the Patriark, and the rest of the reuerend Bishops then present in the city, sent for his Nephew, openly before them all to chide and schoole him for his disorderly life, but especially for his purposed flight; that ashamed of such open reproof before such Reuerend fathers, he might either amend his life, or at leastwise of all men be thought justly punished for the same, if he should still proceed therein. So the yong Prince being sent for, came, accompanied with many of his fauorits and followers, most of them being secretly armed, and he himselfe not altogether vnprovided: for it was agreed among them, that if the Emperor should vse gentle and fatherly admonitions toward him, that then they should bee quiet, without any shew of insolency or discontent: but if he should in anger reprove him, or threaten to punish him, then vpon a sign giuen, forcibly with their swords drawn to break in vpon him, and to kil him in the Imperial seat, and without more ado to place yong *Andronicus* his nephew in his stead. But coming in, and (as his manner was) taking his place next his aged grandfather, his desperat followers attending without, he was indeed of him grievously blamed and reproofed for his former follies and euil course of life; yet with such moderation and gravity, as all seemed (as it did) to come of a most fatherly care and regard: so that then no such outrage was committed as was by diuers his followers wished; but the assembly quietly dismissed, and a solemn oath taken on both sides: of the grandfather, That he should not appoint any but his nephew to succeed him in the Empire; and of the yong Prince, That hee should neuer seeke to attempt any thing to the shortning or hurt of his Grandfathers life or empire. But the conspirators thronging about him at his coming out, fretted and fumed at him as if he had broken his faith and oath before giuen them; saying, *What greater wrong couldst thou doe, than being by vs made strong, and become dreadful to thine enemies, to dispose of thine affairs at thy pleasure, to thine own safety, and to leaue vs thy most faithfull friends and seruants in the Devils mouth to be denoured?* For now they both doubted & feared lest their conspiracie was discovered. With which speeches he both discouraged and ashamed, sent for *Theodorus Metochitis* his Grandfathers chiefe Counsellor, requesting him to deal with his Grandfather for the pardoning of all his followers, as he had done for himselfe. Of which motion he disliking, told him, That he was to giue God thanks, for that he himselfe had escaped so great a danger; and to him also, as a mean for the safeguard of his life: although hee treated not for such traitorous

- A traitorous persons, with whom if he were well aduised he would haue nothing to do, either thinke that they would euer be faithfull to him, who respecting neither God nor man, had so foully broken their faith before giuen vnto the Emperour his Grandfather. With which unexpected answer of so great and graue a Counsellor the Prince not a little troubled, & withall discontented, stood a while as in a muse all silent, reasoning as it were with his own passions: but afterwards commanding him without further reply to depart, and the old companions of his follies resorting vnto him, he by their persuations entertained again his former disloyall thoughts and designements: which his grandfather vehemently suspecting, and therewith not a little grieued, would (as if it had bin by inspiration) oftentimes in his heauinesse say vnto them that were about him, *In our time is lost the Majesty of our Empire, and the deuotion of the Church.* Yet to prevent the worst, he thought it good betimes to lay hands vpon his suspected Nephew, and so to detain him in safe keeping: acquainting none therewith but *Gerasimus* the Patriark, and his Ghostly Father; who presently acquainted the Prince therewith, and was the cause that he hastned his flight, flying himself before. For he now certainly vnderstanding the danger he was in, the night before he should haue bin apprehended, with all the rest of the conspirators his complices, in the dead time of the night fled out of the City, by the gate called *Gyrolimnia*, which Gate (all the rest being shut) was still at his command, for that he vsed commonly therby at his pleasure very early to go out on hunting, as he now pretended to do; but the next day after, came to *Syrgianus* and *Catacuzenus* Camp, who then both lay with a great power at *Hadrianople*, expecting his coming. The old Emperor before the rising of the Sun aduertised of the flight of his nephew, the same day commanded him to be proclaimed Traitor, and proscribed, with all his Conspirators, and whoeuer els should take his part. And for the more surety, every man in the city was sworn to be loyal and faithfull vnto the old Emperor, and enemy vnto his Nephew and his adherents. But he on the other side proclaiming liberty and immunitie abroad in all the Cities and Villages in Thracia, so won the hearts of the Countrey people in generall, that they resorted vnto him from all places in great numbers, ready armed to do whatsoever he should command them. And to begin withall, they first layd hands vpon the Collectors of the Emperors mony (then abroad in the Countrey) whom they ill intreated, taking from them their money. After that, and yet not seuen dayes expired, almost an incredible number of horsemen, footmen, archers and others departed from *Hadrianople* toward *Constantinople*, vnder the leading of *Syrgianus*, in hope at their first coming to take the City, being at discord within it selfe, and most part of the meaner sort, in hope of gain, fauoring their rebellious proceedings, such as the seditious find in such rebellious tumults. So hauing marched four dayes, they came and incamped at *Selyrbia*: but as they were about to haue gon on farther, the old Emperor doubting lest the citifens seeing so great an army before the City, should therein raise some tumult or stir to the indangering thereof; thought good before to send Embassadors vnto his Nephew, to proue if haply these so dangerous troubles might by their means in some good sort be appeased. The chiefe of these Embassadors was one *Theoleptus* Bishop of *Philadelphia*, a man no lesse famous for his vertue than his wisdom, and yet for both of all men honored; & with him also was sent *Syrgianus* his mother, as of all others fittest to appease her son, and to persuaade him not to approach the city, for that thereof might ensue much bloodshed, and the destruction of the city, or at leastwise the vtter vndoing of many: whereof if he should bee the author, how could he euer after liue in conscience quiet, but that the torment thereof would follow him euen into his graue; and therefore to request him to retyre a little, and so to come to talk and to demand what he pleased. *Syrgianus* moued as well with the presence of the reuerend Bishop, as the prayers of his mother, retyred to the yong Prince which then lay about *Orestias*; whither the Emperors Embassadors came also: with whom, after long debating, it was agreed. That the yong Prince should in all royall maner hold all Thracia, from *Cristopolis* to *Rhegium*, and the suburbs of *Constantinople*: and withal, that such lands as the yong prince had already giuen vnto his followers, in *Macedonia*, should still remaine vnto them (which were such as yearly yielded vnto them a right great reuenue: ) And that the old Emperour should hold vnto himselfe the Imperiall City, with all the Cities and Prouinces of *Macedonia* beyond *Cristopolis*: and that he alone should haue the honour to heare Embassadors sent from forrein Princes, and to giue them their dispatch; for that the yong Prince took no pleasure

Thracia revolted vnto Andronicus.

Articles of Agreement betwixt the old Emperour and his Nephew.

face in those weighty affairs, as by nature more delighted in hawking, hunting, and his other youthfull pleasures. Upon which conditions a peace was concluded, better liked of the yong Prince than of the old Emperour, who although he was desirous otherwise to haue redress to great wrongs, yet wanting power, was glad to yeeld to what his nephew would request. Thus was the Greeke empire in Europe (as then all or the most part inclosed within the bounds of Macedonia and Thracia) now diuided betwixt the grandfather and his nephew: Asia in the mean time (wherein the Greeke Emperors their predecessors sometime held great kingdoms) being left for a prey to the greedy Turks. *Othoman* on the one side euen in the heat of these troubles, during the foundation of his empire in Phrygia & Bithynia; and the other the Turks Princes the successors of Sultan *Aladin* encroching as fast vpon the emperors territories and countries on this side the river *Mæander*. And not so contented, at the same time also built great store of gallies, wherewith they robbed the Christian Merchants trading to Constantinople, and spoyled the coasts of Macedonia and Thracia, and the Islands of the *Ægeum*, and among others took the famous Island of the *Rhodes*; which they held not long, before they were againe driuen out of the same by the Kings Hospitallers, vnder the conduct of *William* *William*, aided by the Genowaises and the King of Sicilia, which they from that time held to the great honor and benefit of the Christian commonweale by the space of 214 yeres, known by the name of the Knights of the *Rhodes*: vntill that in the memory of our fathers it was (I say no more, but grieue therefore) shamefully lost vnto the Turke, for want of reliefe; neuer place being more honorably defended, as in the processe of this History shall appeare: euer since which time those honorable men (the flower of chivalry) haue seated themselves in the Isle of *Malta*, which they to their immortall glory, and the comfort of all good Christians, haue most nobly defended against the mighty Sultan *Solyman*, and all the fury of the Turks, as shall be also in due place declared.

But to turne againe vnto the troubled estate of the Greeke empire. *Syrgiannes* the Greeke captain & author of all the aforesaid stirs betwixt the old emperor and his nephew, had euen from the beginning thought, as a companion to the yong Prince, to haue ruled al with him at his pleasure, and that nothing either great or little should haue bin don without him: but seeing it now to fall out far otherwise than he had before expected, and the Prince to be wholly ruled by *Citacezenus*, and himselfe of all others left regarded, & not so much as called to any countell; inwardly tormented with grieue and enuy, he began secretly with himselfe to deuise how he might be reuenged of the vngratefull Prince, which vnmindfull of his former promises, had so vnthankfully cast him off. Wherefore he resolued againe to reuolt to the old Emperour not doubting but so in short time to ouerthrow all the counceils and deuices of the yong Prince, together with his state also, by himselfe before raised. For he, as worldly wise, excluding God from his counceils, had such an opinion of himselfe, that which way soeuer he went, thither must all things follow also. Wherefore by one of his trustiest friends he secretly made the old Emperour acquainted with his purposed reuolt, and how all things stood: for the greater credit thereof alleading, That he could not abide the sight of him that sought to corrupt his wife, meaning the yong Prince. This newes from *Syrgiannes* was vnto the old Emperour most welcome: for it grieued him (as an old man of a great spirit) to see himselfe so contemned and deluded by his nephew, his empire rent, and his old seruitors of all sorts, by him spoyled of their lands and possessions in Macedonia and Thracia. So a solemne oath in secret passed from the one to the other, *Syrgiannes* without longer stay secretly fled to Constantinople: which there bruted abroad, reioyced many, now well hoping the whole gouernment would againe come vnto the old Emperour, and that so they should againe recover their possessions wrongfully taken from them by his nephew. But God not seeing it so good, all this hope was but in vaine, as ere long it appeared: for the yong Prince, who of long knew how much he was beloved of the Constantinopolitans, and by them secretly sent for, taking occasion vpon the flight of *Syrgiannes*, with all the power he could make, marched towards the city: and being come within sight thereof, incamped, laying ambushes vpon euery way and passage therabout, for to haue intercepted *Syrgiannes*, who was then at *Perinthus*, and the third night after, with three hundred select soldiers, deceiuing them that lay in wait for him as if they had bin all asleepe, before the rising of the Sun came to Constantinople: and if the old Emperour would haue giuen him leaue, he had suddenly charged them that did lie in wait for him, before they were

were aware of his coming. But as soon as it was day, the Prince hearing of the escape of *Syrgiannes*, and no such tumult in the city as he had expected, presently without more ado retyred with his army the same way he came, back againe into Thracia.

By and by after, *Constantine* the Despot was by the old Emperour his brother sent by sea to Thessalonica, to take vpon him the gouernment of Macedonia, and by the way to apprehend *Xene* the Emperesse, the yong Princes mother; and after, with all the power he could make, to inuade the yong Prince in Thracia: that so setting on him on the one side out of Macedonia, and *Syrgiannes* with the Turks (for the emperor in this ciuill discord was glad to vse their help also) and the Bithynian soldiers on the other, they might so shut him vp betwixt them and take him. According to which resolution, the Despot comming to Thessalonica, there took the Emperesse, whom with all her family he thrust into a gally, and so sent her to Constantinople, where she was in the palace kept close, as too much fauouring the Princes proceedings. And afterward raising all the power he could in Macedonia, inuaded the Prince in Thracia, breaking by force thorow the walls of *Cristopolis*.

The yong Prince seeing himselfe by this means now like to be driuen to a great streit, sent *Synadenus* with his Thracian army to defend the frontiers of his empire toward Constantinople, against *Syrgiannes* with his Turks and Bithynians: in hope himselfe by many subtle deuices and sleights to be able to incounter his vnkle the Despot. And first he caused diuers Edicts and proscriptions to be written in haile, wherein great rewards and preferments were with great solemnitie of words promised to whomsoever could bring vnto him the Despot either quick or dead: which were of purpose giuen to the country people passing to and fro, to be dispersed abroad in the highways, and about in the country neer the Despots camp. And after that, he caused the death of the Emperour his grandfather to be euery where proclaimed, and how that he was by the Constantinopolitans in a tumult slain: which the deuilers thereof in euery place reported. Yea some there were that swore they were themselves present at his wofull death, and saw it with their eies: other some, more certainly to persuaide the matter, shewed long white goats hair, or such like gathered out of white wool, as if they had been by the furious people pluckt from the old Emperours head or beard, at such time as he was slaine. Which things being commonly reported in euery town and village, but especially in the Despots camp, wonderfully filled mens heads with diuers strange and doubtfull thoughts. Then diuers also of the dispersed edicts being found and brought to the Despot, struck him, and not without cause, into a great fear; in somuch that by the persuation of his best friends, he without longer stay retyred in haile to Thessalonica: whither shortly after came a gally from Constantinople, with secret letters from the Emperour to the Despot, for the apprehension of twenty five of the chiefe citifens, vehemently suspected for the stirring vp of the people to rebellion, and so to haue deliuered the city to the Prince. All which persons the Despot should haue sent bound in that Gally to Constantinople. But they in good time perceiuing the danger they were in, secretly stirring vp the people, and by and by after ringing out the bells, (the signal appointed for the beginning of the rebellion) had in a short time raised a wonderful tumult within the city, in somuch that all the citifens was vp in armes, who running headlong vnto the house of the Despot, found not him (for he forewarned of their coming, was fled into the castle) but slew all they met of his, or els robbing them, cast them in prison. As for the Despots house, they pillaged it, & afterward pulled it down to the ground. Then comming to the castle they fired the gates: which the Despot seeing, and not able to defend the place, took horse and fled to a monastery not far off, where being taken by them that pursued him, he sore against his will, for the safeguard of his life, tooke vpon him the habit of a Monk. Neuertheles he was from thence caried prisoner to the yong Prince his nephew, who shewed himselfe much more curteous to him than all the rest of the Nobilitie and Waiters; for they as if they would haue eaten him vp, were euen forthwith ready to haue torn him in pieces, had not the Prince embracing him in his arms saued his life. Yet the next day after, by persuation of his Counsel, he sent him to *Didimoticum*, where he was cast into a most lothsome prison, being very deep and streit in manner of a Well, no body to attend vpon him but one boy; where he lay in miserable darknesse and stink: they which drew vp his ordure from him and the boy oftentimes (either by chance or of purpose) pouring it vpon his head. Where after he had lien a great while in most extreme misery (wishing to die, and could not) hee was at length

length by the Princes commandement, intreated thereunto by certain Religious men, remo-  
ued into a more easie prison, where we will for euer leaue him.

Things falling out crosse with the old Emperor, and although they were neuer so well de-  
vised, still sorting out vnto the worst, he became very peniue and doubtful what to do. So it  
fortuned, that one day in his melancholy minde hauing a Psalter in his hand, to resolute his  
doubtfull mind he opened the same, as if it were of that heavenly oracle to ask counsell: wher-  
in the first verse that he light vpon was, *Dum caelestis dissociat Reges, nixue conspergentur in Salmon:*  
*When the Almighty scatter Kings (for their sakes) then were they as white as snow in Salmon.* The  
which he applying to himselfe, as if all those troubles and whatsoeuer els had happened, pro-  
ceeded from the will of God, although for causes to him vnknown: hee by and by sought to  
reconcile himself to his nephew, contrary to the mind of *Syrigianes*, who desired nought but  
trouble. For (as we haue before said) the yong Prince, although he was desirous of the power  
and liberty of an empire, yet he left the ornaments and care thereof vnto his grandfather: and  
had he not oftentimes and earnestly bin egged forward by his companions to assest the whole  
Empire, haply could and would haue contented himselfe with the former Pacification. For  
being now sent for, he came first to Rhegium, and there visited his mother (now set at liberty,  
and sent thither for the furtherance of the desired pacification) where he with her and by her  
counsell did whatsoeuer was there done. So within few daies the matter was brought into so  
good terms that an attornment was made, and he himselfe went and met the Emperour his  
grandfather before the gates of the city; the old Emperor sitting then vpon his horse, and the  
Prince alighting from his a good furlong before he came at him. And although his Grand-  
father was very vnwilling, and forbade him so to do, yet he came to him on foot, and kissed his  
hand and foot as he sat on horseback; and afterward taking his horse, embraced him, & there  
killed each other, to the great contentment of the beholders. And so hauing talked some few  
words, departed; the old man into the city, and the yong man into his campe, which then lay  
neer to Pega: where staying certain days, he came diuers times into Constantinople, and so  
went out again; for as then his mother, partly for her health, partly for the loue of her son, lay  
at Pega.

But *Syrigianes* nothing glad of the agreement made betwixt the Emperor and his nephew,  
walked vp and down sick in mind, with an heauy countenance, especially for that in time of  
peace his busy head stood the Commonweal in no stead. Wherefore in all meetings and as-  
semblies he willingly conuersed with them who most disliked of the present state, & spake  
hardly as well of the Emperor as of his nephew, wronged (as he thought) by both; whereas  
in the time of their greatest distresse, he had (as hee said) stood them in good stead. But seeing  
one *Asanes* *Andronicus* walking melancholy vp and down as a man with heauines oppressed;  
who hauing don good seruice to the yong Prince, and not of him regarded, had fled to the old  
Emperor, and there found no such thing as he expected, for the ease of his grief, although hee  
was a man honorably born, and otherwise endued with many good parts: with him *Syrigianes*  
acquainted himselfe, as grieued with the like griefe that hee himselfe was, with whome as  
with his friend, without dissimulation he plainly discoursed of all such things as his grief de-  
sired. But *Asanes* handling him with great wisdom, did himself with like words speak hard-  
ly both of the Emperor and his nephew; but yet curiously noted whatsoeuer *Syrigianes* said,  
for he had before hated him for his ambition, and as then took it in displeasure, that hee was  
enemy to *Catanzenus* his son in law, who was all in all with the yong Prince, & did oftentimes  
comfort him. But the long being thorowly set, *Asanes* came secretly vnto the old Emperour,  
and told him the whole matter; and in fine, that except he in time layd hold on *Syrigianes*, af-  
fecting the empire, he should in short time be by him brought to his end. Whereupon *Syrigianes*  
was forthwith clapt fast in prison: whose house with all his wealth the common people  
took the spoil of; and not contented to haue rased it downe to the ground, conuerted the site  
therof, together with the pleasant Vineyards adjoining vnto the same, into a place to feed  
goats and sheep in: a worthy reward for his manifold treacheries. The yong Prince shortly  
after going to Constantinople, was there crowned Emperor, as fellow in the Empire with his  
grandfather: vnto which solemnitie in the great temple of *Sophia*, both the Emperors riding,  
it fortuned the old Emperor by the stumbling of his horse to be overthrowne and foully be-  
rayed in the mire; the streets being then very foul by reason of much rain but a little before  
fallen:

A fallen; which many took as ominous, and portending the euill fortune which shortly after  
befell him. During the time of this peace, it fortuned that as the yong Prince was a hunting  
in Chersonesus, seuentie Turks aduenturers were by force of weather driuen on shore: who be-  
fore they would yeeld themselves prisoners, made a great fight with the Emperors men, and  
slew diuers of them: in which conflict the yong Emperor himselfe was wounded in the foot,  
wherewith he was a great while after exceedingly tormented.

*Andronicus* the late Prince, and now fellow in the empire with his aged Grandfather, held  
not himselfe long so contented, but after the maner of ambitious men (and continually prickt  
forward by his aspiring fauorites) longed to haue the whole gouernment to himselfe, which  
hardly brooketh any partner. And therefore weary to see his grandfather liue so long, resolved  
B no longer to expect his naturall death (although it could not by course of Nature be far off)  
but by one deuice or other to thrust him from the gouernment: or if that might not bee ef-  
fected, at once to dispatch him both of life & state together. And the surer to lay the plot wher-  
on so foul and horrible a treason was to be built, he by the counsell of his mother and others,  
by whom he was most directed, sent for *Michael* the Prince of Bulgaria his brother in law (al-  
though before to him vnknown, as was his wife his sister also) to make with him a firm league,  
to the intent by him to prouide, that if the Prince of Serbia (who had but lately married the  
old Emperors nigh kinswoman, and so to him much deuoted) should take part with him, hee  
should by the Bulgarian his neighbor be intangled. Who so sent for, with his wife the old  
Emperors daughter, came to Didymoticum, where they were many dayes honorably enter-  
C tained both by the yong Emperor and his mother. For why, this meeting plotted vpon great  
treason, was finely colored with the desire the yong Emperor had to see his sister and her hus-  
band, as before to him vnknown; and the Emperesse her daughter, whom he had not seene in  
23 years before: but the secret conclusion betwixt them was, That the Bulgarian prince to  
the vttermost of his power should aid the yong emperor against his grandfather, and he like-  
wise him against the Serbian, as he should haue need. And further, That if his grandfather  
being depofed, he should recouer the whole empire, then to giue him a great summe of mony  
with certain speciall cities and prouinces confining vpon him, as in dowry to his kind brother  
in law and companion in his labors. So *Michael* the Bulgarian prince honorable entertained  
by the yong Emperor and the old Emperesse his mother in law, ploded with rewards, and pro-  
D mises of greater, returned home into his own country.

This matter thus dispatched, the yong emperor therewith encouraged, & knowing also the  
Constantinopolitans, besides the other cities of Thrace, exceedingly to fauour him and his  
proceedings (by whom also he was secretly inuited to hasten his comming thither) as weary  
of the long life and lazines, as he termed it, of his grandfather, thought it best cunningly to  
go about the matter, that so his grandfather being with as little stir as might be depofed, hee  
himselfe might alone enjoy the Empire. But needing mony for the effecting of so great mat-  
ters, he by force took all the mony from the collectors whom the old Emperor had sent into  
Thracia for the taking vp of mony there; telling them, that he was an emperor also, & in need  
of money, and that the common charge was likewise by the common purse to be discharged.  
E After that he took his way toward Constantinople, pretending vpon speciall causes hee had  
occasion to send Embassadors to the Sultan of Egypt, for the transporting of whom hee was  
there to take order for the setting forth of a great ship & other things necessary for the jour-  
ney. Neither went he slenderly appointed, but with a great power, the Cities of Thracia be-  
fore well assured vnto him, such as he suspected being thrust out of office, and others more as-  
sured vnto him being placed in their steads. But whilst he thus bestirred himselfe, one of  
those that were most inward with him, detesting so foul a treason, secretly fled from him to  
his Grandfather, from point to point discouering vnto him all the intended treacheries; and  
withall, that his nephew had determined to depofe him from his empire, or otherwise to be-  
reave him of his life, if he should stand on his gard; but if in the attempt he should find easy  
F successe, then to spare his life, and depriving him of the Imperiall dignity, to thrust him as a  
Monk into a Monastery. And therefore aduised him to beware how he suffered him after his  
wonted manner to come into the City (for fear of a generall reuolt) but rather by force to  
keep him out. Which the Emperour hearing, and comparing with other things which hee  
had heard of others, yet sounding in his ears, deeming it to be true, stood vp, and in the an-  
guish

A treacherous  
meeting.

guilt of his soul thus complained vnto God: *Renenge my quarrell, O God, upon them that doe mee wrong, and let them be ashamed that rise up against me: and preserve thou vnto me the Imperial power, which by thee giuen vnto me, he commeth to take from me, whom I my selfe begot and aduanced.* After, he began to consider what course to take for the assurance of himselfe and his state in so great a danger. And first he sent vnto his Nephew (come half way) to forbid him from entering the City; and to tell him, that it was a great folly for him, being so manifest a traitor both vnto his Grandfather and the State, to think his traitorous purposes to be vnkowne to the World. And beside, in way of reproofe to rehearse vnto him, how many occasions he had giuen for the breaking of the League with his Grandfather; first, in taking away the money from the Collectors, whereof the State neuer stood in more need, by reason of the diuision of the Empire, which required double charge. Then, in that hee had in the City euery where displaced such gouernors and magistrats as his grandfather had sent thither, and placed others at his pleasure. With many other like facts declaring his treacherous aspiring mind, for which he was, not without cause, by his grandfather forbidden to enter the city. After that, the old emperor by secret letters craued aid of *Charles* Prince of *Servia*, and *Demetrius* the Despot his son, who was then Gouernor of *Theffalonica* and the countries adjoining, commanding him with *Andronicus* and *Michael* his nephews (gouernors of *Macedonia*) with all the forces they were able to raise, and such aid as should bee sent them out of *Servia*, with all speed to joine together, and to go against the yong Emperor. But these letters thus written vnto the Prince of *Servia* the Despot, and others (as is before said) were for the most part intercepted, by such as the yong emperor had for that purpose placed vpon the streits of *Cristopolis* and the other passages, especially such as were written in paper; yet some others in fine white linnen cloth, and secretly sowed in the garments of such as carried them, escaped for all their streit search, and so were deliuered. And in truth nothing was done or about to be don in *Constantinople*, but that the yong Emperor by one or other was aduertised thereof: Whereas the old Emperor on the other side vnderstood nothing what his Nephew did abroad, or intended. For all men of their own accord inclined to him, some openly both in body and soul, as they say, and such as could not be with him in person, yet in minde and good will were euen present with him: and that not only the common sort of the citifens of *Constantinople*, but the chief Senators, the great Courtiers, yea and many other of the Emperors neere kinsmen also: Who curiously obseruing what soeuer was done in the city, forthwith certified him thereof. Among whom there was also *Theodoros* the Marquis, one of the old Emperours own sons, who many years before by the Emperresse his mother sent into *Italy*, and there honorably married, was by his prodigall course of life there grown far in debt; so that leauing his wife and children behind him, he was glad after the decease of his mother, to fly vnto his father at *Constantinople* and there now liued; who beside that he most honorably maintained him in the Court, and bestowed many great things vpon him, payd also all his debts, which were very great. All which fatherly kindnesse he forgetting, went about most *Iudas* like to haue betrayed his aged father. For he also dreauing after the Empire, and for many causes (but especially for that he was in mind, religion, manners and habit become a Latine) by him rejected; thought hee could nor do him a greater despight, than by reuolting vnto the yong Emperor. So that the neerer he was in blood, the more he was his fathers vnaturall enemy. Shortly after, *Demetrius* the Despot hauing received the Emperors letters at *Theffalonica*, called vnto him *Andronicus* & *Michael* his Nephews, gouernors of *Macedonia*; with whom joining all his Forces, and daily expecting more aid out of *Servia*, he first spoiled the yong Emperors Friends and Fauerits in *Macedonia*, giuing the spoil of them in all the Cities and towns of *Macedonia*, vnto their soldiers, who made hauck of what soeuer they light vpon: and who soeuer seemed any way to withstand them, or dislike of their proceedings, their goods and lands they confiscated, and draue the men themselves into exile. Neither was the yong Emperor *Andronicus* in the mean time idle, but secretly sent out his Edicts into all parts of the Empire, yea into the very Cities of *Constantinople* and *Theffalonica*, and ouer all *Macedonia*: whereby he proclaimed to the people in generall, a releasment of them from all tributes, impositions and payments; and frankly promised vnto the Souldiers and men of War, the augmenting of their pensions and pay. Which newes no sooner bruted abroad, but that most men were therewith moued both in word and deed to fauour his proceedings, doing what soeuer they

A they could to further the same, and by secret letters inuiting him to hasten his coming into the City. Who thereupon coming to *Rhegium*, by his Embassadors sent from thence requested the old Emperor, either to giue him leaue according to the League made betwixt them, to come into the City, or else to send him certain of the chiefe of the Nobilitie and Clergy, with some of the better and more vnderstanding sort of the Bourgers and Citifens also, vnto whom hee might frankly speake his minde, for them faithfully to deliuer the same again vnto the Emperor his Grandfather, and the people. Which requests the old Emperor perceiuing to be full of deceit and treacherie, for a good space answered thereunto nothing at all, but stood all silent, as doubting which to grant. For, to suffer his Nephew to come into the City, he saw was dangerous, the citifens, as hee well knew, being for the most part inclined to reuolt to him so soon as they should once see him within the gates. And to send any forth to him (as he desired) might be, as he feared, an occasion of some tumult to be after raised in the City: for hee knew that his Nephewes drift therein was, openly by faire words, and secretly with great gifts and large promises, first to gain them, & by them the rest of the Citifens. Both which things being dangerous, he made choice of the easier, and sent forth vnto him two of the most noble Senators, two of the most reuerend Bishops, two other graue Prelates, and foure of the chiefe Burgeses of the City: vnto whom at their coming vnto him, hee in the open hearing of all there present, deliuered this premeditated and crafty speech:

The yong emperor sends Embassadors to his Grandfather.

C It is not vnkowne vnto the world, you my Subjects to haue alwayes been more deare vnto mee than I haue been vnto my selfe; and how that I haue not vpon any ambitious conceit, or desire of the ble Gouernment against my Grandfathers good wil, gon out. For you see that I neither spare myne own life, or attend my pleasure, for the care I haue of you: I come not vnto you compassed about with a guard of armed men, as is the manner, not of Kings only, for the enuy of their High place, but of others also of farre meaner Calling, whom disaster fortune, banished from their Parents and Kindred, hath enforced to wander here and there, with death alwayes before their eyes. Let any man tell me how I came by these wounds which I yet beare in my body, but in sight with the Enemies of my Country which passe ouer out of *Asia* into *Thracia*: as also dwelling neere vnto Ister, do with their incursions from thence miserably wast that side of *Thracia* which is next vnto them. For I (to tell you the very truth) seeing the old Emperor by reason of his great yeares to become sloathfull and blackish, and not possible to be awaked out of his drowsie sleepe, neither any whit to grieue, when as the poore Christians his Subjects were both by day and night, some as Sacrifices slaine by the barbarous Enemies, some carried away into most miserable captiuitie, and the rest poore and naked to be violently drinen out of their Houses and Cities: not to speake in the meane time of the greater mischiefs in *Asia*, and how many Cities haue been there lost through the old Emperours sloath and negligence. When I saw these things (I say) stricken with a piercing grief which my heart could not endure, I went out for two causes, either by some kinde of honourable death to end my griefe together with my life, or else to the vttermost of my power to stand my Country in some stead. For by no meanes it can come to passe, but that a man, and he that hath of long time reigned must at length become loathsome vnto his Subjects, and incurre their deadly hatred. For why, God hath made nothing in this life immutable and firme; whereby it commeth to passe, as we see, that all worldly things toy and delight in change. But if a man will as it were force Fortune to his desire, and stricke to binde things vnto a certain firme and constant course, he shall but lose his labour, and in vain strue against Nature. But what soeuer is contrary vnto Nature, or exceedeth the iust bounds thereof, hath in it neither comfort nor delight. This was it that caused the wise men to say, and to leaue vs as rules, Not to dwell too long vpon any thing; and, A measure to be the fairest vertue. For you see how that my grandfather being grown vnto great yeares, and hauing reigned so long, I may almost say, as neuer did any but he, is become hatefull euen vnto all his People: and yet he regarded not, either how to discharge himself of so great a burthen, or how to relieue the declining state of the Empire, or so much as grieueth to see the Successors of the Empire die before him. For my father is dead without any fruit of the Empire, except the bare title only; and others also neereft to him of blood, and far younger than hee, are dead likewise; and haply I my selfe may die also before I shall receive any profit thereof: for what can more easily happen, especially to a man that hummeth no danger, and regardeth not his life? But some perhaps will suspect me of ambition, for departing from the Emperor my Grandfather, and refusing to be ruled by him: Which thing I neither flatly deny, nor altogether confesse; for might I see the Empire encrease, and the bounds

The yong emperor speaks to his Grandfather his Embassadors in his

lands thereof enlarged, I would willingly content my selfe, and at my ease take my rest; cheering my selfe with such hope as do they that beare with their Cooks, making them to stay long for their dinner, in hope that, to sure the better. But seeing the state of the Empire daily to decline from euill to worse, and life miserable people carried away Captiues, or slain by their enemies euen at the gates, and vnder the walls of the Imperiall City, what deem you me then to thinke? For most men ease their present grief with the hope of future good, although the same be but vain. But vnto me is not left euen such vain hope vnto my selfe comfort. And can you maruell at the impotent affection of the great Alexander of Macedonia, giuen and displeased to see his Father heape victory vpon victory, and to cut off all hope of his sons, by leaving him so few occasions of Warre; and not thinke me (to whom the quite contrary is charged, and from whom not only the hope of the Empire is cut off, for the waisting thereof, but euen the course of quiet life to sit and grieve therat? Moued herewith, and not able longer to indure it, at length I arose up, and requested of the Emperour my Grandfather but at home and men at Armes, promising him by the power of God, with them to preserve the Cities in Bithynia, and to drine his Enemies farther off, before that (having them) they should passe ouer the Streight, and besiege the Imperiall City of Constantinople. Which so small a request he not only denied mee, but hath euer since taken mee for his mortall Enemy. But this and many other things let passe: I haue now another request vnto him by you, which is, that he would giue me eight thousand Ducats to content my Souldiers withall, who of long time haue from place to place roamed up and down with mee, following myne uncertaine fortune. Which granted, I will no more be vnto my Grandfather troublesome, but dismissing my Forces, hold my selfe right wel contented.

Having thus said, he rose out of his seat, and taking them apart one after another, courteously discoursed with them, and so filling them with great hopes, sent them away. Who departing from him, and coming into the City, became as it were the open proclaimers of his praises, inflaming the people with a greater desire of him than before. Which the old Emperour hearing, and perceiuing almost all his friends in the City to be in heart reuolted from him, and withall fearing to be of them in some sudden concourse slain, was therewith exceedingly perplexed. Yet he thought it best before any such thing should happen, to proue their minde, and to heare the counsell of the Patriarch and *Afanes*, and the other Bishops also: Vnto whom, being by one of the Senators called together, hee declared his minde as followeth:

Woe I assured, that having deposed my selfe of the Imperiall dignitie, I should my selfe liue in safety, and see my people well gouerned, I would I should neuer be of the company of the Faithfull, if I did not by much prefer a pleasant quiet contented life before an Empire. For if a man would seeke for the pleasure of the minde, what can be more pleasant than to be disburthened of all cares, and free from such dangers as attend high estates? But if for my sinne and the sinnes of my people, as also for the sinne of mine ancessors, the vengeance of God in manner of a violent tempest raging against vs, subuerteth our Empire: and I yet but a youth, by the helpe of God reformed and quieted the state of the Empire, grievously troubled with discord in the Church, and the often inuasion of the enemy; and taught by long experience, know not how in so great hurle and tempest which way to turne my selfe: How can I with safety commit vnto my nephew so great a charge, who as yet is both an vnstaied youth, and so carelesse of his owne good, as that hee knoweth not how well to gouerne his owne private affaires? For giuing euer his power to young vnskillfull men, and hauing slung away his imperiall possessions amongst them, he liueth in penury and want; neither regarding any thing more than his dogges and kites, of which hee keepeth few lesse than a thousand currees, and as many hawkes, and not much fewer men to take vnto them. Wherefore vnto such a man, how may I safely commit either my life, or the administration of mine Empire, by God committed vnto mee? But I will neuer witting and willingly cut away either my subjects or my selfe. For my nephew I haue loued, not only more than my wife and children, but (to say the truth) more than my selfe also; as you well know how tenderly I haue beene to him, how carefully I haue instructed and aduised him, as purposing to haue left him the hert and seele (four both of my wisdom and mine Empire, that so hee might the better please both God and man. But hee, contemning my good counsell, hath spent whole nights in banquetting, and riot, and boozehouses; wherein hee hath also slaine his owne brother: and to bee true, hee hath risen and lifted up his hand against mee his grandfather, and a grandfather that had

A had of him so well deserved, attempting such a villany as the Sun neuer saw. Wherefore you ought also to hate and detest his wickednesse, and to rise vp to restrain his impudent disloyaltie, and by your Ecclesiasticall censure to denounce him unworthy of the Empire and the communion of the faithfull, as one separated from God; that so ashamed and corrected, he may louingly thither return, from whence he is shamefully departed, and again be made heire bush of myne Empire and staiednesse: for there is no man aloue, whom I had rather haue promoted vnto the Empire, so that he would heare my precepts, and obey my counsell. As for the conclusion used in his former speech, it was altogether feigned, crafty and malicious: for you haue heard how many reproches hee hath giuen me in all that speech, wherewith his conclusion agreeth not; but the more to stirre up the hearers thereof against mee, did of purpose so conclude his speech.

B Vpon this, most of the foresayd graue and learned Bishops agreed, That the yong Emperour should no more be named in the prayers of the Church, vntill he had better conformed himself. Howbeit the Patriarch and some others secretly fauouring both him and his proceedings, liked not therof, and therefore saying nothing therunto, returned home vnto their owne house. But meeting once or twice afterwards in the Patriarchs house, they there conspired against the old Emperour: with whom also diuers of the nobilitie consented, and therupon an oath was conceiued in writing, whereby they bound themselves to continue constant in that their wicked resolution. Whereupon about three days after, the Patriarch causing the bells to be rung, and a great number of the common people flocking together, pronounced the sentence of excommunication against all such as should in their publique prayers omit the name of the yong Emperour, or refuse to do him all honor due vnto an Emperour. Which thing not a little grieved the old Emperour, as appeared by his speech in saying, *If the Doctor of peace be so mad against vs, in hope of reward promised by my Nephew, that casting off all shame and grauitie, he doubts not to be the author of sedition; who shall repress the rash attempts of the vulgar people against vs, if we respect but mans help? for the Patriarch so much as in him lieth, is (I see) the murderer of vs.*

The Patriarch with other Bishops conspire against the emperour.

C So the Bishops of the contrary faction, moued with the notable insolencie of the Patriarch, excommunicated him likewise, as he had done them, with his mad followers, as the authors of sedition and faction, and incited with bribes to the troubling of the State: for which cause also he was by the Emperours commandment committed vnto safekeeping in the Monastery called Manganium. But about two days after, the yong Emperour came to the walls of Constantinople, to know how his grandfather had accepted the messengers sent vnto him, earnestly requesting, that it might be lawfull for him alone to enter into the City, to doe his duty to his grandfather. But neither he nor his words were any whit at all regarded, but was by such as stood vpon the walls himselfe with stones drinen away: who could not abide to heare him speak, but shamefully taileed at him, saying all his talk to be nothing els but deceit & fraud: and so for that time hee withdrew a little from the walls. But night being come, certain busie heads amongst the common people, and they not a few, secretly meeting together, gaue him knowledge, that about midnight when as all the citifens were asleep, and the watchmen in securitie, he should come vnto the walls, where they would be ready to draw him vp with ropes,

D vnto the top of the bulwarks: which done, the matter (as they said) were as good as dispatched; for that they were perswaded, that the Citifens so soon as they should once see him in the midst of the city amongst them, would forthwith all reuolt vnto him. So he according to this appointment, about midnight approaching the wals, found there no such matter as he had well hoped, for the receiuing of him into the city; but contrariwise, the watchmen carefully watching all along the wall, and calling one vnto another. Wherefore finding there no hope, hee with *Catanzenus* and *Synadenus* his chief counsellors, leaving the South side of the city, in a little boat rowed softly all along the wall that is toward the sea, if haply they might there find their friends, and so be receiued in. But there the Watchmen also descrying them from the walls, and calling vnto them, but receiuing no answer, began to cast stones at them, and to make a noise. So that deceiued of their purpose, and out of hope, they were glad to get them farther off, and to depart as they came.

E But the euil successe of this exploit was shortly after with his better fortune recompenced: for by and by after, secret letters were sent vnto him from Thessalonica, requesting him with all speed to come thither, assuring him in the name of the Bishop, with diuers of the Nobilitie

Thessalonica yielded to the yong emperour.

tie, and the good liking of the people in general, at his comming to open the gates of the city G vnto him: wherupon he leauing a great part of his army with *Synadenus*, to keep the Constantinopolitans short, hee himselfe with the rest of his power set forward toward Thessalonica, where in the habit off a plain country man he entred the city vn suspected; but being got within the gate, and there casting of that simple attyre, wherwith he had couered his rich & royal garments, and presently known to be the yong Emperor, the people came flocking about him and with many ioyfull acclamations receiued him as their Lord and Soueraign: yet some few more fauoring the old emperor, fled into the castle, and there stood vpon their gard, which after they had for a space notably defended, was at length taken from them.

Thessalonica thus yeilded, *Demetrius*, *Andronicus*, and *Asan Michael*, the old Emperors chief captains, then lying with his army not far off, and not well trusting one another, fled: most of whole soldiers presently went ouer vnto the yong Emperour: who departing from Thessalonica, came to Serre, which by composition was deliuered vnto him also, but not the castle; for that was by *Basilicum Nicophorus* the captain therof, still holden for the old Emperor. This *Basilicum* was a man honorably descended, but of no great capacity or wit, as the finer fort supported; and therefore not of them much regarded, or thought fit for the taking in hand of any great matter: whom yet the old Emperor for his plain sincerity, more than for any thing else, had made captain of that castle, and gouernor of the Countrey therabouts, which he yet still held, and in these most troublesome times shewed himselfe wiser than them all that had so thought of him, of whom some died in despair, some fled, some were taken prisoners, and so suffered a thousand euils; the rest with the losse of their honor traitorously reuolting from the old Emperour to the yong: wheras he alone, looking but euen forward vpon his allegiance, with his trust in God, so long as the old Emperor lived, opposed himselfe against these troubles, and stood fast, and was not to be moued with any faire promises or cruell threats of the yong aspiring Emperor, wherof he lacked none. But hauing strongly fortified the Castle committed to his charge, there kept himselfe, until that hearing of the death of the old Emperor, he then reconciling himself vnto the yong, as vnto his right Soueraign, deliuered vp to him the castle; who in reward of his fidelitie gaue it him again to hold for him, in as ample manner as he had before held it for his grandfather. For wise men honor vertue euen in their enemies, as did King *Philip* in *Demosthenes*, when as he said, *If any Athenian living in Athens doth say that he preferreth me before his country, him verily would I buy with much money, but not thinke him worthy my friendship: but if any for his countrie sake shall hate me, him will I oppugne as a castle, a strong wall, or a Bulwarke; and yet admire his vertue, and reckon the city happy in hauing such a man.* And so in few words to conclude a long discourse, the Emperor in short time hauing romed thorow all Macedonia, and without resistance taken all the strong towns and cities therein, he there took also *Demetrius* the Desports wife & children, with all his treasure, as also the wiues of *Andronicus* and *Asanes*, and of all the Senators that followed them: after whom, the great commanders their husbands were also for the most part taken & cast in prison, some at Thessalonica, some at Didymoticum, some of the rest afterward most miserably perishing in exile. Wherwith the old Emperor discouraged, was about to haue sent Embassadors to his nephew for peace, whilst he was yet thus busied in Macedonia; and had indeed so done, had not another hope arising in the mean time quite altered that his better purpose. It fortuned at the same time, whilst the old Emperor was thus thinking of peace, that *Michael* the Bulgarian Prince, in hope of great profit thereof to arise, secretly offered his aid vnto him against the yong Emperour his Nephew. Of which his offer the old Emperour gladly accepted, and Embassadors were sent to and fro about the full conclusion of the matter, no man being acquainted therewith, more than two or three of the Emperor his most secret friends and trusty Counsellors. Yet in the mean time disdainning to be so coupt up as he was by *Synadenus* one of the yong Emperor his Nephews chiefe Captaines, euen in the Imperial city of Constantinople; sent out one *Constantinus Assan* with the greatest part of his strength against him: who incounting him at the riuier *Maurus*, was there by him in plain battel ouerthrowen and taken prisoner, the rest of his discomfited army flying headlong back again to Constantinople. All things thus prosperously proceeding with the yong Emperour, and the countries of Macedonia and Thracia now almost all at his command, hee returned in hast with all his power, vnto Constantinople, to prevent the comming of the Bulgarians thither, as fearing left

A left that they finding the city weakly manned, should trecherously kil the old Emperor, with such as were about him, and so seise vpon the city themselves; or at leastwise giue him such aid as might keepe him out, and so cut off all his hope for obtaining of the same. At which time also there was great want of victuall in the City, he with his army hauing shut it vp on the one side by land, and the Venetians with their gallies on the other side by sea: who then at odds with the Genoa's dwelling at Pera, kept all that streit sea betwixt Europ and Asia, in such sort as neither victualls nor merchandise could be brought that way, either to Constantinople or Pera. The yong Emperor comming to Constantinople, attempted straitway to enter the city, in hope without any great resistance to be receiued: but being repulsed by the Defendants, he was glad to get him farther off. About this time came also to the city 3000 horsemen, the appointed aid of the Bulgarian Prince, vnto the old Emperour: who although hee wanted men, and was right glad of their comming: yet remembering the harms he had before receiued by forein aid, & not now daring to trust them too far, suffered them not to come into the city, more than their Generall and some few others of the Commanders with him. Now the yong Emperor vpon the comming of this aid, lest some great harm might betyde either the old Emperor or himselfe, to the vtter subuersion of their state; secretly sent vnto his grandfather, requesting him to be well aduised how he trusted those forein people too far, offering himselfe to do whatsoeuer he should command, rather than so great a harm should happen vnto either of them, as was from them to be feared. But the trust the old Emperor had conceiued of this Bulgarian aid, had so confirmed his mind, as that he little listned vnto his Nephews request: Besides that, how could he well trust him that had so often deceived him. Wherwith the yong Emperor much grieued, and now again almost despairing of his further success, dislodged, and drew neer vnto the place where these Bulgarian horsemen lay incamped: from whence he sent certaine Embassadors with great gifts and presents vnto the Generall and the rest of the chief Commanders, promising them far greater, if they would without further troubling themselves returne home again. Whereunto they willingly granted, and so were of him honourably feasted, and the next day after conducted vpon their way homewards.

It fortuned that the yong Emperor returning back again from the Bulgarians, and incamped in the same place where he before lay, two of the Watchmen of the City, the one called *D Camaris*, and the other *Castellanus*, both smiths, fled secretly vnto him. Who admitted to his presence, and all others commanded to depart, except *Catacuzenus*, offered to betray the City vnto him, so that he would vnder his hand writing assure them of such a sum of mony, & such possessions as they required. Which he easily granting, and the hour and maner of performing the same being by them declared and agreed vpon, they by and by without longer delay, for fear of suspicion, returned again into the city. But the Emperor staying four days in the same place, caused certain ladders to be made of great ropes, such as they vse in great ships. But the appointed night beeing come, the two Traitors hauing before provided great store of good wine, liberally gaue the same by way of curtesie vnto the Watchmen their companions neer vnto them: who drank so plentifully therof, that not able any longer to hold vp their heads, E they fell into so sound a sleep, as that but for breathing, they differed not much from dead men. About midnight came certain soldiers of the yong Emperours, with the foresaid ladders, which the traitors by and by drawing vnto them by a rope cast downe, and making them fast vnto the top of the wall, receiued by the same 18 armed men: who being got into the City, without more ado brake open the Roman gate, wherby the yong Emperor with his Army presently entred, no man letting him. But it is worth the marking, how things appointed to befall vs, are by no means to be auoided, although we be thereof before neuer so plainly forewarned: for the same night the city was surprised, immediatly after the setting of the Sun, the gates being shut, a certain countryman came running in al hast from out of a village therby, and knocking hard at the gate called *Girolimna*, required to speak with some of the soldiers; F who beeing come, hee told them that a little before, hee had seen a great number of the yong Emperours men marching towards the City, by the way that leadeth vnto the Roman gate. Which being told vnto the old Emperor, did not a little trouble him: and therefore thought it good to send forth certaine Scouts, to see if all were cleere along the Walls towards the land, from sea to sea. Which his purpose *Metochita* his chiefe Counsellor letted, saying,

Constantinople  
betrayd to the  
yong Emperour.

it not to be seem a courageous mind to be vpon so light an occasion so much moued, for that either the rumor was false, or the indeauor of so few vain, the walls and gates of the city being so filled with armed men, which haply he said not so much vpon ignorance of martiall affairs, as blinded by a certain commanding power, that the supernall decree giuen by God himself against the old Emperor, might at length take place. And againe, the third part of that night yet silent past, diuers other countrymen came running vnto the said gate, Gyrolinna, and told the watchmen vpon the walls, that a great number of men were met together at the Romane gate. Wherof the Emperor hearing, was therewith much more troubled than before; inso-much that sharply rebuking *Metochita*, he said vnto him, Thou seemst to be strangely metamorphosed into a man of iron, which art become so secure as not to haue any feeling of the danger wherwith we are inclosed: Seest thou not that the matter requireth, that wee should not thus sit still and take our rest? For the noise of my nephew foundeth in myne ears as the found of a great drum, and disquieteth my mind: I feel a sea of calamitie broken out against me, which ouerwhelmeth and drownerh my heart and courage. Neuertheles he, firme in his former opinion, made no reckoning of those reports, and therfore rose to go to bed, to shew indeed that he accounted nothing of them but as false alarms. But the Emperor left alone, and nobody with him to whom he might breake his griefe, laid him downe vpon a pallet, not putting off his cloaths, but as if he had together with them put on extreame desperation, lay tumbling to and fro, as a man in mind troubled with diuers sad and heavy thoughts. In the mean time he heard a great noise at the Court gate, and the report of the entering of the yong Emperor his Nephew, with a great clattering of armour, for there were aboue eight hundred foldiers entred with him; and withall, they of the City on euery side saluted him with most joyfull acclamations. But the old Emperour hearing the great tumult and outcry, rose from his pallet, exceedingly troubled; and destitute of all help from his captains and soldiers (for why, his palace was altogether desolate, except of such as were his ordinary waiters) betooke himselfe vnto his prayers, beseeching God not to forsake him in so great a danger, but in his mercy to defend him from the fury of these wicked men. Who presently heard him, & sent him present relief; for whilst he was thus praying in the palace, the yong Emperor without, calling together all his Captains and lieutenants, strictly charged them vpon pain of death, neither by word nor deed to violate the majesty of the old Emperor his grandfather, nor any other about him: for this victory (said he) God hath giuen vs, and not we our selues: his will ordereth all things, wherunto all things obey; the stars, the air, the sea, the earth, men, floods, tempests, plagues, Earthquakes, shours, dearth, and such like, sometime to our blis, & sometime to our correction and destruction: wherfore vsing vs as the instruments of his chastisement, he hath giuen vnto vs this present victory, which peraduenture to morrow hee will giue vnto others to vse against vs, and then as we haue bin vnto them we haue ouercome, such will they also shew themselves vnto vs again. Wherfore if neither nightness of blood, nor that we bee all of one country, will moue vs, yet in respect of our selues let vs vse mercy, that we feele not the hand of God vpon vs in like case. In the mean time a Courtier opened a wicket vnto the yong Emperor, with this message from his grandfather:

Forasmuch as God this day (my sonne) hath giuen vnto thee the Imperiall Scepter, taken from mee, I request of thee this one goodturne, for many which I haue euen from thy birth bestowed vpon thee, for in this my hardestate I let passe, that I next vnto God haue been the author of thy natiuitie and increase: giue me my life, spare by fathers head, and with violent weapon spil not that blood from which thou thy selfe hast taken the fountain of life. Mantruly beholdeth heauen and earth, and heauen and earth behold mens actions: wherfore make not the heauens and the earth beholders of so wicked an outrage as our any man euer committed. If Brothers blood long agoe cried out vnto the Lord against Cain, how much louder shall the fathers blood cry vnto the Lord, and declare so great a wickednesse vnto the earth, the Sunne, and Starres, and make it abhorred of all the Princes of the world? Regard my miserable old age, which of it selfe promisseth vnto me shortly death, but vnto thee a rest after long cares. Reuerence the hands which haue oftentimes most louingly embraced thee, yet crying in thy swathing clouts. Reuerence those lips which haue oftentimes most louingly kissed thee, and called thee my other soule: Haue pity vpon a bruised reed, cast downe by fortune, and do not thou againe tread vpon it. And seeing thou art thy selfe a man, be not too proud of thy present fortune, but consider the un-

certainly

A certainie and varietie of worldly things, taking by me example: see in me the end of long life, and mar- well, how one might haue received me an Emperor of many years, leaueh mee now subiect vnto another mans power for euer.

The yong Emperor *Andronicus* moued with this speech, and taking great care of his grandfathers safety, leaue abtaining from tears, entred the palace, and comming to his grandfather, humbly saluted him, embraced him and with cheerful words comforted him. Streitway after, he went vnto the monastery *Manganium*, where (as is afore said) the Patriark *Eseias* was by the old Emperors commandement kept safely: whom the yong Emperor now tooke from thence, and carying him away in one of the Emperours richest Chariots, restored him again vnto his Patriarchal dignity; wherin he afterwards spared not to reuenge himselfe to the full, and most cruelly to persecute the old Emperours friends. That day from morning vnto night, a man might haue seen the riches and wealth of such noblemen as had taken part with the old Emperor, caried away, and their goodly houses ouerthrowne and made a scorn of the base common people: but especially the house and wealth of *Theodorus Metochita*, a man but the day before in greatest fauor with his Prince, and of all others next vnto the Emperor himselfe, of greatest authority and credit, whose whole wealth (not that only which was found in his house, but that also which he had put in trust with his friends, discovered by notes found in his study) became most part a prey vnto the common people, and the rest confiscated vnto the Prince. Thus he which erst of all others next vnto the Emperor was accounted most fortunate, was now vpon the sudden with his wife and children brought to extreame beggery; and after many years felicity, in one day cast into the bottome of despaire and misery. Where a man might haue heard many complaining say, all that wealth and treasure to haue bene the blood and tears of the poor oppressed Subjects, brought to him by them whom hee had made rulers and gouernors of the prouinces and cities of the Empire; to the intent that when they had dealt cruelly with the people, as with their slaues, hee might stop them for comming to complain of their griefs vnto the Emperor: and that the Reuengers eye had not always slept, but was now at length awaked, and had of him yet scarcely taken sufficient punishment, which euery where to hear, increased not a little his grief. As for himselfe, he was confined to *Didymoricum*, as the place of his exile and banishment; where after he had a certain time poorly liued, hee was sent for backe againe to Constantinople, where hauing nothing left to relieue himselfe (for his house at the comming of the yong Emperour, was in the fury of the people pluckt down to the ground, and the very pauement therof digged vp) he went vnto the Monastery of *Chora* there by, which long before built by the Emperour *Iustinian*, and become ruinous, he in the time of his prosperity had with great charge repaired, and therein now (hauing made shipwrack of all that he had) quietly shrouded himselfe, to the great comfort both of his body and afflicted mind, where he not long after died.

But to return again vnto the old Emperor, as yet in doubt what should become of himselfe: it fortune that the same day the city was taken, the yong Emperor at night returning to the Palace, by the way met with *Niphon* sometime Patriark, who asked him how they meant to deal with his grandfather. Wherunto the yong Emperor answering, that he would deal with him honorable and Emperor like, he was by him therefore blamed and reprobud. For this *Niphon* being of a crafty subtil wit and malicious nature, besides that he secretly hated all them vpon whom Fortune greatly either fauored or frowned, bare an especiall grudge against the old Emperor: first, For that at such time as he was right worthily, for his shameful couetousnesse and extortion, by the rest of the Bishops and Clergy thrust out of the Patriarkship, hee was not by him (as he looked for) defended: and secondly, For that dreaming again after the Patriarchal dignity, he thought it one good step therunto, to haue him, as his greatest enemy, taken out of the way. Wherfore he said now vnto the yong emperor, If thou desire to reign without fear, giue not thine honor vnto another, but taking all the ornaments of the empire from the old man, cast his hair cloath vpon him, and so clap him vp fast in prison, or else thrust him out into exile. This mischicuous counsell this wicked man gaue against the poore old distressed Emperour, not remembering how unworthily hee had by him bene before preferred vnto the highest degrees both of honour and wealth, if he could there haue kept himselfe. Vnto which vngracious counsell diuers others of the Nobility also consenting, so wrought the matter amongst them,

Q 3

that

*Niphon* intended the yong emperor against his grandfather.

that although they could not quite draw the yong Emperors mind from his grand father, yet they much changed the same, so that he could no longer endure to take him for his companion in the empire. Whereupon after many meetings & consultations had, it was decreed, That the old man should still retain the name and ornaments of an Emperor, as before, but not to meddle in any matters, nor to come abroad, but to sit still quietly in his chamber, with the yearly maintenance of 10000 ducats, for the maintenance of himselfe and such as tended vpon him; to be raised of the sitting before the city of Constantinople; a poore pension for the maintenance of so great an Emperor. Of which so shameful a decree *Eseias* the Patriark was also a furtherer: who seeing an Emperor that had reigned so long, cast down, and shut vp as it were in prison, was so far from grieving thereat, that foolishly rejoicing, hee in token thereof absurdly wrested this text of Scripture, saying in his merriment, *Letabitur iustus cum viderit ultionem*; The iust shall reioyce when he seeth the reuenge; calling himself iust, and the Emperor Reuenge. But the old Emperor thus shut vp in his chamber (differing in nothing but in name from a prison) not long after, the state of his body ouerthrown with griefe, and corrupt humors distilling out of his head, first lost one of his eyes, and shortly after the other also; and so oppressed with eternall darknes, mingled (as saith the Scripture) his drink with teares, and ate the bread of sorrow, being oftentimes to his great griefe most bitterly mocked & denied; not by them only which were by his enemies set to guard him, but of his owne seruants also. Not long after, the yong Emperor falling sicke, in such sort as that it was thought hee would not recouer, *Catachrenus* and the rest of his greatest fauorites and followers, careful of their own estate, & yet doubtfull of the old blind Emperor, deuised many things against him, but attending to one purpose, for the shortning of his daies. But in the end, all other deuises set apart, they put him to his choice, either to put on the habit of a Religious, and so for euer to bid the world farewell, or els to take what should otherwise ensue, the best wherof was either death, exile, or perpetual imprisonment in the loathsome castle of obliuion. For the putting wherof in execution, *Synadenus* (of all others to him most hatefull) was appointed. At which hard choice the old Emperor, as with a world of woes suddenly oppressed, lay a great while vpon his bed as a man speechles: for what could he do els, except he had had an heart of steel or adamant; being then compassed about with many barbarous and merciless soldiers, and his domesticall seruants took from him, and no man left that would vouchsafe to direct him (being blind) whither to go, or where to stand. But to make the matter short, would he, would he not, they made choice for him themselves, polling & shauing him, & casting a Monks habit vpon him, changed his name after the maner of the religious, and called him by the name of *Anthony* the Monk. Glad was *Eseias* the false Patriark of this the hard estate of the old Emperor, for that now that he was professed a religious, there was left no hope for him to recouer again the Empire, either cause for himself to fear. Yet hee thought it good to be aduised, in what sort remembrance should be made of him in the Church prayers, if any were at all from thenceforth to be made. Wherof to be by the old Emperor himselfe resolved, he (seeming to be very fory for that which was don, but purposing indeed therein to deride him) sent two Bishops vnto him, to know what his pleasure was to haue done therein. Vnto which their demand, he (oppressed with heauinesse, and fetching a deep sigh from the bottom of his heart) answered:

The old Emperor  
in Constantinople  
died.

Anthony the  
old Emperor  
as he was  
made a Monk,  
is named Anthony.

The words  
of the old  
Emperor to the  
catching quills  
of the proud  
Lazarus.

As in poore Lazarus appeared a double miracle, that being dead hee rose, and being bound, walked; even so was it to be done in mee, though in quite contrary manner. For lo, being alue I am dead, as ouerwhelmed with the waues of calamitie and wo: And being loose, I am bound, not my hands and feet only, but my tongue also; wherewith vnable to do any thing else, I might yet at least bewaile my woes and wrongs vnto the aire, and such as by chance should heare mee, and vnto this most wofull darknesse wherein I must for euer sit. But shame hath closed my mouth; my Brethren abhor me, and my Mothers sons account me as a stranger vnto them, and the very light of myne eye is not with him. My Friends and Neighbours stood vp against me, and all that saw me laughed mee to scorne. My feet had almost slipped, and my foot-steps were almost ouerthrowne: for I strated against the Wicked, when I saw the peace of the angells. The Emperors long ago gaue great priuiledges vnto the Church, even those which it at this day enioyeth: and the Church gaue to them again power to chuse whom they would to be Patriarks. Now concerning him that sent you, I not only nominated him vnto the Patriarchall Dignitie, but I myselfe

A selfe made choice of him, and preferred him before many other right worthy and famous men, being himselfe a man grown old in a poore priuat life, neuer before preferred, or for any other thing famous. I will not say how often I haue holpen him and don him good: but now when he should again haue relieved me in my calamitie, he joyneth hands with myne enemies against me, more cruell vpon me than any other bloody handed executioner; not ashamed to ask me how I would be remembered in the Church: feigning himselfe to be ignorant and fory for myne estate, much like vnto the Egyptian Crocodile of Nile, which hauing killed some liuing beast, lieth vpon the dead body & wissheth the head thereof with her warm teares, which she afterwards demoureth together with the dead body. But what to answer him vnto this his catching question I know not: for if I shall say, As an Emperor I shall forthwith be slaine by them which for that purpose haue me in hold: but if I say, As Anthony the Monke, it shall be taken as the free confession of my estate, by them who haue craftily contriued myne ouerthrow; as if I had not by compulsion, but euen of mine own free will put on this monasticall habit, which God knowes was neuer in my thought.

Having thus said, he sent them away without any other answer; but sitting down vpon his bed side, said, My soul return again into thy rest, for the Lord hath dealt well with thee: and spake no more in declaration of his grief, his tongue there staying by his singular wisdom, or else with the greatnesse of his sorrow, and so against his wil in silence passing ouer his heauinesse, his mind with the greatnesse of his woes overcome, and as it were astonished, before the humors gathered into the brain could be dissolued into teares. For as the Sun sending forth his moderat beames, draweth vnto it many exhalations and vapours, but calling them forth more plentifully, doth with his immoderat heat consume the same before they can be drawne vp: so the moderat affections of the mind may haue their griefs by words and teares exprest; but such as exceed all measure, and with their vehemencie as it were ouerthrow the mind, vially make men to stand still mute and silent, or if they speak at all, to speak idly and nothing to the purpose, as men beside themselves or in an extasie. But for the resolution of the question by the Bishops demanded, the deuout Patriark decreed, That in the church prayers he should be remembered before the Emperor his Nephew, by the name of the most religious and zealous Monk *Anthony*: which was done (God wot) for no good zeal to the poor blind man, but the better to colour the matter with the common people, as if he weary of the world, had voluntarily taken vpon him that silly profession. Neuertheles within 4 days after, *Synadenus* vnderstanding them in euery place to whisper amongst themselves, and secretly to mutter against the hard dealing with the old Emperor, who had long reigned ouer them, and so was by right again to do it his nephew should chance to die; and that the Ecclesiasticall laws enforced no man against his wil to enter into religious orders: he therewith enraged, sent to him certain of his own confederacie to exact of him an oath in writing, That he should neuer after that time seek after the empire, or yet accept of the same if it were offered him, neither to substitute any other: which if he refused to do, to put him in fear of his life. And the more to terrifie him, let a guard of insolent barbarous soldiers ouer him; for fear of whom he yeelded to do whatsoeuer they required: and so his oath being solemnly conceiued in writing (another man leading his hand because he was blind) he signed the same with a red crosse above, and a black crosse beneath, after the maner of the Religious. Having thus liued in darknes disgraced, shut vp in his chamber as a man forsaken of the world, with a sure guard euer to attend him, by the space of two years, it fortuneth that the twelfth of February towards night (a day in the Greeke church dedicated to the vigil of S. *Anthony*, whose name they had giuen him) certaine of his friends that were suffered to haue access vnto him, going as their maner was once in three or four daies to visit him (among whom was his daughter, sometime the Prince of Serbia his wife, but as then a widow, and *Nicephorus Gregoras* author of this history) he entred with them as with his friends, into a familiar discourse of many matters, wherein he so deceived the time that it was past midnight before they perceiued how the time passed. But the cocks crowing he brake off the talk, and bidding them farewell, gaue them leaue to depart, pleasantly saying, F that to morrow they would make an end of their discourse. Who all thereupon tooke their leaue and departed, no sign of any sickness as then appearing vpon him: who after they were gone, called for meat and did eat: the meat he eat was certain shel fish, for it was with them a fasting day, & he had not eat any thing. After which when as he should haue drunk a cup of wine for the comforting of his cold stomacke, & digesting that so hard meate, he drank cold water,

The old Emperor's death.

water, as his manner was when he felt any inward heat, to drink the same immoderately: which hurtfull kind of diet he then vsing also, began by and by to feel a great paine in his stomacke, and so presently after became very sick, falling withall into a great looseness of body, so that in the space of one quarter of an hour he was glad oftentimes to arise, and to go vnto an homely house or office in an inner chamber, thereby to discharge natures burden: where after many euacuations, sitting down vpon an homely bed fast by, and not able to recouer his own bed, hauing as then none to help him, there before it was day died, after he had reigned 43 years. His death was by many strange signs and accidents as it were foretold: first a great eclipse of the Sun appeared iust so many daies before his death as he had liued years: and after that, another eclipse of the moone, and with it an earthquake, the day before hee died at night, beeing Saint *Anthones* euen, whose name his enemies had thrust vpon him: at which time also the sea with a great tempest arising about the wonted bounds, made diuers breaches in the walls of the city toward the sea, as if it had bin some violent enemy, & ouerflowed also diuers houses in the city. Many crosses and pinacles were then also from the tops of churches and other high buildings ouerthrowne; and with them a great pillar, sometime one of the ornaments of the city, standing before the church commonly called the Church of the 40 Martyrs; which being very high, and below burnt & worn away with time, had put many in a fear as they passed by it, lest it should haue fallen vpon them: insonmuch that the Emperor vpon a time passing that way, was requested by some of the nobilitie there present, to ride farther from it, for fear of falling vpon him: who smiling at their vain fear, by chance answered, *O would to God I might liue so long as this pillar will stand.* Which now falling out according to his speech, gaue many of them that had heard him so say, occasion to maruell. His dead body was honorably buried in the monastery of Libe, which his mother *Theodora* the Empres had not long before new built, and his obsequies there (after the manner of that time) yearly solemnly kept by the space of nine daies.

Thus at length hauing passed through the troubled state of the Greek empire, during the long reign of the old Emperor *Andronicus*, the considerat Reader may easily see the causes of the declining and ruin also of this famous empire: and how that the Greek Emperors, troubled with their tempestuous affairs neerer home in Europe, yea in the very Imperiall City it self, and in their own palaces, were not at leisure to look ouer the streit into Asia, but glad to leaue their territories there vnto the weak defence of themselves. At which time, and euen in the midst of the foresaid trouble, *Othoman* on the one side with great industry layd the foundation of his Empire in Phrygia and Bithynia, (now the greatest terror of the World) and then did those things which we now haue written of him. The other Princes of the *Turkes* also, the successors of Sultan *Aladin*, at the same time on the other side alongst the riuer *Meander* incroching as fast: vntill that at last amongst them they had thrust the Greeke Emperours quite out of Asia; and in fine became themselves, together with the Greeke Empire, a prey vnto the *Othoman* Kings; as in the further proceesse of this history shal more at large appeare.

But again to return to *Othoman* himself, who all this while that *Andronicus* the Greek Emperor was thus troubled, had with his son *Orchanes* fought by all meanes on euery side to enlarge his kingdom. The garrisons by him left in the two late built castles neer to the great city of Prusa, vnder the charge of the two valiant Captains *Afemur* and *Balaban-zuck* (as is before declared) hauing now continued there certain years, had by shutting vp the passages, and spoiling of the country, brought the city into such distress and penury, that many of the Citizens and other the poor Christians fled into the city, died of famine. The rest now out of all hope to be relieued by the Greek Emperor, not then able to relieue himself, came to composition with *Orchanes* (for *Othoman* was then sick of his old disease the gout) couenancing with him, that they might in safety with life & liberty depart, and so much of their goods as they themselves could carry; and so yeilded to him the city. Which conditions (as most write) were on the *Turks* behalf wel and faithfully performed: yet some there be that report them to haue bin in most part by *Orchanes* broken. Thus was Prusa, one of the greatest cities of that part of Asia, yeilded vnto the *Turks*, in the year of our Lord 1327: and was afterwards by *Orchanes* made the royal seat of the *Othoman* Kings.

About this time, or very shortly after, *Othoman* in the eight and twentieth year of his reign died,

- A died at the age of 69, *Anno Dom.* 1328. and lieth buried at Prusa, where his Tombe is yet at this day to be seen in a certain chappell of an old Monastery, in a castle standing in the midst of the city; couered with a mantle of greene Chamlet, and a little tulipant or Turkish hat (such as he used to wear) lying ouer his head, differing from those which the *Turks* now wear, especially the better sort of them, being so great that they can scarce therewith come in at a dore. There is also another monument of him to be seene at Suguta, fast by the sepulchre of his father *Ertogrul*, there made by his sons in remembrance of him, wherof some haue reported him to haue bin there buried. Howbeit the *Turks* themselves generally suppose the true monument wherin he is interred, to be at Prusa, as is afore said. He was wise, valiant, politick and fortunat, but full of dissimulation, and ambitious aboue measure; not rash in his attempts, and yet very resolute: what he took in hand he commonly brought to good effect. He was bountifull and liberall to all men, but especially to his men of War, and the poore, whom he would many times feed and cloath with his own hands. Of a poor lordship he left a great kingdom, hauing subdued a great part of the lesser Asia; and is worthily accounted the first founder of the *Turks* great kingdom and empire. Of him, the Turkish Kings and Emperors haue euer since bin called the *Othoman* Kings and Emperors, as lineally of him descended: and the *Turks* themselves *Osmanide*, as the people or subjects of *Othoman* or *Osman*, for so he is of the *Turks* commonly called.

Not that in the reckoning vp of certain of the great Christian Princes and Prelats of the same time, at the end of euery the Turkish Kings and Emperors liues, the first and greatest number following their names, sheweth the year of our Lord, wherein such an Emperor, King, or Bishop, began to reign or sit; and the number following, how long he reigned or sat. As for example, *Andronicus* the elder began to reign in the last in the year of Grace 1282, and reigned 43 years. And so of the rest. Wherin we seek not the exact computation vnto a month or day, (as not much materiall to our history, or any part of our purpose) but only the reasonable view of the great Princes of the forepassed times, as they liued in ages together.

Emperors	Of the East	<i>Andronicus Palaeologus the elder,</i>	1282. 43
		<i>Andronicus Palaeologus the younger</i>	1325. 29
	Of the West	<i>Albertus of Austria</i>	1298. 10
		<i>Henry of Lucelbourg</i>	1308. 6
Kings	Of England	<i>Lewis the fourth, of Bavaria</i>	1314. 32
		<i>Edward the first</i>	1272. 34
		<i>Edward the second</i>	1307. 20
	Of France	<i>Edward the third</i>	1327. 50
		<i>Philip bet Faire</i>	1286. 28
		<i>Lewis</i>	1314. 2
		<i>Philip the Long</i>	1316. 5
		<i>Charles the Faire</i>	1321. 7
	Of Scotland	<i>John Balliol</i>	1292.
		<i>Robert Bruce</i>	1306. 24
Bishops of Rome		<i>Boniface the V III.</i>	1295. 8
		<i>Benedict the XI.</i>	1304. 2
		<i>Clement the V.</i>	1306. 11
		<i>John the XX I.</i>	1317. 18

The death of  
Othoman  
Emperor  
buried at Prusa.

The *Turks*  
Kingdom founded  
by Othoman  
in Asia, at  
such time as  
the Greek Em-  
perors were at  
variance with  
the *Turks*.  
It was in the  
year 1327.

Prusa yeilded  
to the *Turks*.



*Suscipit Orchanes defuncti Sceptra parentis :  
Major ut ingenio, sic magis arte valens.  
Bithynos, Phrygiamque domat, Prusamque superbam :  
Et populos late ( Marte favente ) premit.  
Sic late tantis Asiam turbasse ruinis ;  
Transit in Europam, Callipolimque capit.  
Rident interea Græci sua damna : sed ecce,  
Dum sua contemnant, insua fata ruunt :*

RIC. KNOLLEVS.

His father dead, *Orchanes* takes his Scepter vp in hand,  
As one of deeper wit and reach his foes for to withstand.  
The Phrygians and Bithynians he by force of arms brought low ;  
Proud Prusa, with fair Nicomede, and many cities moe,  
And glad in Asia to haue made such hauock and such spoil,  
His Forces into Europ sends, the Grecians there to foil.  
Who meanwhile laughing at their losse, did make thereof a game,  
Not thinking what a world of wo was to ensue the same.



## THE LIFE OF ORCHANES, OR VRCHAN, SECOND KING OF THE TURKES.



**A**FTER the death of *Othoman*, his two sons, *Orchanes* (whom the Turks call *Vrchan*) and *Aladin* his brother, hauing with great solemnitie interred their father at Prusa, immediately summoned a Parliament, whereunto both the brethren came, accompanied with the chief of their nobilitie. This parliament was called especially for the establishing of the succession in this new kingdom, and for the diuision of *Othomans* treasure & goods betwixt them two his sons. But vpon view taken, there was no money, plate, or jewels found in the Kings coffers, for that he had in his life time most bountifully bestowed it vpon his men of war: so that all the wealth hee left vnto them his sons, was the honorable remembrance of his life for them

**D** with great herds of beasts and catrel for household prouision. Whereupon *Orchanes* demanded of his brother *Aladin*; what order he thought was best to be taken with those things by their father so left? To whom *Aladin* answered, That it was most requisite first to establish a King in their fathers Kingdome; which like a good Sheeheard might gouerne and defend his people, rule and maintaine his men of War, and prouide all things meete and necessarie for defence of his kingdom: and that vnto him of right belonged all these other things by their father left, as the patrimonie of his successor, for the common good, and maintenance of his estate. As for myne own part (said *Aladin*) I claime no interest therein, you being my elder brother, and so vnto me in stead of a father, by whom also you haue bin these two years as it were already put in possession of the Kingdom, all things being committed to your gouernment during the time of his late sicknes. This modesty of *Aladin* was greatly commended of all the antient counsellors, by means whereof the kingdom in all peaceable maner descended to *Orchanes*. In regard of which curtesie, *Orchanes* would gladly haue made *Aladin* his brother President of his Councell. Which honor hee would in no wise accept, but requested rather that he would giue him the lordship of Fodore in *Tekenes* country, which *Orchanes* freely granted. In which lordship of Fodore *Aladin* for most part liued a priuat and quiet life, and afterwards built two Mahometan churches, and an abbey at Prusa, there yet at this day to be seene.

**F** Some Latine Historiographers otherwise report this beginning of *Orchanes* his reigne; as that *Othoman* should haue three sons, and that *Orchanes* the yongest obtained the kingdom by murdering his other brethren. A practise of late much vsed amongst the Turkish Princes, but not before the time of *Bajazet* the first of that name, who first of the Turkish Monarchs embred his hands with his brothers blood. Where before they vsed all brotherly loue one vnto another, as the most probable histories collected out of the Turks own Chronicles do affirm.

*The wealth of Othoman left to his two sonnes, Orchanes and Aladin.*

*When the barbarous murdering of their brethren first began amongst the Turkish Sultans.*

The

The city of  
Nice with di-  
uers other ca-  
stles recovered  
from the Turks  
after the death  
of Orchanes.

The Christian princes and captains presently vpon the death of *Orchoman* recovered the ci-  
ty of Nice, with diuers other castles and forts, out of the Turks hands: as it commonly chan-  
ceth, that dominions lately won with great perill, are soon again lost, the conqueror dying be-  
fore there be a firm government established. Amongst other forts by the Christians repos-  
ited, the castle of *Tzuprichiser*, situate vpon the passages of the riuer *Sangarius*, most grieu-  
ed the *Turkes*, for thereby their passage into that part of *Bithypia* was much impeached.  
Wherefore *Orchanes* desirous to recover this castle, disguised himselfe with a few other of his  
best soldiers, in the apparell of Christian merchants, and came to the castle, crauing leaue to  
passe as merchants. The warders of the castle verily supposing them by their attire to be mer-  
chants opened the gates and let them into the castle: who presently drew their swords, slew  
the warders, and so by force possessed the castle, to the great benefit of the *Turks*, and the hurt  
of the poor Christians yet left in the country of *Bithynia*: for they hauing now opened a way  
ouer the riuer *Sangarius*, and as it were broken down the strongest defence of that side of the  
Greek empire, at their pleasure foraged the countrey in such sort, as that the great city *Nice*  
for want of victuals to relieue so great a multitude as for fear of the *Turks* was fled out of the  
country into it, was brought to great extremitie and want. For the relief wherof, and for the  
repulling again of the *Turks*, *Andronicus* the yong Emperor, who then commanded all, with  
such an army as he was then able to raise, passed himself in person ouer the streit of *Constan-*  
*tinople*, into *Asia*: the greatest strength of his army consisted in 2000 choice horsemen, the  
rest, as well horse as foot, being for the most part artificers taken vp in the City, men altoge-  
ther vnacquainted with arms (who in token of their cowardise, & that they were more mind-  
full of flight than of fight, carried ouer with them almost as many long boats and such other  
small vessels, as they were men, to be ready to receiue them at such time as they should fle)  
or els abject rascals taken vp here and there, men of whom no great thing was to be expected,  
and of all others most vnfit for so great a Prince as was the Emperour, to commit the defence  
of his person and honor vnto. But *Orchanes* hearing of his coming, sent certain of his most  
expert Captains to forelay the streit passages of the countrey wherby the Emperour was to  
passe; following also himselfe after with his army, of purpose to encounter the Emperour: who  
in three days march after his landing in *Asia*, being come to *Philochrene* a little town in *Bi-*  
*thynia*, and vnderstanding that *Orchanes* hauing before taken the streits, lay not far off incam-  
ped with his army; he there at *Philochrene* pitched his tents, and staid that night also. But  
the next morning, the Sun as yet scarcely risen, he seeing diuers companies of the *Turks* com-  
ming down from the mountains fast by, put his army in order of battell, and so set forward to  
meet them: where to begin the fight, the *Turkes* archers freely bestowed their piercing shot  
among the Christians, still keeping themselves aloof off, so to do the more harm. Which the  
Emperor mistaking, and supposing that their keeping off to haue proceeded of fear, encoura-  
ged therewith, commanded certain loose companies disorderly to march forward, and to skir-  
mish with them. Which his more expert Captains not liking, would haue otherwise persua-  
ded him, as to haue kept his strength together against the danger of the battell. Neuertheles  
such was his youthful heat, as that he could by no means be otherwise intreated, but that for-  
ward needs they must. But all the forenoon spent in this light and tumultuary kind of skir-  
mishing, and the Sun at the highest now shining very hot, *Orchanes* from the top of the moun-  
tains perceiving the Christians well wearied with the heat of the day and long skirmishing,  
came down from the hills with a world of men following him; who with a most hideous cry  
charged the Christians on euery side, some afar off with their arrowes, and some hand to hand  
with their swords and other weapons: whose assault the Christians at the first most valiantly  
receiued, and a great while right worthily defended themselves, hauing wounded and slain a  
number of their enemies. Which hard fight was on both sides courageously maintained till  
the approaching of the night, with great slaughter on both sides; at which time the Christians  
weary of the long fight, and oppressed with the multitude of their enemies, disorderly rety-  
ring toward their trenches, and hardly pursued by the *Turkes*, receiued there a great losse as  
well of their horsemen as of their foot: but by the coming on of the night the battell was at  
length ended with uncertain victory. Among others there hurt, the Emperour himselfe was  
wounded in the foot with an arrow. That night hapned a sad mishap, and a manifest token of  
Gods wrath: for *Orchanes* hauing to his cost made proof of the strength and valor of the Chri-  
stians

The Emperor  
wounded.

A sians and doubting they would the next day come on further into the country, left three hun-  
dred horsemen as scouts, to attend the enemies remouing; and himselfe with his army retired  
before hand to take aduantage of such places as the Christians were to passe by. But the Em-  
peror in the euening leauing his campe, and going to *Philochrene*, a little town fast by, the bet-  
ter to haue his wound dressed, the rest of the army vnderstanding of his departure, and suppo-  
sing him to haue fled for feare (as if *Orchanes* with a great army would that night haue slaine  
them all) fled themselves also out of the campe, euery mothers son, some to their long boats  
and other little vessels they had for that purpose brought ouer the streit; some halting toward  
the town gates, were by the multitude of others running headlong after them, overborne and  
trodden to death; other some hanging one at anothers taile, like a chain, got some part of them  
B vp to the top of the rampiers of the towne; other some drawne backe by them that hung vp-  
on them, falling downe together by heaps, and trod vpon by others, there perished; some (as  
is reported) died there for very feare, no man either chasing or hurting them, so weakie is mans  
courage, when God withdraweth from him his strength. But in the morning the Sun arising,  
the three hundred *Turks* left for scouts, perceiuing the flight of the Christians, entred the for-  
saken campe, where they found horses, armor, and empty tents, yea the Emperours owne fur-  
niture, and his horses ready saddled: of all which, two hundred of these *Turks* tooke the spoile  
at their pleasure, and the other hundred pursuing the disperfed Christians, like heartlesse men  
wandering here and there, slew a great number of them. The Emperor himselfe seeing his army  
thus (as it were) by the hand of God ouerthrowen and disperfed, tooke shipping also, and so re-  
turned to *Constantinople*. After whose departure, the *Turkes* seising vpon many sea townes  
alongst the coast of *Bythynia*, and there seating themselves, layd heavy tributes vpon the other  
country townes and villages; for the benefit wherof they spared to destroy them, together  
with the inhabitants, which they might at their pleasure full easily haue done.

Now lay the great city of *Nice* in the fuds, the enemy commanding all the country about  
it, liuing as sicke men do by hope, and holding out onely vpon hope of a thousand horsemen  
which the Emperor (notwithstanding his late discomfiture) had promised forthwith to send,  
there to lie in garriison for the suppressing of the *Turks*. Of which aid so promised *Orchanes*  
vnderstanding, furnished eight hundred of his horsemen after the manner of the Christians;  
and fetching a great compass about, came at length into the high way that leadeth from *Con-*  
*stantinople* to *Nice*, and so trouped directly toward the city, as if they had come from *Con-*  
*stantinople*. At the same time he sent 300 of his other horsemen in the habit of *Turks*, to for-  
rage and spoyle the country as much as they could within the view of the city, now for want  
of victuals brought into great extremitie; which whilest they were a doing, the other eight  
hundred horsemen in the attire of Christians, following vpon them, as if it had bin by chance,  
charged them, and in the sight of the citizens put them to flight: which done, these counter-  
feit horsemen returned directly againe towards *Nice*. The citizens which with great pleasure  
had in the meane time from the wals seen the most part of the skirmish, and how they had put  
the *Turks* to flight, supposing them to be the *Constantinopolitan* horsemen, whom they day-  
ly expected, with great joy opened the gates of the city to receiue them as their friends. But  
E they being entred the gates, presently set vpon the Christians, fearing no such matter: & being  
seconded with the other three hundred, which in dissembling manner had fled before, & were  
now speedily returned, bringing also with them other companies of *Turkes*, before laid in se-  
cret ambush not far off, they won the great and famous city of *Nice*, which they haue euer  
since vntill this day possessed: the spoile wherof was giuen to the souldiers for a prey, and  
the citizens all led away into miserable captiuitie and thraldome. Whilest *Orchanes* was thus  
busied, his other captains did with great courage & successe enlarge his dominions on all sides,  
dayly incroching vpon their weake neighbors the Christians. *Cunger-Alpes* one of his valiant  
captains, subdued the country of *Mudurn*, or *Modrin*, in *Phrygia*; and *Bolli* in *Paphlagonia*:  
appointing one *Abdirachman* a man of great valour, to gouerne the country. And at the same  
F time another of his old captains called *Accoza*, brought *Candara* in *Paphlagonia*, and *Er-*  
*menia*, a country neer vnto the mountain *Horminius*, into the Turkish subiection; placing gar-  
risons in all the Castles and forts which he had won, of whom some part of those Countries  
was after his name called *Cozza llini*, that is to say, The old mans country. So that *Orchanes* his  
kingdom grew daily greater & greater, as wel by the industry of his chieftains, as of himselfe.

The city of  
Nice surprised  
by the Turks.

R

About

About this time it fortun'd, the captains son of Scamandria (a town not far from the ruins of the ancient city of Troy, and about a daies journey from the renowned castle of Abydus) to depart out of this world: unto whose funerals, being kept in the country, whilst his wofull father the captaine with his friends out of Scamandria resorted, the old crafty Turke *Accozza* lying alwaies in wait, as a fox for his prey, suddenly set vpon those heauy Christians, whereof he slew the most part, and tooke the rest prisoners. Amongst whom he also tooke the Captain of Scamandria, with his castle and country: whom he afterwards led prisoner vnto the castle of Abydus, which is one of the most famous castles scituate vpon the sea coast of Asia, ouer against Scythia in Europe; where the sea of Hellespontus by the narrow streit falleth into the sea of Egeum: two castles much renowned by reason of their nigh scituation, and yet placed in diuers parts of the world; eternised also by the euer-living wits of Poets, for the aduenturous passage of *Leander* ouer that fret of the sea, to his loue *Hero*: which castles are now called Dardanella. *Accozza* hauing brought the captiue Captaine of Scamandria (lately a man of great account in that country) to see as he could vnto the castle of Abydus, offered to set him at liberty if they would surrender their Castle, otherwise they should see him cruelly slain before their faces. These Turkish threats nothing moued them of Abydus, more than to say, That they might if they would cut off his head, seeth him and eat him, but the castle they intended not to deliuer. The same Captaine was afterward by the commandment of *Orchanes* profered to the Emperor of Constantinople to be redeemed, which he refused: yet at the last he was ransomed by the gouernor of Nicomedia, and againe set at liberty. *Accozza* of long time held the castle of Scamandria; yet so continually molested with the garison of Abydus, and men of war sent from Constantinople, that he with his followers were glad for the most part to lue on horseback, to be alwaies in more readines against the attempts of their enemies. The captain of the castle of Abydus had at that time a faire yong gentlewoman to his daughter, who (as she said) chanced to dream (what she had happily waking for the most part wished) That being fallen into a deep myrry ditch, out of which she could by no means help her selfe, a lusty yong gallant comming by, did not only help her out, but also in friendly manner made her cleane, and afterwards apparelled her in rich and costly attire. The danger of this dream much troubled the tender gentlewoman, but the image of the yong gentleman was so well phantasied in her brain, that waking, she thought she stil saw him, and sleeping longed sore for what she saw not. Thus whilst this yong gentlewoman with great deuotion entertained this imaginary man, the old gray headed Turke *Accozza* came, and with a strong company besieged her fathers castle of Abydus. During which siege, this gentlewoman oftentimes went vnto the high turret of the castle, from whence she might at pleasure see the martiall deeds on both sides, and take full view of all the enemies camp. But see the chance, as *Abdurachman* with great courage and no lesse brauery, approached neere to the siege of the castle, she thought (vpon the first sight of him) that he was the very man whom she had before dreamed of, and whose Idea was in her heart so deeply imprinted: wherefore she fully resolved to performe what she had without witnesse with her selfe determined. And waiting another time when *Abdurachman* approached the castle, she cast downe to his feet a letter written in Greeke, and made fast vnto a stone, which letter he taking vp, deliuered the same to the generall *Accozza*. Wherein after she had discouered her passionate affection, she promised to deliuer the castle into *Abdurachmans* power, if the Turks would raise their siege, and *Abdurachman* himselfe with some few would secretly returne to the castle in the dead time of the night, and then follow her direction. *Accozza* like an old foxe, which is seldome taken in the trap, gaue small credit to these louing lines, for feare of treason; yet for so much as you are the man (said hee to *Abdurachman*) whom she vpon speciall liking hath made choice of for the purpose, wil you adventure your person? And he armed with a manly courage, a surer defence than any armor of proofe, incited also with hope of honour, riches, and beauty, all worthy prizes for martiall minds; said, he would undertake the atchieuement of that exploit, if it were his pleasure so. Whereupon *Accozza*, because nothing should be suspected by his sudden departure, gaue a sharpe assault to the castle, as if he would haue taken it by fine force, yet in the end retired, and presently brake vp his siege, as despairing of the winning thereof. The defendants of the Castle thinking themselves deliuered of a great danger, greatly rejoyced: and as in the like case it oftentimes falleth out, in their great jolity furcharged themselves that night with

Abdurachman  
by the castle

- A excesss both of meat and drink. But *Abdurachman* at the time in the letter appointed, put himselfe vpon the way with certaine select souldiers, and about midnight came to the appointed place of the castle, where the yong gentlewoman was attending his comming: and he by her means was conueyed into the castle, and so by her directed to the porters lodge; where hee slew the porter being fast asleepe, and opening the gates, let in his followers; which went directly to the captains lodging, and there took him prisoner, being before their comming overtaken with sleepe, and fast asleepe. Thus was the castle of Abydus surprised by the Turks, from whence they had a faire prospect out of Asia into Europe. The captaine with his faire daughter, and the greatest part of the rich spoile of the castle, was deliuered to *Abdurachman*, to be presented to *Orchanes* at his court, then lying at Neapolis. Who wonderfull glad of so good
- B news, gaue the faire gentlewoman, with the greatest part of the prey to *Abdurachman*. The posteritie of this man (as they say) yet remaine among the Turks. Amongst others of the warlike captaines there was also one *Cararachman*, whose name was so dreadfull to them of Constantinople, that when their children cried, they would terrifie them to make them hold their peace, by saying, *Cararachman* comes. Not long after, the two valiant aforementioned worthy captaines, *Cunger-Alpes*, and *Accozza* died. After whose death, *Orchanes* made his sons, *Solyman* and *Amurath*, lords and gouernors of those countries and provinces. And intending (by the persuation of *Abdurachman*) to besiege Nicomedia, he leuied a great army, wherewith he tooke diuers small castles and forts as he marched towards the city. Nicomedia was at that time gouerned by an honorable lady, kinswoman vnto *Andronicus* the Emperor of Constantinople:
- C but she seeing her city besieged by the Turks, and doubting her own forces not to be able to hold out the siege, by a trusty messenger offered to yeeld the city vnto *Orchanes*, vpon condition, That she with so many citizens as would, might in safety depart with their liues, liberty, and goods: which being granted, shee with so many as would follow her, departed out of the city by night, taking shipping for Constantinople.

Nicomedia  
yeilded vnto  
Orchanes.

- Orchanes* hauing taken Nicomedia, made his son *Solyman* gouernor of the same. The churches of the Christians he conuerted vnto Turkish Mesechitas or temples. The greatest church (being of wonderfull beauty) he conuerted into a colledge or schoole, for the learned professors and students of *Mahomets* law, which is yet called in Nicomedia, *Orchanes* his schoole or colledge. And because the Countrey neere vnto Nicomedia, lying vpon the sea, was euer in danger to be spoiled by the gallies of Constantinople, he placed in those countries diuers of his most experienced souldiers to defend the same, appointing to euery of them possessions and pensions, according to their degrees and merit. After this, *Orchanes* by the counsell of his brother *Aladin*, commanded all his men of war to weare white caps, thereby to be knowne from others, which commonly wore red. Such manner of caps the Ianizaries vse at this day. The Turks also in *Orchanes* raigne, and long time after, vsed not to cut or shau their beards, but did weare them long: so that if the King would disgrace any man, hee would in his displeasure command his beard to be cut or shauen. The maner of cutting and shauing their beards which they now vse, they learned of the Italians; of whom they haue also borrowed many other fashions, not only differing, but quite contrary to their antient manners and customes. *Orchanes*
- E about this time removed his court to Nice, where he lay a long time after. There he built a sumptuous church, appointing a preacher to preach to the people euery Fryday: he erected in Nice also two faire abbies, in the one of which, he with his own hands serued the strangers and poore the first dinner. He was the first that builded abbies or monasteries among the Turks; whose example most of his successors haue imitated, and is amongst them vsed vnto this day.

Orchanes removed  
his Court  
to Nice.

- The gouernment of Nicomedia *Orchanes* committed to his eldest son *Solyman* (as is before said) a Prince of great towardlinesse; giuing him in great charge to haue a vigilant eie to the towns of *Taraxa*, *Gouinuca*, and *Mudurne*, which were nigh vnto Nicomedia, yet in possession of the Christians: all which townes, with the countries adioyning, *Solyman* in short time got without force, by composition. This *Solyman* was of a princely disposition, so tempring justice with clemencie in his gouernment, that many Christians allured with his vertues, became of his religion, and gladly put themselves vnder his subjection: the politicke lawes of the country he neither abrogated nor changed, but maintained as they had been of antient time accustomed, whereby he greatly wooon the hearts of the people. *Amurath* his younger sonne, *Orchanes* made lord and gouernor of *Prusa*, after he had remoued his court to Nice. And the

cattle of Chara-chisar, with the feignorie thereto belonging, he gaue to his cousin *Artemure*, G the sonne of his vnckle *Tundus*.

There was at this time in *Orchanes* court a noble yong gentleman called *Turfon-beg*, the son of *Dharalis* King of *Charasia*, by whose perswasion *Orchanes* in person himselfe with a strong army, made an expediton into that country: for that his fathers subiects after the death of the King his father, denied their obedience to his elder brother, wishing rather to haue *Turfon* for their soueraign. In whose behalfe *Orchanes* taking that journey, surprised by the way many castles and townes to his owne vse. *Orchanes* was no sooner entered the country of *Charasia*, but *Turfon*s elder brother fled to *Pergamum*, whither the Turks shortly pursued him: where *Turfon* desirous to speake with his brother, vnwarly approching the city, was wounded with an arrow shot from the wals, and there slaine. With whose death *Orchanes* was so greatly offended, that he threatned to destroy the whole countrey with fire and sword, if they did not by a day prefixed, generally submit themselves to his mercy. The people terrified with this proclamation of so great a Prince already in armes, yeelded themselves vnto his subiection. The Kings sonne also that was fled into *Pergamum*, vpon reasonable conditions yeelded himselfe vnto *Orchanes*, who sent him to *Prusa*, where after he had there liued two yeares, he died of the plague: after whose death *Orchanes* made his son *Solyman* Prince of *Carasina*. Neither is this taking in of the country of *Carasina* to be accounted a small conquest: one of the greatest houses of the Turks the successors of the Iconian Sultan *Aladin*, now thereby taking end, and their dominions (which were not small, as containing almost *Lydia*, with some good parts of *Misia*, *Troas*, and the lesser *Phrygia*) now vniued vnto the *Orchoman* Kingdome. *Orchanes* vpon his returne, for the good successe of this journey, built a Church and Monasterie at *Prusa*, placing therein religious men, with all diligence sought for out of all his kingdome: of which religious the Turks write many fables, better worth the smiling at, than the serious reporting. Hitherto the kingdome of *Orchoman* and *Orchanes* his son, was contained within the bounds of the lesser *Asia*, which the Turks call *Anatolia*.

Now it resteth to be shewed, vpon what occasion *Orchanes*, or rather his son *Solyman Bassa*, as it were fatally, with a small power first passed ouer *Hellepontus* into Europe; where they and their successors haue by little, and little so enlarged their dominions, that they haue now long ago quite ouerthrowne the Grecian empire, with many other great kingdomes, and are at this present a terror to all Christian Princes bordering vpon them: to the perpetuall infamie of the Greekes, who for want of courage, and busied with ciuill discord, neuer fought in time to impeach their greatnesse.

*Orchanes* hauing now so augmented his kingdome, that he might from many parts thereof out of *Asia* take view of the pleasant borders of Europe, from whence he was excluded only by the narrow sea of *Hellepontus*; and continually incited with the insatiable and restless desire of soueraignty, began to deuise how he might possibly passe that streit sea, and set foot into Europe another part of the world. Which his conceit one day he imparted to his son *Solyman*: who presently answered his father, That if it would please him to giue him leaue, he would not doubt to passe the streit of *Hellepontus*, and in time to plant the Mahometan religion in those countries of Europe possessed by the Christians. Which answer of *Solyman* much pleased his father, who gaue him leaue to depart into his country, & in that matter to proceed further as he thought best, & as occasion should best serue. *Solyman* taking leaue of his father took his journey into *Carasina*, where riding vp and downe the country, as it had bin for his pleasure onely, he made his way to the place where it is thought the famous city of *Troy* sometime stood; where yet (as the Turks and some others say) are to be seen the wonderfull ruins of that unfortunate city by the sea side. In this place *Solyman* stood still a great while, as it were in a study, for casting (as it seemed) some great matter, without speaking one word to any of his followers. When one of his chieftains called *Ezes-beg*, to put him out of his deep thoughts, boldly said vnto him, My lord and great soueraign, what strange thing is this, that you are so deeply drowned in these your melancholy thoughts? vndoubtedly it is some great matter that you are studying vpon. Truth it is (said *Solyman*) for I was thinking how it were possible to passe over this sea of *Hellepontus* into the borders of Europe, and to take view of that country, and so to returne vndiscovered. If this be the matter, (said *Ezes-beg*, joyning vnto him one *Fazil-beg*, a man of no lesse valour than himselfe) we two will by the power of God performe vnto

A vnto you this enterprife. Then was *Solyman* desirous to know of them, about what place they would passe ouer: which they well knowing the sea coast, shewed him not far off. Wherefore *Solyman* giuing them leaue, they departed: and shortly after making a little boat, or rather as some suppose a raffe, passed ouer *Hellepontus* by night, and arriued in Europe side, neere vnto a castle, of the Turks called *Zemenic* or *Zembenic*, but of the Greeks *Coiridocastion*, that is to say, the hogs castle, not far from *Sestus*: where going ashore, they tooke prisoner a Greeke in a vineyard neere vnto the castle, whom they finding to be a good sensible fellow, without delay put him into their boat or raffe, and returning backe againe, presented him to *Solyman*. This Christian captiue *Solyman* entertained courteously, giuing him great gifts, and rich apparell, to discover vnto him the estate of his country: and in fine, learned of him a means to take the castle *Zembenic*, before the Christians should thereof be aware. For archieument whereof, certain boats were speedily made ready by *Solyman*s commandement, and he with eighty chosen soldiers easily passed ouer in them by night, with their Christian guide the Greeke: for in that place, the streit betwixt *Asia* and Europe, is not past an Italian mile ouer. This guid brought *Solyman* directly to the aforesaid castle, where was a great dunghill, so high, that from the top thereof *Solyman* with his soldiers easily got into the castle, which they won without any great resistance; for it was then haruest time, and most part of the people were in the vineyards, or treading out of their corne all night, as the vse of those countries is. *Solyman* thus possessed of the castle of *Zembenic*, vsed no extremity against the inhabitants thereof, seeking rather by courtesie to gaine their good wils, than by extremity to force them to his: yet such gentlemen as he tooke, with some others also of the better sort, he sent by shipping into *Asia*, and by the same ships returned soldiers as fast as he could into Europe: so that he had in one day two hundred souldiers more brought ouer vnto him: and manning such small vessels as he had left about the castle, sent *Ezes-beg* alongst the coast on Europe side, to burn such shipping or vessels as he could finde, least the Christians should by them hinder his passage vpon the streit of *Hellepontus*. So in a few daies *Solyman* had transported into Europe two thousand good souldiers of the Turks, whom he so gouerned, that they did not in any violent fort injurie the vulgar Christians, by reason whereof the common people began to like reasonable well of the Turks, and to conuerse with them without feare. This was the first comming ouer of the Turks into Europe, with purpose there to conquer and inhabit, vnder the fortune of the

D *Orchoman* kings. For albeit that some of that nation had at sundry times before come ouer, as men seeking after spoile, or otherwise sent for, yea sometimes by the Greeke Emperors themselves, yet neuer staid they long, but hauing done what they came for, or els lost themselves, returned backe againe into *Asia*; vntill that now conducted by *Solyman*, and possessed of the little castle of *Zembenic* (as is aforesaid) they there tooke so fast footing, as that they and their posterity after them, were neuer thence to be since that time removed, but still more and more eneroching vpon the Christians, haue vnto their Asian Kingdome joyned a great part of Europe also, to the terrour of the rest that yet remaineth, as in the proceesse of this History shall (if God will) at large appeare.

. About two miles from *Zembenic* in *Chersonessus* was another castle called *Maito*, or more truly *Maditus*, which *Solyman* also tooke: so that now he had gotten two castles in Europe, both which he strongly manned. After which time, the Turks in great numbers came out of *Asia* into Europe ouer that narrow streit of *Hellepontus*, to dwell in *Chersonessus*: and *Solyman* in stead of them to make roome for his Turks, sent Christians out of Europe to be placed amongst the Turks in *Asia*. The report of this comming ouer of the Turks into *Chersonessus*, and of the taking of the castle of *Zembenic*, carried in post to *Constantinople*, was sufficient to haue stirred vp any proud or carefull men, presently to haue taken vp armes for the recovery of the lost castle, and the driving out againe of the barbarous enemies out of Europe, before they had gathered any greater strength, or settled themselves in those places: but such was the carelessse negligence and great security of the proud Greekes, that instead thereof, they to extenuate the greatnesse of the losse, commonly said, that there was but a hogstie lost; alluding vnto the name of the castle: and vainely (as said a graue father of their owne) jesting at that was not to be jested at, and laughing at that was not to be laughed at, but lamented for, as in few yeares it proued; their foolish laughter being not without good cause conuerted into most bitter teares.

The Castle of Maditus taken by the Turks.

Callipolis taken  
by the Turks.

*Solyman* strength so still increasing by the daily comming ouer of the Turks, he proceeded further to spoile the country of Chersonesus, almost as far as Callipolis, distant from the castle Zembenic about two and twenty miles: after which pleasant city the proud Turk began now to long. Which the gouernor thereof perceiuing by the Turks continuall inroaching vpon him, started what power he was able to make, and so went out against them; all the rest of the Greeks in the mean time lying still, as if they had bin asleepe, or that the matter had not concerned them: but meeting the Turks, he was by them (after a great conflict) ouerthrowne, and for regard of his life glad to fly into his city: after whom the Turks following, spoiled the country round about, and in their returne, by plaine force tooke the city, together with the castle also, which hapned in the yere of our Lord 1358. Where the madnesse of the Greeks was againe more than before to be wondred at; for the news of the losse of Callipolis being brought to Constantinople, the people there made small account thereof, although it was indeede a right great losse, and much concerned the state: but to extenuate the matter, when they had any talke thereof, in ieastring wise commonly said, That the Turks had but taken from them a pottle of wine. But by taking of such hoghtyues and portles of wine (as they termed it) the Turks in a few yeres after had gone so far in Thracia, that *Amurath* (the same *Solyman* nephew which now tooke from the Greeks the city of Callipolis) euen in the heart as it were of the Greeke Empire, placed his royall seat at Hadrianople: and immediately after him *Bajazet* his sonne (hauing subdued all the country euen to the wals of Constantinople) for certayne yeres laid hard siege vnto the Imperiall city it selfe; and had no doubt then carried it had not the great expectation of the mighty Tartar Prince *Tamerlane* (vnto *Bajazet* fatal) in the meane time happened: whereby (God so appointing it) the prosperous succeedinges of the Turks were for a space well staied, that they should not before the time by him predicted, deuoure the reliques of the Greeke Empire. And it were to be wished, that the Christians of our time also (by their example warned) would at length awake out of their dead sleep: who of late hath lost vnto the same enemy, not the castle of Zembenic, or the city of Callipolis, but whole kingdomes, as Hungary and Cyprus, and are still faire in the way: I say no more for grieft, and foreboding of euill fortune. But againe to our purpose: *Solyman* hauing made this prosperous entrance into Europe, and there got strong footing, by speedy messengers certified his father what hee had done, and that it was expedient for him with all speed to send vnto him a great supply of men of warre, as well for the sure defence and keeping of those castles and forts by him already gotten, as for the further inuasion of the Countrey. This message was wonderfull welcome vnto *Orchanes*, and whereas many families of the Saracins at that present were come into the country of Carafina, to possesse the dwelling and places of them, which in hope to better their estate were before gone ouer into Europe, all these Saracins he commanded to passe ouer into Europe likewise: which they did accordingly, seating themselves for a time in the country neere to Callipolis. In the meane time *Solyman* omitted no opportunity to enter further into the country, winning small forts and holds, and still peopling the same with his Turks. And on the other side, they of Carafina passed ouer into Europe, placing themselves as it were in a new world. For which cause, and for the great desire they had to extend the Turkish Dominion and Religion, they refused no paines of warre: so that all things at that time prospered with the Turks, and went backward with the Christians.

In the time of these wars, not far from Callipolis was a little castle called Congere, the captain whereof was by a Greeke name called *Galo Ioannes*, a valiant and painfull man: this captain continually molested and troubled the Turks which lay on that side of Callipolis, vnder the leading of *Eces beg*, many of whom he slew and tooke prisoners, as he could finde them at any advantage. *Solyman* much angered herewith, by crafty and secret espials learned a certaine time when he was gone out of his castle to do some exployt vpon the Turks. Whereupon he presently beset the Castle with souldiers, that he could by no means returne thither, but he must first fall into their hands; and for more assurance placed others also in wayes, lest he should by any way escape. The Captaine ignorant of all this, prosecuted his enterprise, and hauing taken a Turke prisoner, thinking to returne to his castle, was hastily pursued by *Fazil beg*; for which cause making the more haste, he suddenly fell into the danger of the Turkes layd in ambush: where his men were all slaine, and himselfe taken and brought before

A before his own castle, and had there his head presently stricke off: whereupon the castle was forthwith by them that were therein (hauing now lost their captaine) surrendered, and *Chazil beg*, a valiant captaine of the Turks placed therein: who from thence neuer ceased to trouble the country, euen to the wals of Didymotichum, as did *Solyman* out of Callipolis.

Thus in the space of one yere the Turks got strong footing in Europe, possessing diuers castles and towns, with the country about them, which *Solyman* gaue in reward vnto his captains and souldiers, as appeareth by the grapes and tombes of *Eces beg* and *Fazil beg*, the two which first came ouer into Europe, which are there yet well knowne.

About this time it fortuneth, that as this martial Prince *Solyman* was for his disport hawking in the fields of Bolayre on Europe side, galloping in to his sauleon, was with his horse overthrowne in a ditch, of which fall he being sore bruised, shortly after died. The newes of his death being brought to *Orchanes* his father, gaue vnto him (then being sicke) just occasion of great sorrow: so that within two moneths after he died also, being fourscore yeres old, when he had reigned thereof 31 yeres; and died about the yere of our Lord 1359. Some histories report otherwise, both of his death, and of the time wherein he liued: as that he should be slaine in a battell against the Tartars; or as others write, with an arrow at the siege of Prusa, in the yere of our Lord 1349. But *Ioannes Lennclauius* in his history collected out of the Turkes owne chronicles (whom we follow as most probable) reporteth it as before.

This *Orchanes* was wife, curteous, and bountifull, more ingenious than his father in deuising warlike engines. He built diuers princely Churches, Abbies, Colledges, and Cels, and was in his superstitious religion very zealous: in so much that he appointed pensions to all such as could in the Church say the book of *Mahomets* law by heart: and appointed competent maintenance for all Iudges of his Courts, because they should not take any thing in reward of his subjects, for the peruerting of iustice. He greatly enlarged his kingdom in Asia, and not content to be inclosed with the seas of Euxinum and Hellespontus, set fast footing in Europe, which some attribute to his sonne *Amurath*. He was to the Christians alwaies a most mortall enemy, and so died.

## F I N I S.

Christian Princes of the same time with Or- chances.	Emperors	Of the East	{ Andronicus Palaeologus the younger. John Palaeologus.	1325. 29 1354. 30
		Of the West	{ Lewis the fourth, of Banaria. Charles the fourth, sonne to John King of Bohemia.	1314. 32 1346. 10
	Kings	Of England	{ (Edward the third	1327. 50
		Of France	{ Philip Valois. John Valois.	1328. 22 1350. 14
			Of Scotland	{ Robert Bruce. David Bruce
		Bishops of Rome		{ John the. X X I I. Benedict the X I I. Clement the V I. Innocent the. V I.

The death of  
*Solyman* Beg, &  
*Orchanes* his  
eldest sonne.The death of  
*Orchanes*.



*Scavus Amurathes, animo dum maxima versat :  
Discordes Gracos sternere Marte parat.  
Totus & intentus fines extendere regni :  
Europam penetrans, omnia quaque rapit,  
Atoniti trepidant, nimia formidine Thraces :  
In medio quorum, sceptrum superba locat.  
Hinc Mæfos premit ille feros, \* miserumque Dynasten  
Cossioni in campis, obruit atque necat.  
Sed non longa fuit sceleris tam dira voluptas :  
A sermo casus, considit ense ferox.*

\* Lætarum  
Scavus prin-  
cipem.

RICH. KNOLLEVS.

Whilest *Amurath* in his deepe thoughts, of greatnesse plots the ground :  
The wrangling Greekes by force of armes he seeks how to confound.  
And wholly bent for to extend his Kingdome with his power,  
Piercing the confines of Europe, doth what he meets deuoure.  
As men dismayd, the Thracians quake, to see their foule disgrace :  
Amiddest whom, the tyrant stoue his scepter proud doth place.  
The fierce Bulgarians he did meet, and in the field subdue :  
And in Cossouna's fatal plaines, the wofull Despot slue.  
But long is not the wicked joy, which they in mischief take :  
Stab'd by a slave, the wretch his end in that same place did make.

Lætarum  
Despot of  
Seruia.

R. K.



## THE LIFE OF AMVRATH, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, THIRD KING OF THE TVRKS, AND THE GREAT AVGMEN- TOR OF THEIR KINGDOME:

- C** *Amurath* the younger sonne of *Orchanes* succeeded his father in the Turkish kingdome, his elder brother *Solyman* being dead a little before his father. This *Amurath* with greater zeale than any one of the Turkish Kings, aduanced the Mahometan religion, and had therein wonderfull success. In the beginning of his reigne, he gathered a great army out of all parts of his kingdome, to *Prusa*; purposing to passe ouer *Hellespontus*, to inuade the Christians in *Thracia*. But vnderstanding, that the other Mahometan Princes in *Asia* had combined themselves against him, he was thereby inforced to leaue his former determination for Europe, and to turne his forces vpon them. In which wars he mightily preuailed against them, and returned with victory to *Prusa*. But hauing so subdued those confederate Princes, he the next year after prosecuted his wars before intended against the Christians in Europe. For which purpose hauing leuiued a strong army in *Asia*, he passed ouer to *Callipolis*, accompanied with his tutor, whom the Turks call *Lala Schahin*: whose graue aduice and counsell he most followed in all his weighty affaires; being at that time one of his chiefe counsellors. From *Callipolis* he marched to the castle of *Benurum*, which was by composition yielded vnto him. From thence he went to *Tzurulus*, where the Christians gaue him a sharpe encounter: but in the end he woon the towne, and carried away the victory. And so proceeding farther, tooke diuers other small castles and townes in that part of *Thracia*, which of the ancient *Romane* colonies was then called *Romania*, and now of the Turks *Rumilia*, namely, *Mesine*, *Burgos*, and others; whereof some he vtterly rased, and into the rest pur strong garrisons. At this time also, *Chasi-Ilbeg* and *Eurenoses*, two of his most valiant captains, tooke certaine forts standing vpon the riuer *Meritza*, in ancient time called *Hebrus*: whereby they much troubled the inhabitants of the country thereabouts. Wherewith the captaine of *Didymotichum* offended, gathered his souldiers together, intending to haue intercepted the great captaine *Chasi-Ilbeg*: in which attempt he lost most of his followers, and was himselfe there taken prisoner. For whose ranfome and certaine other conditions, the citizens of *Didymotichum* yielded the city vnto the Turks.
- E** Shortly after, *Amurath* sent his tutor *Lala Schahin* to besiege *Hadrianople*, now called *Andrianople*, but in ancient time *Orestias*: of whose coming the Christians hearing, encountered him vpon the way, and fought with him a great battell, wherein many were on both sides lost: but in the end the Christians being put to the worst, retired againe to the city. Of this victory *Schahin* sent newes vnto *Amurath*, with certaine of the heads of the slaine Christians: who therupon sending *Chafis* and *Eurenoses* before, he himselfe with a great army followed after to the siege of *Hadrianople*: of whose coming, the gouernor of *Hadrianople* vnderstanding, fled secretly out of the city by night to *Ænus*. The citizens seeing themselves to forsaken of their gouernour, yielded their city vnto *Amurath*, in the yeare of our Lord, 1362.
- F** The taking of these strong cities in *Thracia*, especially of *Didymotichum* and *Hadrianople*, is (by some of the Turks own Histories) otherwise reported: which, because it is neither improbable nor disagreeing from the subtil dealing of the Turks, and of themselves also receiued

*Amurath* succeeded his father *Orchanes* in the Turkish kingdome.

*Didymotichum* yielded vnto the Turks.

*Hadrianople* yielded vnto the Turks.

received, I have thought good to set downe as their owne Historiographers report the same. G

The Turkish King *Amurath* had (as they say, and as truth was) in the beginning of his reigne concluded a peace with the Christians of Thracia: during which peace, the gouernour of Didymotichum intending to fortifie his city with new and stronger fortifications against the assaults of the Turks, entertained all the masons, carpenters, and other workemen he could by any means get: which *Amurath* vnderstanding, secretly caused two hundred good and lusty workemen and labourers to come out of Asia, to offer their seruice vnto the gouernour; who gladly entertained them, vsing their help in that his great and hasty work. Which thing some of the wiser sort of the citifens disliking, wished the gouernour to be aware of those Asian workemen, as by them suspected. But he presuming vpon the peace made with *Amurath*, and considering they were but baseworkmen and no soldiers, had the lesse care of them: neuertheless H (vsing their worke all day) he commanded them to lodge without the walls of the city every night. *Amurath* vnderstanding that these workemen were thus by the gouernour entertained, sent for the valiant capitaine *Chafis Ilbeg*, and requested him with thirty other good souldiers disguised as poore labourers, to go to Didymotichum to seeke for worke, and in doing thereof to spy if any opportunite might be found for the surprising of the city. *Chafis* with these thirty according to *Amurath* his direction, comming as poore men lacking worke, found entertainment at Didymotichum, where they carried stones, mortar, and such like things, euer shewing themselves very diligent in their worke: *Chafis* with vigilant eie still awaiting what might best serue his turne for the surprising of the city. When night was come, the Turkish workemen and labourers after their accustomed manner, and as they were by the gouernour appointed, went out of the city into the suburbs to their lodgings: from whence *Chafis* secretly departing in the night, came to *Amurath* and shewed him how one of the gates of the city might vpon the sudden be taken, if it would please him to place a sufficient number of Turks in ambush neere vnto the city, to ioyne with him and the other Turkish labourers when occasion should serue. Which being resolved vpon, *Amurath* sent him backe againe to put this his deuice in execution: So *Chafis* returning to Didymotichum, brake the matter to so many of the Asian workemen as he thought conuenient, fully instructing them what was to be done. The next day (according to his appointment) the Christians being then at dinner, these Turkish workemen and labourers fell at words among themselves, and from words to faigned blowes: in which counterfeited brawle and tumult, they suddenly ran to one of the gates of the city fast by (as was before appointed) and there laying hands vpon the warders weapons, as if it had been to defend themselves against their fellowes, suddenly set vpon those warders, being in number but few, and then at dinner also, and so presently slew them: which done, they opened the gate of the city, and let in the other Turks which lay in wait not far off: who with great celerity entring the city, presently tooke the same, and there put the chiefeft of their citizens to the sword, sparing the rest of the meaner sort.

The city of Rhodestum (of the old writers called Rhodestum) was by *Amurath* his commandement in this time of peace, by sudden assault giuen in the night by the Lord *Eurenos*, taken also.

With this foule dealing and breach of league, yet in force, the Christians hardly charged *Amurath*, who turned it ouer to the vnruines of his captains and men of war, whom he threatened with great severity to punish: and to giue the better color that it was done without his priuety, he had faigned himself sick all the while these things were in doing: but being requested to restore those cities so wrongfully taken from the Christians, he utterly refused so to do, saying That it was against the law of his great Prophet *Mahomet*, to deliuer againe to the Christians, any towne or city wherein the *Mahometan* religion had bin once openly taught. Whereupon wars began againe to arise on fresh betwixt the Christians and him, wherein sometime the one preuailed, and sometime the other: in such sort, as that those warres at length became vnto them both very tedious. Wherefore *Amurath* made peace againe with the Christians of Hadrianople, Selybria, and Constantinople: yet desiring nothing more in heart, than to take the city of Hadrianople: which the better to bring to passe, he caused *Chafis Ilbeg* as a discontented capitaine to fly to Hadrianople, pretending himselfe to haue beene hardly vsed by the tyrant his master: where hauing in his company other such dissembling fugitiues as was himselfe, he oftentimes issued out of the city and valiantly skirmished with the Turks, which so greatly

A greatly pleased the gouernour of Hadrianople, that he thereby grew into his great fauour.

Many other Turks also vnder pretence of like discontentment, resorted vnto *Chafis*: where-with finding himselfe well strengthened, he writ letters secretly vnto *Amurath*, That he would deliuer one of the gates of Hadrianople vnto him at a certaine appointed time, if he would against the same time be ready to send him present succors. All things being agreed vpon, *Chafis* at the time appointed came in the dawning of the day to one of the gates of the city, accompanied but with ten of his followers, as if he would haue gone forth to hunt, as he had before accustomed. But so soone as the gates were opened, he with the other ten well appointed for the purpose, furiously set vpon the warders, whom they slew; and being aided by the rest of the fugitiue Turks (which with all speed by appointment before made, resorted vnto them)

B they possessed the gate; vntill a great power of the Turks, whom *Amurath* the night before had placed in ambush neere vnto the city, hauing knowledge what was done, and hearing the alarme, speedily came on, and by that gate entred the city: where was fought a cruell fight all that day, euen from morning vntill night. But in the end the Turks preuailling, tooke the city, which they haue euer since possessed vnto this day.

These great cities of Thracia thus taken, or otherwise as aforesaid (for that I leaue for the Reader to thinke of as he pleaseth) *Amurath* appointed the seat of his royall court at Hadrianople as a place of all others most fit for the further inuasion of the Christians, and inlarging of his kingdom in Europe: from whence such a world of mischiefs and woe hath since that time overflowed a great part of Christendome, & drowned so many goodly kingdoms in Europe, as that both they, and most part of the rest that yet remain (daily in dread of like destruction) might justly accurse and detest the woefull carelesnes and degenerate cowardise of the Greekes, were not they themselves together with the glory of their church and empire, swallowed vp in the same gulfe of calamity and woe, and so become of al others most miserable: but what auail vain complaints, but to increase old griefs? wherefore againe to that we haue in hand

The proud Sultan *Amurath* (hauing to his great content thus seated himselfe at Hadrianople, in the midst of Thracia) presently sent out his tutor *Lala Schahin* with a great power to inuade the countrey about Philippopolis, with the countrey of Zagora, which lyeth towards the great mountain *Heemus*, where the best Turkish Scimitars were made; giuing like charge vnto *Eurenos*, for the subduing of the territory of Ipsala; who both notably performed what he had commanded, and in short time brought al those countreies vnder his subiection, where-in he shortly after placed diuers sanzacks or gouernours, for the better assurance thereof, being so lately gained.

About this time (by the suggestion of *Cara Rustemes* a doctor of the Mahometan law) *Zinderlu Chelil*, then Cadelether or chiefe Iustice among the Turks, but afterwards better knowne by the name of *Catradin Bassa*, by the commandement of *Amurath*, took order, that every fifth captiue of the Christians, being about fifteen yeres old, should be taken vp for the King, as by law due vnto him: and if the number were vnder fife, then to pay to the King for every head 25 aspers, by way of tribute: appointing officers for collecting both of such captiues and tribute mony, of whom the aforesaid *Cara Rustemes* himselfe was chiefe, as first deuiler of the matter. By which means great numbers of Christian youths were brought to the court as the kings captiues, which by the counsell of the same *Zinderlu Chelil*, were distributed among the Turkish husbandmen in Asia, there to learn the Turkish language, religion, & maners, where after they had bin brought vp in all painfull labour and trauell by the space of two or three yeres, they were called vnto the court, and choise made of the better sort of them to attend vpon the person of the Prince, or to serue him in his wars: where they daily practising al feats of actiuitie, are called by the name of *Ianizars* (that is to say, new soldiers.) This was the first beginning of the *Ianizars* vnder this Sultan *Amurath* the first, but had great increase vnder *Amurath* the second, inso much as *Iouius* with some other Historiographers, attribute the beginning of this order to him: which neuertheless (as appeareth by the Turks own Histories) had the beginning

F as is aforesaid; and hath euer since bin continued by the Turkish Kings and Emperors, by the same and some other greater means; so that in proceffe of time they be grown to that greatness as that they are oftentimes right dreadful to the great Turke himselfe: after whose death they haue sometime preferred to the Empire such of the Emperors sons as they best liked, without respect of prerogatiue of age, contrary to the wil of the great Sultan himself; & are at this day the

Hadrianople  
the royal seat of  
the Turkish  
kings in Europe.

the greatest strength of the Turkish empire, and not vnlike in time to be the greatest cause of the ruine thereof: the finger of the Highest oftentimes (as we haue before said) turning euē those helps which were by mans wisdomē provided for the establishing of kingdomes, vnto their more speedie destruction: and especially these continuall garrisons of martiall men, hō less to be feared than trusted, as in the course of this History may appeare.

When *Amurath* had thus a great while continued at Hadrianople, determining now to returne vnto Asia, he made *Schahin* his tutor *Bib-Lerbec* or viceroy of Romania; and *Eurenos* lord gouernor of the marches; *Zinderlu Chelil* he made Vezir Azemes or lord president of his counsell, and changing his name, called him *Carradin Bassa*, that is to say, The *Bassa* that had well deterued, his name witnessing his good desert. After this he returned into Asia, where he spent that winter at Prusa. These two great men *Carradin Bassa* and *Cara Rustem* before named, sometimes two doctōrs of the Mahometan law, were (as the Turkish Historiē report) the first that corrupted the Turkish court with couetousnesse and bribery, and are therefore of them euē yet much blamed.

Whilest *Amurath* thus wintred in Asia, newes was brought vnto him, That the Christians of Seruia and Bulgaria had gathered a great army for the besieging of Hadrianople; which caused him to prepare great forces in Asia, to aid his captaines in Europe. But in returning out of Asia, he by the way tooke the towne of Boga; where he put to sword all the Christians that were therein able to beare armes, leading the rest into captiuitie, and with the spoile rewarded his souldiers. This strong towne was not long after againe recovered by the Christians, who requited the Turkes with like measure, and doubting the keeping thereof, rased it downe to the ground: yet was it afterwards reedified by the Turkes, as it is at this present to be seene: which was done in the yeare of our Lord, 1365.

In the meane time, the Christian army of Seruia and Bulgaria, in number betwixt forty and fifty thousand, marching towards Hadrianople, and now come very neere the same, fell in mutiny among themselues. Whereof the Turkes by their espials hauing intelligence, suddenly in the night set vpon them: who blinded with inward hatred, and no lesse fearing one another, than their enemies, neglected to ioyne their forces against them, but were ready to turne their weapons one vpon another; and so by their owne discord, more than by the enemies force, were made a prey to the Turkes, by whom they were put to flight, and slaine with so great a slaughter, that the place wherein they fell, not far from Germia, is thereof at this day called *Zarf-Zindugi*, that is to say, the place wherein the Seruians were ouerthrowne. The news of this notable victory, with a fifth part of the spoile, and a great number of the heads of the slaine Christians, were (after the barbarous manner of the Turkes) sent to *Amurath* into Asia, being now ready with a great power to haue come ouer to Callipolis: who joyfull thereof, and glad to see such a present, the assured witnesse of the victory, returned againe to Prusa. This was done in the yeare 1366. In which yeare also *Amurath* with wonderfull triumph circumscribed his two sons, *Bajazet*, & *Iacup*. At which time he also built a temple, with a monastery & a colledge, at Bilezuga: and another faire church at Neapolis: at Prusa he also built a stately palace in the castle, with a great church at the gates thereof: in which city he also founded an abbey and a colledge. *Germean Oglu*, a great Mahometan Prince in Asia (whose territory for the most part lay in the greater Phrygia, and the countries thereabout, bordering vpon the Ottoman kingdom) hauing alwaies enuied at the rising of the Ottoman kings (as did all the rest of the Mahometan Princes of the *Seljuician* family) & fearing that their greates might after his death grow dangerous to his son *Iacup*, being now himselfe very aged, thought good for the more safety of his state to ioyne in alliance with *Amurath*. And for that purpose sent *Iaac* (a learned doctōr of the Mahometan law) embassador to him, with many rich presents, & to offer his daughter, the Lady *Hatun*, in marriage vnto his son *Bajazet*: promising with her in dowry diuers great cities and townes, with their territories in Phrygia and Bythinia, adioyning vpon the Ottoman kingdom, namely, Cutaie, Simau, Egregios, Tausanle, & others. Neither was this a small dowry, but well be seeming so great a Prince: the city of Cutaie being at that day the place whereat the Turkish emperors great lieutenant or viceroy in Asia is alwaies resiant, as in the heart of his kingdome in the lesser Asia. Of which march so offered, *Amurath* liking well, contracted his son *Bajazet* vnto the said lady: and for solemniation of the marriage, prepared all things with great magnificence, sending his Embassadors to most of the Mahome-

tane

A tan kings and princes both far and neere, to inuite them therunto: commanding also most of the nobilitie of his kingdom to honor the same with their presence. The time of this marriage drawing neer, Embassadors came to *Amurath*'s court from all the Princes before inuited: amongst whom the Embassador from the Egyptian Sultan had the highest place. These embassadours brought with them many great and rich Gifts, such as well becomed the great Princes their matters, which they with all reuerence presented vnto *Amurath*. At length amongst the rest of his own nobility came the Lord *Eurenos*, whom he had before left gouernor of the frontiers of his kingdom in Europ: who besides many other rich gifts not easily to be valued, presented vnto *Amurath* a hundred goodly boys, with as many beautilul yong maidens, all Christian captiues, furably attired in garments richly embroidered with gold & siluer, euery one of them carying a cup of gold in the one hand, and a cup of siluer in the other; the cups of gold hauing in them diuers pretious stones of great value, and the cups of siluer being filled with gold. The riches of this present was so great, that all the forrein Embassadors wondred therat: all which rich gift *Amurath* most bountifully bestowed on the strange Embassadors; and the presents which were sent vnto him from other Princes, hee liberally gaue to *Eurenos*. The learned and religious which came to that marriage hee so bountifully rewarded also, that none came to the same poor, but he went away rich. He had before sent diuers of his nobility, with an hundred ladies and gentlewomen, and a gard of three thousand horsemen, to attend the coming of the bride. On the other side, the old prince *Germean Oglu* meeting this honorable company vpon the way, saluted euery man of account according to his degree, and bringing them to one of his cities, in most royal maner feasted them, bestowing vpon them many rich and princely gifts. All which things with great solemnity performed, he deliuered his daughter the bride to two of the most antient Ladies, whereof one had bin *Bajazet*'s nurse: and so taking leaue of his daughter, sent her away, accompanied with his wife *Ienster*, and other of his courtiers; who conueying her to Prusa, she was there in most roial manner married to *Bajazet*. The cities and towns promised in dowry were accordingly deliuered vnto *Amurath*, who shortly after took possession of the same, and furnishing them with his own garrisons.

At this marriage, *Chusun Beg* Prince of Amisum in Galatia, by his Embassador sold his territory of Amisum vnto *Amurath*, with many fair cities and towns, doubting (as was thought) now to be able to keep them, seeing *Amurath* was come so neer him, whom he saw not to let slip any occasion offered vnto him for the enlarging of his kingdom. When *Amurath* had in this sport spent great time in Asia, he gathered a strong army to return into Europ: but before his departure, he committed the gouernment of his kingdom in Asia (which the Turkes call Anatolia) vnto his son *Bajazet*, joining with him *Temurtas* a valiant man of great experience. And hauing set all things in order in Asia, passed ouer Hellespontus to Callipolis, from whence he marched toward Hadrianople: and because he would take something in his way, he besieged Magalgar, which he in short time won. Where *Lala Schahin* and *Eurenos* with all their forces came to him; which two captains he sent to besiege the city Pherece and was by them after a few daies siege taken. But he himselfe to be reuenged vpon *Lazarus* the Despot, led his army into Seruia, where after he had without resistance foraged the country fourteen daies, vnderstanding by his captains, That the strong city of Nissa, being the metropolitical city of Seruia, was as it were the key of that kingdom, he presently marched thither, and laid siege vnto the same; and by the aduice of *Iaxis Beg* the sonne of *Temurtas*, in short time won it. Which thing so daunted *Lazarus* Despot or Lord of Seruia, that he despairing in his own forces, hauing so soon lost one of his strongest cities, forthwith sent Embassadors to *Amurath* to intreat a peace; offering to pay him a yearly tribute of fifty thousand pound, and to aid him with a thousand men in his wars, whensoever he should require. Vpon which conditions *Amurath* granted him peace, and so departed out of Seruia. In this expedition he also with much adu vnto the great City of Appolonia, neere vnto the mount Athos, and gaue leaue vnto most of the Christian inhabitants with their wiues and children to deparr, with such part of their goods as was not in the taking thereof spoiled by the soldiers. This done, he returned back to Hadrianople, leaving *Eurenos* vpon the marches, who shortly after took Berthea, with diuers other Townes. At the which time also *Lala Schahin* won Zichne and Seres, in the confines of Macedonia, with many other strong Townes vpon the Frontiers

Amurath in  
uaded Seruia.Nissa taken by  
the Turke.Appolonia won  
by the Turke.

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of

of Thessaly and Thrace. In the City Seres *Eurenoles* made his abode, as in a chiefe frontier town: and because the Christians for fear of the Turks were all fled out of the country about Seres, great numbers of people were sent for out of Asia, to inhabit that country by the Christians forsaken in the confines of Macedonia. *Amurath* had not long continued at *Hadriano*. ple, but that he was aduertised out of Asia, that *Aladin* his son in law King of Caramania, did with fire and sword inuade his dominions in Asia. With which newes hee was exceedingly troubled; and for that cause sending for his counsellors and nobility to the court, told them, how that *Aladin* forgetting all the bonds of religion, faith, peace, and allyance, with all hostilitie inuaded his prouinces in Asia, whilst he with great danger of his person, and greater terror of his enemies, fought with honor to increas the Mahometan sincere religion (as hee termed it) in Europ: from which godly War (said he) I am enforced against my wil to turne my sword, in iust defence of my self, against men joined with vs both in religion & allyance. And hauing thus declared his mind, he appointed *Chairadin Bassa* his lieutenant general in Europ, and also made his sonne *Alis Bassa* one of his Counsel, although he were by some thought too yong for so great a place. And so hauing set all things in order according to his mind in Europ, took passage from Callipolis into Asia, and so to his court at Prusa, where he spent that Winter. In which time Embassadors came vnto him from the Sultan of Egypt, for the renewing of their former amity and friendship. Which *Amurath* took very thankfully, & sent them back again laden with kind letters and princely rewards.

*Amurath and Aladin prepare themselves for war.*

When the Spring was come, in the year 1387, he leuied a mighty army to make war vpon the Caramanian king his son in law. Whereof *Aladin* certainly informed, prepared no lesse power to meet him, associating vnto him all the lesse Mahometan princes of Asia, who were not vnder *Amuraths* obeisance, to whom the *Othoman* Kings were now grown terrible. Which princes brought with them great supplies to join with *Aladin*.

*Aladin* thus aided by his friends, thinking himself now strong enough for *Amurath* his father in law, sent an Embassador vnto him, certifying him, That he was nothing in power inferior to him, and therefore nothing feared him: yet if it pleased him to haue peace, he could for his part be content to hearken vnto the same vpon reasonable conditions: but if he had rather haue war, he should find him ready to dare him battell in the field, whensoever he came. For answer of which embassage, *Amurath* willed the Embassador to tell the perjured King his master, that he had of late, contrary to his faith before giuen, in most cruel maner inuaded his dominions, whilst he was busied in most godly wars (as he termed it) against the misbelieving Christians: from prosecuting wherof he was (as he said) by his violence withdrawn, contrary to the law of their great Prophet. For which outrages and wrongs he would shortly come and take of him sharp reuenge: and that therefore hee was to expect nothing at his hands but war, for which he willed him so to provide, as that at his coming he might not find him wanting to himself. *Aladin* by his Embassador hauing receiued this answer from *Amurath*, assembled all the confederat princes his allies, with great persuations and greater promises encouraging them to this war. And they again kissing the ground at his feet, as the manner of that nation is before great Princes, promised with solemn oaths neuer to forsake him, but to doe all things which Princes desirous of honor or fame, ought by their oath to do for their Soueraign vnto whom they owed homage and fealty.

*The death of Chairadin Bassa.*

In this great preparation for wars in Asia, *Chairadin Bassa* general gouernor in Europ died: which *Amurath* vnderstanding, appointed *Alis Bassa* his son to go into Europe, there to be Gouernor in his fathers stead. But being stayd in his journey by vrgent occasions, *Amurath* sent for him back again in post.

*Aladin* forecasting the great dangers like to ensue of this war, sent another Embassadour to *Amurath*, with reasonable conditions of peace. To whom *Amurath* answered, That if *Aladin* had made that offer one month before, he would perhaps haue accepted of it: but forsomuch as he had don him great wrong, and that he had now to his infinit charge drawn him into the field so far from home, hee would not make any other end than such as the chance of Warre should appoint. And whereas he in disgrace had called him a heardfman or shepherd (sayd he) if he be not such a one himself as he faith me to be, let him meet me in the field and there try his valour. Hereunto the Embassadour replied, That the King his master made this offer of peace not for any fear, but to saue the effusion of innocent blood: which consideration set apart,

A apart, he should find him not inferior to himselfe either in number of most expert soldiers, or other warlike provision: and that therefore if he rejected this offer of peace, he needed not to doubt but to encounter with men of courage, who would bear themselves so valiantly in the field against his Turkes, as that hee should haue no great cause to reioice of his coming thither. Which words of the Embassador so getled *Amurath*, that in great rage hee commanded him to depart, and to tell his master, if he were a man of such courage and valour as he said, to shew himself in the field with all his forces, there to make an end of all quarrels, where he doubted not but in short time to chastise him according to his due deserts. So after the Embassador was departed, marching forward three dayes, *Alis Beg* came vnto him: of whose coming he not a little reioiced, for why, he loued him dearly, and although he was yet of years but yong, relied much vpon his counsell.

B The Embassador returning, recounted vnto *Aladin* all that *Amurath* had said, not omitting his hard speeches and proud threats, and how that hee hoped shortly to take from him *Iconium* and *Larenda* (the principal cities of Caramania) with many things more, leauing nothing vtold. Which *Aladin* hearing, said vnto the other confederat princes that were with him, Verily *Amurath* threatneth to take from vs the cities of *Iconium* and *Larenda*; but let him take heed that we take not from him his fair city of Prusa. Then demanding of the Embassador, of what strength *Amurath* might be; it was answered by him, that hee deemed him to be about seuentie thousand strong. Wherat *Aladin* not a little reioicing, said, Assuredly when he shall see our army, he will not dare to giue vs battell; or if he do, he shall fight vpon great C disadvantage, his men being both fewer in number than wee, and sore wearied with long and painfull trauell.

In the mean time *Amurath* held on his way towards Caramania, daily encouraging his soldiers with persuations & gifts bountifully bestowed vpon them, filling their heads with promises of greater, the wars once happily ended. At length he came to the great plains in Caramania, called the French plains, because in former times the Christians (whom the Turkes for most part call Frankes) in those plaines incamped their great armies as they went to the winning of *Ierusalem*, as in the former part of this historie is declared. Into these plaines also came *Aladin*, with his army, and was now incamped within one daies march of *Amurath*, and so rested that night.

D The next morning *Amurath* put his army in order of battell, appointing the leading of the right wing to his youngest son *Iacup*, with whom he joined *Cutluk Beg*, *Eim Beg*, *Subbassa*, *Egri-dum*, *Subbassa*, *Seraze*, and *Custendil* two Christian Princes, all captains of great experience. The left wing was led by *Bajazet* his eldest son, with *Ferize* and *Hozze*, both valiant captaines: in which wings were also placed the Christian soldiers sent by *Lazarus* out of *Servia*, according to the late conuention of peace: in the main battell he stood himself: the vanguard was conducted by *Temurtases*; and the reeward by the Subbassa of *Oxylithus* (called also *Temurtases*) and *Achmetes*. *Aladin* on the other side with no lesse care and diligence set his men likewise in order of battell, placing himself in the main battell, as did *Amurath*; and the Princes his allies, with his other expert captaines, some in the right wing, and some in the left, as he thought E it most conuenient: in such sort that in all mens judgment he was in force nothing inferior to his father in law.

These great enemies thus ranged, with ensignes disployed came on courageously, one directly vpon the other, where approaching together, the confused noise of trumpets, drums, fifes, with other instruments of war, the neighing of horses and clattering of armour was so great, that whilst warlike minds therat reioiced, cowards thought heauen fell. But the sign of battell on both sides giuen, *Samagazes* one of the confederat Princes, with exceeding courage first charged *Temurtases* in the vanguard, and broke his ranks: at which time *Teberrases* a Tartar prince, and *Karsacides* another of the confederats, deliuered their arrows also vpon the vanguard as if it had bin a shour of hail. Which *Bajazet* seeing, and how hardly *Temurtases* was charged; F hauing before obtained leaue of his father, brake in vpon the enemy with such violence as if it had bin the lightning; wherof hee was euer after surnamed *Gilderun*, which is to say, The lightning. *Ferize* and *Hozze*, with the other valiant Captaines in that wing, following *Bajazet*, with inuincible courage entred the battell, where for a great space was made a most terrible and dreadfull fight. A man would haue thought two rough seas had met together,

*The great battell in the Caramanian plaines between Amurath and Aladin.*

swaying one against another, doubting which way the current would at length fall. In this conflict were many thousands on both sides slain, so that the field lay covered with the dead bodies of worthy men and valiant soldiers: yet at length these confederate Princes, finding themselves overmatched by Bajazet and his soldiers, reserving themselves to their better fortunes, turned their backs and fled; when Aladin seeing a great part of his army thus overthrown, and himself now ready to be charged with Amuraths whole power, despairing of victory, sped himself in all haste to Iconium his strong city. The spoil which Amurath got in this battell was great, most part whereof he gave in reward to Temurates and his soldiers, who had endured the greatest fury of the battell. Amurath after this victorie with all speed marched to Iconium, and there besieged Aladin the Caramanian King, in his strongest city, giving out proclamation in the mean time, That none of his soldiers upon pain of death should use any violence to any of the country people, or take any thing from them; to the intent it might appear vnto the world, that he made that war against that Mahometan King, rather to repulse injury and wrong, than for desire of soueraignty or spoil. Which his so strict proclamation the Christians sent by Lasarus (amongst others) transgressed, and therefore by his commandment suffered many of them exemplary punishment: which was the cause of the Serbian war which not long after ensued, it fall both vnto Amurath and Lasarus the Despot, as hereafter shall appear.

Aladin now on every side besieged in Iconium, and without all hope of escape, sent to the Queen his wife Amuraths daughter, bewailing vnto her his desperate estate, and requesting her by all the loue that so honorable a minded Lady might bear vnto her miserable husband, to aduenture her selfe to go to her angry father, and to craue pardon for his great trespass and offence. The Queen forthwith attyning her self as was fittest for her husbands present estate, came to her father: where falling down at his feet vpon her knees, with words wisely placed, and tears distilling down her fair cheeks from her fairer eies, as if it had bin from two fountains, in most sorrowfull manner craued her husbands pardon, imputing to the heat of youth whatsoeuer he had done; and would not be comforted or taken vp vntill shee had obtained grace. Amurath most intirely loued this his daughter, and therefore for her sake not only granted her husbands life (which in short time was like to haue bin in his power to haue spoiled) but also his kingdom, which he as a victorious conqueror might by law of arms haue of right detained. She now assured of her fathers promise, sent vnto her husband Aladin, wishing him the next day without fear to come out of the City, and in humble sort to acknowledge his fault before her father. Who the next morning accordingly came out, and prostrating himselfe before Amurath, acknowledged his vndutifulnes, of whom (for his wifes sake) hee obtained pardon, and restitution to his kingdom, with many other gifts, contrary to his euil desert. The Latine histories mistaking the man, report this Caramanian War to haue bene fought against the King of Caramania, Amuraths own grandfather by the mothers side; and that he was then by Amurath spoiled of a great part of his kingdom. But it agreeth not with the Turkish histories, which make Amurath to be the son of Orchanes and Luluser, the daughter of the Gouvernour of the Castle of Iarchisar, as is before declared in the life of Othoman; which Luluser lieth buried by her husband Orchanes in Prusa.

This great victory got by Amurath against the Caramanian King and the other confederate Princes, was the true beginning of the greatnesse of the Othoman kingdom in Asia: where with the other Mahometan Princes of the Selzucian Family were so discouraged, that they were glad to submit themselves thus first vnto Amurath, and after that, vnto his son Bajazet: vntill that Tamerlane the great Tartarian prince, some few years after taking Bajazet prisoner in a great battell at mount Stella, abated the Othoman pride, and restored the other oppressed Mahometan Princes to their old possessions and kingdoms.

Amurath returning homewards, by the way took the city of Despotopolis; and coming to Cutaie brake vp his army, and so in triumph returned to his court at Prusa.

Lasarus Despot of Serbia (in old time called Mysia) had sent a thousand armed men to Amurath in this the late Caramanian War, according to the conuention of the peace not long before made betwixt them: some of which souldiers were with great seueritie (to the terror of others) executed in Caramania, for transgressing Amuraths commandement. This great war thus ended, and the army broken vp at Cutaie, they with others were licensed to depart into

A into their own country. Whose General (whom they call the Vayud) returning home, reported vnto Lasarus the Despot, the succces of that war, and withall, in what cruel and tyrannicall manner the men he had sent were in that seruice used by the commandment of Amurath: with whom (said this General) you without cause haue made a most dishonorable peace; first, by giving your faith to such a miscreant; and then in sending your loyal subjects, in recompence of their good seruice, to be so butchered at his pleasure: beside the shamefull tribute which you yearly pay vnto him. Whereas if it would please you in the depth of your wisdom but to know your own strength, you should find your self in warlike force and power nothing inferior to the Tyrant. For we your seruants being in number but an handful, were in these his late wars a terror vnto his enemies, and by our valor, and not his own, hee got the victory ouer them. What cause is there then, that you should subject your self vnto your inferior? I know he cannot of himself bring into the field above fifty thousand fighting men: but admit he were able to bring an hundred thousand; are not you (if you so please) able to levy a far greater power? and for all other warlike prouision you are ten times better prouided than he. Besides that, the mighty Christian Princes will send you such aid against this hatefull and Common Enemy, that being united with yours, his Barbarian forces will be nothing in comparison of those which you shall then be able to bring into the field against him. Which no doubt the Christian princes will the rather do, as men desirous to quench this deuouring fire in another mans house rather than in their own.

These words of the Vayud so much moued Lasarus, that he determined with himselfe to break that seruile league which he before had made with Amurath: and for that cause sent his Embassador with secret instructions to the King of Bosna (in time past called Illyria) his neighbor; whereof the chief point was, to craue his aid against the Turk their common Enemy. By whom the King of Bosna returned this answer, That it had bin much better such consideration had bin thought vpon before the foul contract (full of disgrace both to himself and all other Christian Princes) was vpon a vain fear by him rashly made with the Turkish tyrant. Yet for so much as things don could not be vndon, letting that passe which was remediless, hee promised to joine with him his whole forces against so dangerous an Enemy. And therupon appointing a place for an interview, met accordingly, and there fully concluded all the Articles of their confederation.

D There was in the confines of Bosna a castle called Alexandria, the captain whereof being a Christian, was yet tributary to the Turk; wishing vnto him such good, as men oppressed use to do to them by whom they are so wronged. This captain vnder color of friendship went to Amurath, and in great secrecie opened to him the whole state of the kingdom of Bosna, and withall, that the King thereof intended some great matter against him: for the preventing of which he offered his own seruice, and shewed some probable means how that kingdom might be brought into his subiection, if hee would but send some worthy Generall with a conuenient power for the vndertaking thereof. This wonderfully pleased the ambitious old Tyrant, who therefore commanded a rich garment to be cast vpon the Captain (which amongst the Turks is taken for a sure token of the Kings great fauor) and forthwith appointed his Tutor

E Lala Schabin, according to this captains direction, to invade the kingdom of Bosna. Who joining himselfe with this deceitfull Captaine of Alexandria, with an army of twenty thousand men entred into Bosna, where ouerrunning a side of the countrey, he without resistance tooke great booties; and seeing no apparent cause of fear, to do the more harm, by aduice of the said captain diuided his army, which he sent into diuers parts of the Countrey, the more to burne and spoile the same. Of all whose proceedings the King of Bosna by secret letters from the captain aduertised, had in conuenient places laid strong ambushes for the intercepting of his enemies. So that as Schabin was returning homeward with a rich booty, hauing then with him but a thousand men, suddenly appeared in his way thirty thousand Christians well armed; which Schabin seeing, thinking it folly to oppose so few against so many, would haue presently fled; but the rest of the gallants which were with him, presuming of their good fortune, and loth to lose their rich prey, would needs first skirmish with the Christians: in which desperate conflict they were almost all slain, and the whole spoile they had taken recovered by the Christians. As for Schabin hee was glad by shamefull flight to saue himselfe. The like mishap befel the other Turks in the other parts of Bosna, who for the most part were like-

Lasarus the Despot craues aid of the king of Bosna.

wife intercepted and slain : so that of twenty thousand scarce five thousand returned home. G

Amurath married his daughter : whose two sisters were also giuen in marriage to his two sons : at which time he with great solemnity circumcised three of *Baiazets* sons. At this time also returned *Iazigi Oglu*, whom he had before sent Embassador to the Sultan of Egypt, in requital of the honorable embassage before to him sent from the said Sultan. Now *Amurath* vnderstanding of the losse of his men in Bosnia, with the reuolt of *Lazarus* Despot of Serbia, was therewith much disquieted. Wherefore he commanded *Alis Bassa* his chief counsellor, with all speed to send forth commissions into all parts of his kingdom, for the levying of a royal army : which was done in such post hast, that it was thought he would haue taken the field before the beginning of the spring. At which time also the other Mahometan kings and Princes of Asia, *Caraman Oglu*, *Tike Oglu*, and the rest bound vnto him by homage, with diuers others of smaller power, were sent for to aid him in this war : who partly for feare, and partly moued with the zeal of their Mahometan superstition, brought their forces with great deuotion. To this war against the Christians, came also great numbers of the Mahometans from far countries, as voluntary soldiers, *Baiazet* his son also, then gouernor of Cutaia with a great part of Galatia, gathering all his forces, came to aid his father in this Religious war, as it was by them termed. The Christian tributary princes were not then forgotten, of whom two came, namely *Custendil* & *Seratsil*. Other two forsaking *Amurath*, came not, which was *Sesamus* Prince of Bulgaria, and the Prince of Varna and Dobritza : with whom *Amurath* was highly offended. In the time of this so great preparation, old *Lala Schabin*, *Amurath*'s tutor and faithful Seruitor died, beeing a man of great yeares : and *Temurtas* was appointed Gouernor in his place. I

The reuolting of the two Christian Princes, *Sasmenos* and the Prince of Varna, much grieved *Amurath*. Wherefore he commanded *Alis Bassa* with an army of thirty thousand to inuade and spoil *Sasmenos* his country, now called Bulgaria, and in ancient time the lower Myfia. *Alis Bassa* according to that was giuen him in charge, calling vnto him *Iaxus Beg* the son of *Temurtas*, *I'lu Beg*, *Suratze Bassa*, with other Captains and Commanders of the Turks provinces in Europ, assembled an army of thirty thousand for the iquation of Bulgaria. With this Army the Bassa took many strong towns and castles in Bulgaria, as Pirauade, Venuzina, Madra, Suni and others. K

In the mean time, whilst *Alis Bassa* had thus begun the wars against the Christians in Bulgaria, *Amurath* hauing gathered a great Army in Asia, determined in the beginning of the Spring to passe ouer with the same into Europ : commending the gouernment of his Countries in Asia, to *Temurtas* Bassa, *Ferises Beg*, *Temurtas* Subbassa, *Cutlu Beg*, and *Hafa Beg*, and so all things set in order in Asia, he drew down his Asian forces toward Hellespontus, where he was a while stayd with contrary winds, but was afterwards transported to Callipolis, by *Tenit* Beg Sanzack there. This was the third time that *Amurath* brought his army out of Asia into Europ. But whilst he stayd at Callipolis, *Baiazet* his son with a great power came to him thither. *Alis Bassa* also vnderstanding of *Amurath*'s arriual in Europe, retyred out of Bulgaria, and came to him at Alcide, recounting vnto him the whole successe of his expedition into Bulgaria. L

*Sasmenos* Prince of Bulgaria seeing his country spoiled, his strong cities and castles taken by the Turks, and withall hearing of their great preparations for war, by the aduice of his nobilitie thought it best betimes again to submit himselfe vnto *Amurath*. Wherefore tying a winding sheet about his neck, in token that he had deserued death (after the manner of the Barbarians) he came to *Amurath* at Alcide, where falling flat vpon the ground at the horses feet wheron *Amurath* sat, he in most humble wise craued pardon, offering at a certain day to deliuer Silistria the chief city of his dominion, into *Amurath* his possession, as a pledge of his fidelitie, who therupon granted him pardon, and to assure him of his fauor, commanded a rich garment to be cast vpon him, after the maner of the Turks, sending *Alis Bassa* at the time appointed to take possession of Silistria. But *Sasmenos* repenting himself of what he had so largely promised, would not deliuer his city, but in strongest manner he could presently fortified the same. Wherewith *Amurath* more offended than before, commanded the Bassa with fire and sword again to spoile and wast his Countrey. Who according to his commaundement entred

A entred againe into Bulgaria, and strook such a terrour of his coming into the hearts of the people, that many strong places were voluntarily yeelded into his power; namely *Diritze*, *Cossova*, with the city *Ternova* the seat of the Princes Court, *Tazmen*, *Nouakestri*, *Ziftoua*, with diuers others : and proceeding further, he laid siege to *Nicopolis* the strongest City of Bulgaria, vpon the side of the great riuer *Danubius*, whither *Sasmenos* was himselfe for feare fled. Who finding himselfe vnable to hold out the siege, once again (with shame enough) tying a winding sheet about his neck, as he had done before, and taking his son with him, went out of the City, and in most abject manner falling downe at the Bassa's feet, craued pardon : which the sayd Bassa, moued with compassion to see the misery of so great a man, and hauing already taken from him the greatest part of his dominion, and now out of feare of further resistance, easily granted. And hauing thus ended the Bulgarian war, returned to *Amurath*, of whom he was right joyfully receiued.

*Amurath* had now made great preparation for the inuading of Serbia ; for the which purpose hee had drawn ouer into Europe the greatest forces he could possibly out of Asia : sending also for his yongest son *Iacup*, Gouernor of Carasia, who vnderstanding his fathers pleasure, repaired vnto him with all the power hee could make. This Army by *Amurath* thus assembled, was the greatest that euer was before that brought by the Turks into Europ. *Lazarus* not ignorant of this great preparation made by *Amurath*, had drawn into the society of this War, the King of Bosnia (as is before said) with *Vulcus* Prince of Macedonia his son in law, who both brought vnto him great aid. He had also by his Embassadors procured great supplies from other Christian Kings and princes, out of Valachia, Hungaria, Croatia, Sclauonia, Albania, Bulgaria, and Italy ; besides great numbers of other voluntary deuout Christians : which all assembled and met together, did in number far exceed the great Army of the Turks. C

With this army *Lazarus* the Despot incamped vpon the side of the riuer *Moravia* the greater, not far from which stood the strong Castle of *Sarkiu*, which *Alis Bassa* had of late taken from *Sasmenos* the Bulgarian Prince, standing as it were betwixt Bulgaria and Serbia. This castle being now possessed of the Turks, was thought by *Lazarus* dangerous to his Countrey ; who therefore sent one *Demetrius* a right valiant captain, with certain companies of select men to take in the same. The name of this captain *Demetrius* was a general terror vnto the Turks, for the harm he had done them : so that they in the castle hearing that he was come, without further resistance yeelded the same vnto him. Whereof *Amurath* vnderstanding, sent *Eine* and *Sarutse* Bassa to recouer the same : But *Lazarus* doubting that the castle would hardly bee kept in that dangerous war, sent *Vulcus* his son in law with 20000 men to bring away all that was therein, and in the city neer vnto it, lest it should become a prey vnto the greedy Turks : which he accordingly did, and at the same time rased both the castle and the City, before the coming of *Iaxus Beg*, sent from *Amurath* to haue done the same exploit, which he comming thither found already done to his hand by *Vulcus*. D

As *Amurath* was marching towards Serbia, *Seratsil* and *Custendil* two Christian Princes his Tributaries, met him with their forces, whom he caused to march before him as his guides : and passing thorow *Custendil* his countrey, was there refreshed with plenty of all things necessarie ; vntill at length passing the riuer of *Morava* the lesse, hee drew so neere to the plaines of *Cossova*, where the Christian army lay, that he with his son *Baiazet* from a little hill took full view of the Christian campe, which was so great, that it couered all those large plaines from side to side, and so daunted *Amurath*, as that returning to his army, hee presently entred into a great consultation with his greatest captains and commanders, what course to take against such a puissant enemy. E

These two great armies being now come so nigh together, as that they might the onewell descry the other, *Amurath* had purposed the same day to haue giuen the Christians battell ; but being dissuaded by *Eurenoses*, both for that it was extreame hot, and his souldiers wearied with trauel, he rested that night. The next morning as soon as it was day hee put his army in order of battell, placing his son *Baiazet* with *Eurenoses* and *Eine Beg* Subbassa, in the right wing ; his yongest son *Iacup* with *Sarutse* Bassa in the left wing ; the main battell he led himselfe. *Lazarus* in the mean time had also set his Army in good order ; giuing the charge of the right wing to *Vulcus* his son in law ; the left wing was led by the King of Bosnia, and his sons ; in the main

The castle of Sarkiu with the city joining to it, taken by the Christians and rased.

main battel stood *Laſarus* himſelfe; the Italians, Valachians, Hungarians, Bohemians, and Bulgarians, he placed in both wings. It is thought, greater Armies than thoſe two had ſeldom before met in Europe: *Laſarus* (as the Turkiſh hiſtories report, but how truly I know not) hauing in his army five hundred thouſand men, and *Amurath* ſcarſe halfe ſo many.

To begin the battel, *Amurath* had drawn a thouſand of his beſt archers, vnder the leading of *Malcoſſeus*, out of the right wing of his army, & the like number of archers out of the left, vnder the conduct of *Maſſapha*: which ſo placed on both ſides of the army as he thought beſt, *Euermeſes* a man of great experience told *Amurath*, That the Chriſtians were for the moſt part well and ſtrongly armed, and ſtanding cloſe together in their charge would be like a rock of non-vnable to be pierced: but if in joining the battell he would a little retyre, the Chriſtians following vpon good hope, would loſe their cloſe ſtanding (the chief part of their ſtrength) and ſo leaue an entrance for his men. Vpon which reſolution, *Amurath* commanded the Archers to giue the firſt charge, which they courageouſly performed. At which time the Turks army gaue ground a little, which the Chriſtians perceiuing, with great force aſſailed the left wing of their army, and with a hard and cruell fight put the ſame to flight. Which *Bajazet* ſeeing, with ſuch fury renewed the battel, that the Turks who before as men diſcouraged fled in the left wing, began now to turn again vpon their enemies; and the Chriſtians hauing as they thought already got the victory, were to begin a great battell. In which bloody fight many ſel on both ſides: the brightnes of the armor and weapons was as it had bin the lightning: the multitude of the launces and other horſemens ſtaues ſhadowed the light of the Sun: arrows and darts fel ſo faſt, that a man would haue thought they had poured down from heauen: the noiſe of the inſtruments of war, with the niſhing of horſes and outcries of men was ſo terrible and great, that the wild beaſts in the mountains ſtood ſtonied therewith: and the Turkiſh hiſtories to expreſs the terror of the day, vainely ſay, that the Angels in heauen amaſed with that hideous noiſe, for that time forgot the haueuly hymns wherewith they alwaies gloriſie God. About noon time of the day, the fortune of the Turks preuailling, the Chriſtians began to giue ground, and at length berooke themſelves to plain flight; whom the Turks with all their force purſued, and ſlew them down right without number or mercy. In which battel *Laſarus* the Deſpot himſelfe was alſo ſlain. Howbeit ſome hiſtories report otherwiſe; as that hee with his ſon were taken priſoners, and by and by afterward, in reuenge of *Amurath's* death cruelly ſlain. Other ſome alſo reporting that he died in priſon. *Amurath* after this great victory, with ſome of his chief captaines taking view of the dead bodies, which without number lay on heaps in the fields like mountains; a Chriſtian ſoldier ſore wounded and all bloody, ſeeing him, in ſtaggering maner roſe, as if it had bin from death, out of an heap of ſlain men, and making towards him, for want of ſtrength fel down diuers times by the way as he came, as if hee had bin a drunken man: at length drawing nigh vnto him, when they who guarded the Kings perſon would haue ſlayd him, he was by *Amurath* himſelfe commanded to come neerer, ſuppoſing that he would haue craued his life of him. Thus the half dead Chriſtian preſſing neer vnto him, as if he would for honors ſake haue kiſſed his feet, ſuddenly ſtabd him in the bottom of his belly, with a ſhort dagger which he had vnder his ſoldiers coat: of which wound that great King and conqueror preſently died. The name of this man (for his courage worthy of eternal memory) was *Miles Cobelits*; who before ſore wounded, was ſhortly after in the preſence of *Bajazet* cut into ſmall pieces. The Turks in their Annals ſomewhat otherwiſe report of the death of *Amurath*: as that this *Cobelits*, one of the Deſpots ſeruants, in time of the battel coming to *Amurath* as a fugitiue, offering him his ſeruice; and admitted to his preſence, in humbling himſelfe to haue kiſſed his feet (as the barbarous maner of the Turks is) ſtabbed him into the belly and ſo ſlew him; being himſelfe ſhortly after therefore (as is aforeſaid) in the preſence of *Bajazet* moſt cruelly hewn into ſmal pieces. Whereupon ever ſince that time, the maner of the Turks hath bin, and yet is, that when any Embaſſador or ſtranger is to come to kiſſe the Sultans hand, or otherwiſe to approch his perſon, he is as it were for honors ſake led by the arms vnto his preſence by two of the great courtiers: but indeed by ſo intangling him, to be ſure hee ſhall not offer him the like violence that did this *Cobelits* formerly to *Amurath*.

The dead body of *Amurath* was preſently with all ſecrecie conueyed into his Tent by the Baſſa's and Captains preſent at his death: whither *Bajazet* was alſo brought with an Enſigne before

A before him, as the ſucceſſor in his fathers kingdom. His yonger brother *Iakup*, ſurnamed *Zelebi* (or the noble) yet ignorant of that had hapned, was by the great Baſſa's ſent for, as from his father: who caſting no perill, but coming into his fathers tent, was there preſently by them ſtrangled, by the commandement of *Bajazet*, as moſt hiſtories report: howbeit the Turks annals charge him not therewith. This was the beginning of the moſt vnnaturall and inhumane cuſtom, euer ſince holden as a moſt whoſom and good policie among the Turkiſh kings and Emperors, in the beginning of their reign moſt cruelly to maſſacre their brethren and neereſt kintmen, ſo at once to rid themſelves of all fear of their competitors.

This *Amurath* was in his ſuperſtition more zealous than any other of the Turkiſh Kings, a man of great valor, and in all his attempts fortunat. Hee made greater ſlaughter of his Enemies than both his father and grandfather. His kingdom in Aſia hee greatly enlarged by the ſword, marriage and purchaſe; and vſing the diſcord and cowardice of the Grecian Princes to his profit, ſubdued a great part of Thracia, called Romania, with the territories therto adjoyning, leauing to the Emperor of Conſtantinople, little or nothing more in Thracia than the Imperiall city of Conſtantinople, with the bare name of an Emperor, almoſt without an empire. He won a great part of Bulgaria, and entred into Serbia, Boſna, and Macedonia. He was liberall, and withall ſeuere; of his ſubjects both beloued and feared: a man of very few words and one that could diſſemble deeply. He was ſlain when he was 68 years old, and had thereof reigned 31 Anno Dom. 1390. His dead body was by *Bajazet* conueyed into Aſia, and there royally buried at Pruſa, in a fair chappell at the Weſt end of the city, neer to the Baths there; where vpon his tomb lieth his ſoldiers cloake, with a little Turkiſh Tulipant, much different from thoſe great turbants which the Turks now weare. Neer vnto the ſame tomb are placed three lances, with three horſe nails feſtned at the vpper end of them, which he vſed as guidons in his wars: a thing in antient time not ſtrange. There ſtandeth a caſtle, with a tomb made in remembrance of him, in the plaines of Coſſova, where hee was ſlaine, and his intrals buried. Which giues occaſion for ſome to report that he was there alſo himſelfe interred.

*Amurath* buried at Pruſa.

## F I N I S.

Emperors	Of the Eaſt	<i>John Palaeologus</i>	1354. 30
		<i>Andronicus Palaeologus</i>	1384. 3
		<i>Emanuel Palaeologus</i>	1387. 30
Of the Weſt		<i>Charles the fourth</i>	1346. 32
		<i>Winceſlaus, ſon to Charles King of Bohemia</i>	1378. 22
Kings	Of England	<i>Edward the third</i>	1327. 50
		<i>Richard the ſecond</i>	1377. 23
	Of France	<i>John Valois</i>	1350. 14
		<i>Charles the fifth</i>	1364. 16
		<i>Charles the ſixth, ſurnamed the Welbeloued.</i>	1381. 42
Of Scotland		<i>David Bruce</i>	1341. 29
		<i>Robert Stuart</i>	1370
Biſhops of Rome		<i>Innocent the VI.</i>	1354. 10
		<i>Vrbane the V.</i>	1364. 8
		<i>Gregory the XI.</i>	1372. 7
		<i>Vrbane the VI.</i>	1378. 11

Chriſtian Princes of the ſame time with *Amurath* the firſt.



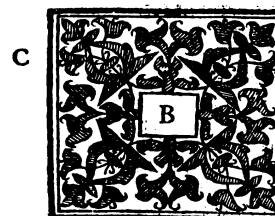
Phi. Tenti-  
con. Hist. r.  
Tur. l. 1.

*Fulminis in morem celeri rapit agmina motu  
Bajazerthes, fidei pacis & impatiens.  
Regni Hadrianopolim sedes sibi legit ut esset,  
Posset ut Europa jungere regna sua.  
Constantinopolim gemina obsidione fatigat:  
Iam Græcas vana spe sibi spondet opes.  
Cum Tamerlano præbet sua terga, casen  
Vinctus, & in cavea probra pudenda subit.*

Proud *Bajazet*, most false of faith, and loathing blessed peace,  
His warlike troupes like lightning to shake he doth not cease.  
Of Hadrianople he makes choice for his Imperiall seat,  
That Europes Kingdom he might join vnto his Empire great.  
Constantinople he distrest twice with streit siege and long;  
And vainly thought to haue posselt the Grecians wealth by wrong.  
But overcome by *Tamerlane*, fast bound in fetters sure,  
Trod vnder foot, and clos'd in Cage, great shame did there endure.



## THE LIFE OF BAI AZET, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, THE FOVRTH AND MOST VNFORTVNAT KING OF THE TVRKES.



*Bajazet* (or as the Turks call him *Bajazet*) of his violent and fierce nature surnamed *Gilderun*, or lightning, succeeded his father *Amurath* in the Turkish kingdom; his yonger brother *Iacup* beeing strangled immediatly after his fathers death, as is before declared. He in the first year of his reign inuaded *Servia*, and there besieged *Cratoua*, a city of the *Despots*, whereunto the siluer mines of *Servia* (not the least cause of that war) belonged. Which city was yeilded vnto him vpon condition, That the Christian inhabitants might with life and liberty depart. Who were no sooner gone out of the City, but that by his commandement they were

*Bajazet inuadit  
deh Servia.*

all most cruelly slain by his men of war, for that purpose sent out after them. At this time he also won *Vicupia*, with diuers other castles in the country neer vnto *Cratoua*.

*Sigismund* at the same time King of Hungary (a yong Prince of great hope, and brother to *Winceflaw* then Emperor of the West) aduertised from the *Servians* his allyes and Confederats, of these proud proceedings of *Bajazet*; by his Embassadours sent of purpose, requested him, that as he was a iust Prince, and wished to liue in quiet with his owne, to desist from doing such open wrong, and from inuading of such countries of his friends & confederats, as he had no right in. Which Embassadours so sent, *Bajazet* detained without answer, til such time as he had ouerrun a great part of the *Despots* country, and therein don what he thought good. Then calling the said Embassadours vnto him into one of the strong towns which hee had in euery corner filled with his own souldiers, told them that they might there see, that his right both vnto that town and the rest by him taken was good enough, forasmuch as the very Walls acknowledged the same. And so giuing them leaue to depart, willed them so to tel their master. Which his proud answer by the same Embassadours reported vnto the young King, no lesse troubled him than if open war had by them bin denounced vnto him, seeing the Tyrant, as it should seem, pretended right vnto whatsoeuer he could by force get. Neuertheles, being himself as yet not wel settled in his kingdom, and in doubt of the contrary faction (that altogether liked not of his election into Hungary for their King) he was glad at that time to put it vp, and so to hold himself content.

The next yeare *Bajazet* by *Ferises Beg* tooke the City of *Vidina*, with many other strong Townes and Castles in *Servia*, and afterwards returned vnto *Hadrianople*. But whilest that he thus raged in Europ, the *Caramanian King* inuaded and spoiled the frontiers of his countries in Asia. At the same time *Eurenoses*, Lord Gouvernour of the marches of his Dominions in Europe towards *Grecia*, departing from *Serres* (where hee then lay) tooke the Citie of *Sitros* in *Theffalia*. And *Ferises Beg*, not content to haue taken *Vidina* (as is before said) passed over the great Riuer of *Danubius*, and grievously spoyled *Valachia*: from whence he returned loden with a great prey. This is the first time that I read of, that the Turks euer pas-

sed

*Servia the se-  
cond time in-  
uaded by Ba-  
jazet.*

fed over the river Danubius. At this time also *Iegides Bassa* entered the kingdom of Bosna, G from whence he carried a great number of Captiues to Hadrianople, where *Bajazet* spent that Winter.

In the beginning of the next Spring *Bajazet* passed ouer Hellespontus to Prusa, where hee built a fair Mahometan temple with a colledge and an almshouse: which works finished, he returned again into Europ, and built a monastery at Hadrianople, and so returned again into Asia, leaving *Temurtases* Beglerbeg or Viceroy in Hadrianople. After he was come into Asia, he laid siege vnto the strong city of Philadelphia in Lydia, which was at that time the onely city in the lesser Asia yet holden by the Christians in the midst of the Mahometan Princes. For now was the Greek emperor by the *Othoman* Kings and the other Turks, quite driuen out of the lesser Asia. In the beginning of this siege, *Bajazet* gaue streit commandment to his soldiers, That they should not spoil or hurt any thing in the country belonging to the citifens; hoping by this feigned curtesie to make them the more willing to yeeld themselves vnto his obedience. But disappointed of his expectation, and finding them resolu'd to hold it out to the last, he forthwith gaue out contrary commandment, not to spare any thing they could waite or destroy: which was accordingly by his greedy soldiers performed. After a long siege, the citifens seeing the countrey about them vtterly wasted, and themselves vnable any longer to endure, and out of all hope of relief, yeelded their city to the pleasure of *Bajazet*. Somewhile, That at this famous city was not besieged without the consent of the Emperor of Constantinople: and that the Greeks themselves, moued with enuy to see that City so long hold out, did help the Turks in the winning thereof.

During this siege, *Aladin Oghli* Prince of Caria, a Mahometan, came to *Bajazet*, & yeelded himself into his power as his vassal: vnto whom *Bajazet* restored certain places which he had in this expedition a little before taken from him; yet vpon such condition, as that he should not from that time coin any money in his own name, either be remembered in their publike praiers as a prince in their Mahometan temples, as he had before bin: but that al such things should be don in the name of *Bajazet*, as his dread Lord & Soueraign. With which disgrace the poor prince was glad to content himself, and to liue as his vassal. From Philadelphia he led his army into the country of Saruchania, in antient time called Ionia Maritima, which he subdued to himself vpon like conditions. After that he passed further to Mentesia, or Mentz, sometime called Myndos, in Caria: the prince wherof for fear fled to *Cutrun Bajazet* Prince of Castamona, and part of Pontus, leaving his country to the pleasure of the tyrant. And forasmuch as the yong King of Caramania had invaded his countries whilst he was busied in Europ, *Bajazet* in reuenge thereof entred with his army into Caramania, and took Cæsarea, with diuers other places there: so that the yong King discouraged with the losse of his towns, and fearing *Bajazet's* greatness, was glad to hold himselfe content with his losse, and to make peace with him as it pleased him to grant it. As *Bajazet* was making this expedition into Caramania, another yong Mahometan Prince the son of Prince *Germian*, came vnto him with one of his chief counsellors, and were both by him sent prisoners ouer the streit to the castle of Ipsala where they lay in durance many years after. Thus *Bajazet* hauing oppressed and wronged most of the Mahometan princes, the successors of Sultan *Aladin* in the lesser Asia, at last returned again himselfe in triumph to Prusa.

The Prince of Mentesia, who for fear of *Bajazet* was fled out of his Countrey (as is aforesaid, had now incensed *Cutrun Bajazet* prince of Castamona, with a great power to invade that side of *Bajazet* his Kingdome which bordered vpon him. Which *Bajazet* vnderstanding, gathered together a great Army to go against this Mahometan Prince. At which very time the Vayuod of Valachia, hearing of *Bajazet* his troubles in Asia, with a strong Army passed ouer Danubius, into those parts of Serbia and Bulgaria that were by the Turks as then possessed; where he spoiled the Countrey, and slew great numbers of the Turks, making Mahometan Saints and Martyrs by heaps: for so the Turks account all them whom the Christians kil in their wars. Which don, he retyred back again into Valachia, carrying with him also many of the Turks prisoners. *Bajazet* thus at once invaded both in Asia and Europe, deferred his Warres purposed against the Prince of Pontus, vntill a more convenient time, converting his Forces against the Valachians. Wherefore passing ouer the Streight to Hadrianople, he sent his Army from thence to Nicopolis, and there passing the Riuer of Danubius, entered into

into Valachia, burning and spoiling the countrey before him as he went. Where the Vayuod to repress his fury, met him in the field and gaue him battell, but was therein ouerthrowne, and many of his people slaine; so that at last he was glad to sue for peace, which he obtained, by submitting himselfe to *Bajazet*, and yeelding to pay him a yeerely tribute.

Whilst *Bajazet* was thus busied in Valachia, newes was brought vnto him, That the Christians of the West with a fleet of gallies did great harm along the coasts of his dominions in Asia. In reuenge wherof, he entred with his army into Thessaly, destroying all the countrey vnto Thessalonica: in which expedition he tooke the city of Neapolis in Greece, and Ioannina in Etolia, and after that returned into Asia, where he spent that Winter.

In the beginning of the next Spring, he with a great power passed the streit of Callipolis to Hadrianople, intending to haue invaded Hungary. But as he was vpon the way, it chanced that a Constantinopolitan spie was by the Turks intercepted, with letters from the Greeke Emperour to the King of Hungary, giuing him warning both of the Turks preparation and comming. By which spie *Bajazet* also vnderstood of another messenger before sent into Hungary for like purpose. Whereupon *Temurtases* (then his great lieutenant in Europe) perswaded him to desist from his intended warres in Hungary, and to besiege the imperiall city of Constantinople, as a thing of more honour, and lesse danger; the city being already (as he said, and as in truth it was) surrounded with the Turkish prouinces: bringing in Philadelphia (but a few yeres before woon) for example of the like exploit. Of whose counsell *Bajazet* liking well, returned with his army, and shortly after came and fate down therewith before Constantinople, laying hard siege therunto, first by land, and then by sea, with his gallies sent from Callipolis. Which hard siege continued (as most histories report) the space of eight yeres: in which long time he draue the Emperour *Emanuel Palaeologus* to that streit, that he was glad to leaue his city, and himselfe in person to craue aid of *Wenceslaus* the Germane Emperour, and *Charles* the sixth the French King, and other Christian Princes also. At which time the citifens were at length brought to such extremity, that they were euen at the point to haue yeelded vp the city; and haply had so done, had not *Sigismund* King of Hungary (assisted with a great army of the French, and other voluntary Christians almost out of euery part of Christendome, to the number of an hundred and thirty thousand, vnder the leading of *John* Count of Niuers, and after Duke of Burgondy) for the reliefe of the besieged Emperour, passed ouer Danubius

into the Turkish dominions; and there hauing recovered Vidina, with certaine other strong Holds in Bulgaria, layd siege to Nicopolis: out of which city the Turks oftentimes sallied, and gaue him many an hot skirmish. It is reported, That the yong King *Sigismund* beholding the greatness of his great army, in his great jollity hearing of the comming of the Turks army, should proudly say *What need we to feare the Turk, who need not at all to feare the falling of the heauens, which if they should fall, yet were we able with our spears and halberts to hold them vp for falling vpon vs.* But *Bajazet* vnderstanding what spoyle the Hungarian King had made in his late gained countries, and of the siege of Nicopolis, commanded the ladders and other great prouision now in readinesse for the scaling and assaulting of the City of Constantinople, to be burnt, because they should not come into the hands of the Christians; and so raising his siege,

he marched with a right puissant army to Nicopolis, sending *Eurenoses* before, of purpose to intercept some of the Christians, thereby to learne the state of their camp and army. But they hearing of his comming, so well looked to themselves, that he with shame returned to his Master as he came, without any one prisoner taken. Which thing much troubled *Bajazet*, as fearing he should haue to do with a wary enemy. *Sigismund* vnderstanding of the approach of *Bajazet*, leauing a sufficient power for the continuing of the siege, rose himselfe, and with the rest of his army went to meet his proud enemy. Of whose comming and approach *Bajazet* vnderstanding, diuided his Army into two parts; and being now come within the sight of the Christian army, made shew but of the one halfe, keeping himselfe close in secret ambush not farre off with the other. The Christians deeming themselves (as they were) far more in number than the Turks which they saw, diuided their army also into two parts, purposing betwixt them to haue inclosed the Turks. Of all the Christians that were there present, the French desired to haue the honour of the first charge to be giuen vpon the Turks, and in their heat vpon good hope set forward (the Hungarians, with a great part of the army, not yet set in order) and so began the battell: where betwixt them and the Turks was fought a right cruell fight, and

Thessalia invaded by Bajazet

Constantinople eight yeres besieged by Bajazet.

in a little time many thousands slain. But this fight had not long endured, when *Bajazet* with the other halfe of his army suddenly arising, came on with such violence, as well became his surname of *Gulderun* or lightning; and so hardly charged the French, that they amazed at the suddenesse of the danger, and oppressed with the fury and multitude of the unexpected enemy, stood at the first as men dismayed; but seeing no remedy, encouraging one another, valiantly fought it out vntill they were almost all either slain or taken prisoners, still in hope to haue been relieved by the Hungarians and the rest. In this hard conflict diuers of the French horsemen hauing forsaken their horses, fought on foot, as their manner was: which horses running backe without their riders, vpon the Hungarians, caused them to doubt that the French were quite ouerthrowne; wherewith dismayed, they without further coming on, all turned their backs and fled, in so great hast, as that it booted not the king or any other great commander to go about to stay their flight. The French thus by their too much hast ouerthrowne, the Turks pursuing the Hungarians and the rest of the Christians, made of them a great slaughter; of whom also many were drowned in the great riuer Danubius. At which time also the Turks tooke for many prisoners, that it was thought euery seuerall Turke had his prisoner. King *Sigismund* himself, who but a little before had despised euen the falling of the heauens, had then also vndoubtedly fallen into his enemies hands, had he not in a little boat by good hap got ouer Danubius: not vnlike another *Xerxes*, who hauing couered the seas with his shippes, and with a world of men passed ouer into Grecia, was afterward by the strange change of fortune, himselfe alone in a small fischer boat glad to get backe again into Asia. *Sigismund* being thus got ouer Danubius, and fearing the violence of the Hungarians for the losse of the battell, fled by sea into Thracia to Constantinople, from whence he sailed vnto the Island of the Rhodes; and from thence sailing through the *Ægean* and Ionian sea, landed at length at Dalmatia; and so hauing wandred from place to place, tossed with many fortunes, after eightene moneths long and painefull travell returned againe into Hungary. Where he found the state of his kingdom in his absence much troubled, the contrary faction in the mean time hauing made choice of *Ladislaus* King of Naples for their King, who was euen then with a great army going to haue taken possession of the kingdom, had not *Sigismund* in good time, by the helpe of certaine of the chiefe of the Hungarian nobility prevented him. In this battell, called the battell of Nicopolis, were of the Christians twenty thousand slain, and of the Turks threescore thousand. The County of Nisiers the French Kings neere kinsman was there taken prisoner, with three hundred great commanders more: where after he had indured great contumely and reproach in the presence of *Bajazet*, he was commanded to make choice of fve other of the captaines, such as he liked best, all the rest being cut in pieces before his face, and he with the other fve left aliué, sent prisoners to Prusa, from whence they were afterwards ransomed for two hundred thousand Duckats. This bloody battell of Nicopolis was fought in the yere of our Lord, 1396.

Constantinople  
in second time  
besieged by Ba-  
jazet.

*Bajazet* after this great victory, hauing worthily relieved his besieged city, returned againe to the siege of Constantinople, laying more hardly vnto it than before, building forts and bulwarks against it on the one side towards the land; and passing ouer the streit of Bosphorus, built a strong castle vpon that streit ouer against Constantinople, to impeach so much as was possible all passage therunto by sea. This streit siege (as most write) continued also two yeres, which I suppose by the circumstance of the history, to haue been part of the aforesaid eight yeres. *Emanuel* the besieged Emperor wearied with these long wars, sent an ambassador to *Bajazet* to intreat with him a peace: which *Bajazet* was the more willing to hearken vnto, for that he heard news, that *Tamerlane* the great Tartarian Prince intended shortly to warre vpon him. Yet could this peace not be obtained, but vpon condition, that the Emperor should grant free liberty for the Turks to dwell together in one street of Constantinople, with free exercise of their owne religion and lawes, vnder a iudge of their owne nation; and further, to pay vnto the Turkish King a yerely tribute of ten thousand duckats. Which dishonorable conditions the distressed Emperour was glad to accept of. So was this long siege broken vp, and presently a great fort of Turks with their families were sent out of Bithynia, to dwell in Constantinople, and a Church there built for them: which not long after was by the Emperor pulled down to the ground, and the Turks againe driuen out of the city, at such time as *Bajazet* was by the mighty *Tamerlane* ouerthrowne and taken prisoner.

*Bajazet*

*Bajazet* in the beginning of his reign, presently after the death of *Lazarus* the Despot, slain in the battell of Cossoua, woon part of Seruia (as is aforesaid) the other part beeing still holden by *Lazarus* his son, called *Stephen* the Despot, who about this time sent an honorable ambassador to *Bajazet*, with louing letters, and royall Presents: by which ambassador also the old Princeesse *Lazarus* his widow, offered her faire daughter *Despina*, *Stephens* sister, a lady of incomparable beauty, in marriage to him, if it should please him to vouchsafe his handmaid (as she termed her) so high a place. This lady was long before promised him, whilst his father *Amurath* yet liued. Of this Ambassador *Bajazet* was very glad, but especially for the faire Ladies sake: which being known to the Princes her mother, & the Despot her brother, she was forthwith honorably sent to *Bajazet*, and so to him with great solemnity and triumph shortly after married. Of all his wiues he held her dearest, and for her sake restored to her brother *Stephen* the city and castle of Semendre (otherwise called *S. Andrew*) and Columbarium in Seruia: she allured him to drink wine, forbidden by the Turks law; and caused him to delight in sumptuous banquets, which his predecessors *Othoman*, *Orchanes*, and *Amurath*, neuer vied.

*Bajazet* married  
*Despina*  
the faire  
daughter of  
*Lazarus* the  
Despot.

As the Turkish kingdom grew in greatnesse, so corruption, the canker of great states and common-weales, increased likewise; but specially in the men of law, and iudges of his courts. Wherewith *Bajazet* grievously offended, commanded diuers of the same iudges to be apprehended, determining (to the terror of others) to haue executed them; whose dangerous estate was much pitied, and also fauoured of *Alis Bassa*, and other the Kings great Councillors: yet for so much as *Bajazet* was of a furious nature, and in his anger dangerous to be spoken vnto, none of them durst aduenture to intreat him in their behalfe, no nor *Alis Bassa*, *Charydin Bassa* his sonne, sometime iudge of Prusa, although he were a man in such speciall fauour with him, that he was therefore of the common people not onely reuerenced, but as the King himselfe honoured.

There was at that time in the court an *Æthiopian* jester, who vnder some couert pleasant jest, would many times bolt out that to the king in his greatest heat, which his grauest counsellors durst not once speak to him of in secret: this jester, *Alis Bassa* requested to deuise some means to intreat with the angry King in the behalfe of these Iudges; promising to giue him what he would reasonably desire, if he could appease the Kings displeasure. The *Æthiopian* without feare vndertook the matter, & presently putting vpon his head a rich hat all wrought ouer with gold, after the maner of the Turks ambassadors, and sitting himselfe with other apparel better befitting an ambassador than a jester; thus attired presented himselfe before the King, with a great counterfeite grauity. Whereat *Bajazet* marrelling, asked him the cause why he was so gay. I haue a request vnto your Majesty (said he) and wish to find fauor in your sight. *Bajazet* more desirous than before to know the matter, asked what his request was. If it stand with your pleasure (said the jester) I would faine go as your ambassador to the emperor of Constantinople, in hope whereof I haue put my selfe in this readinesse. To what purpose wouldst thou go? (said *Bajazet*) To craue of the Emperour (said he) some forty or fifty of his old graue Monks and Friars to bring with me hither to the court. And what should they doe here? (said *Bajazet*) I would haue them placed (said the jester) in the rooms of the old dotting iudges, whom you intend (as I heare) to put to death. Why (said *Bajazet*) I can place others of my owne people in their rooms. True (said the *Æthiopian*) for grauity of look and countenance, and so would the old Monks and Friars serue as well, but not so learned in your laws & customs of your kingdom, as are those in your displeasure. If they be learned (said *Bajazet*) why do they then contrary to their learning, peruert justice, and take bribes? There is a good reason for that too (said the jester.) What reason? (said the king.) That can be that there stand by tel better than I, (said the jester, pointing to *Alis Bassa*;) who forthwith commanded by *Bajazet* to giue the reason, with great reuerence before done, shewed, That those Iudges so in displeasure, were not conueniently provided for, & were therefore inforced many times for their necessary maintenance to take rewards, to the staying of the due course of justice. Which *Bajazet* understanding to be true, commanded *Alis Bassa* to appoint them conuenient stipends for their maintenance, and forthwith granted their pardon. Whereupon the Bassa set down order, That of ebery matter in suit exceeding one thousand Aspers, the Iudge shall haue twenty Aspers fee for iudgement; and for euery writing and instrument out of the court, twelue Aspers: which fees they yet take in those courts at this day.

T

Not

Not long after, *Bajazet* in his fury sent for certain of his capitaines and commanders of his men of war, with whom he was for some small occasion grievously offended, intending in his rage to haue put them all to death, which was with him no great matter. These capitaines being brought before him, the counsellors seeing him all in choler, late looking on the ground, hanging down their heads, as the manner of the Turks is, not daring to looke him in the face, nor to speake a good word for them: when suddenly the aforesaid *Æthyopian* jester stept forth, earnestly requesting the King, not to shew them any fauor, but to execute them presently, as villaines and traitors; railing vpon them, as if he had knowne some great fault by them. *Bajazet* thinking he could haue accused them of some great crime, because of his earnestnesse, asked what reason he had so to exclaime against them. Reason, (quoth the jester) because the knaues be good for nothing; and they say that *Tamerlane* is with a great army comming against vs: if you will but take vp an ensigne in your hand, and I go before you with a drum, I will strike vp such a terrible march, & you make such a dreadfull shew, that we shall need none of these bad fellows or their foldiers in the field to get the victory ouer our enemies. This conceit of the jester stricke such a melancholy imagination into *Bajazet* his head, that he stood musing a great while as it were in a deepe study: at last hauing well considered the drift of the jesters speech, and his fury now somewhat assuaged, granted them pardon, which they looked not for.

This *Æthyopian* jester, *Bajazet* vpon a time sent vnto the old Queene his mother, to bring her newes of the good successe of his wars against the Christians, for that she had so desired: who comming vnto her, & by her commanded to sit down, she began to demand of him, how the King her sonne did, and of the successe of his wars. Whereunto he answered, That he did very well, and had woon from the Christians a great countrey, and greatly enriched his foldiers. But after a little more talke, the Queene mother desirous to heare againe the good newes, (or else after the manner of some, which thinke nothing sufficiently told, except it be told an hundred times) asked him againe, how the King her sonne did, and how he sped in his warres. Whereunto he answered euery word as before: but asking him the third time the very same question, how her son did? Do'st thou aske me so often (said the *Æthyopian*) how he doth? *Bre Capric* (so whore, said he) thou hast brought forth a sonne like a diuell, who roaming vp and down, doth nothing but burn and destroy the world where he commeth. Whereat the Queene crying out, vp start the *Æthyopian*, and betaking himselfe to his heeles, was neuer more afterwards seene.

In the wars which *Bajazet* had against *Sigismund*, the Vayud of Valachia had ginen aid to the Hungarian king; wherewith *Bajazet* being offended, determined now at length to be reuenged: and therefore intending to make war vpon the Valachian prince, left *Temurtases* his great lieutenant at Ancyra in Asia, and so passed ouer Hellespontus himself against the Valachian. Vpon whose departure, *Aladin* his sisters son the yong king of Caramania, with a great power came suddenly in the night to Ancyra, and took *Temurtases* prisoner: who then feared nothing lesse, than in time of peace to be so surpris'd, and carried away in bonds into Caramania. But when he vnderstood that *Bajazet* had ended his wars in Valachia, and was with victory returned to Prusa, he fearing his heavy indignation for so great an outrage, presently released *Temurtases* out of prison, apparrelled him richly after the maner of that nation, craued pardon for the wrong he had done him, and set him at liberty to go whither he would, and withal sent one of his noblemen with great gifts and presents to *Bajazet*, to make his excuse in best maner he could: vnto which embassador *Bajazet* (yet in choler) would not giue audience, or suffer him to come in his sight: but at the same time leuied a great army to invade Caramania. Which *Aladin* vnderstanding, and now out of all hope to appease this mighty enemy, leuied all the forces he could in his owne kingdom, and withall entertained all the mercenary soldiers he could get, intending to try his fortune in the field, as a man of valour, rather than to be thrust out of his kingdom like a coward: and so in readines, hearing of the comming of *Bajazet*, met him vpon the way, and at a place called *Aczac* gaue him battell: but being too weak, he was overcome and put to flight, in which flight his horse stumbling, and he falling to the ground, was there before he could recouer himselfe, taken by his enemies which had him in chase, and so brought bound to *Bajazet*: his two sons *Muhamet Beg* & *Alis Beg*, being taken in that battell also, were sent prisoners to Prusa. *Aladin* himselfe was by *Bajazets* command deliuered to his enemy *Temurtases*: who in reuenge of the wrong hee had before done him, presently caused him

*Temurtases*,  
Bajazet's  
great Lieute-  
nant in Asia,  
taken prisoner  
by Aladin the  
yong King of  
Caramania.

A him to be hanged: which when *Bajazet* vnderstood, he seem'd very fory that he had so put him to death, for that he was his own sisters son. *Bajazet* following the course of his victory, woon Iconium, Larenda, Nigde, with all the rest of *Aladin* his kingdom. About this time also, *Amasia* the great metropolitall city of Capadocia, was by the prince thereof deliuered to *Bajazet*, being too weak to defend the same against the force of *Casi-Burchanidin*, prince of the great and strong city of Sebastia, his enemy; now growne to be a man of great power in that part of Asia, and had solicited the Sultan of Egypt to ayd him against *Bajazet*. Whereupon *Bajazet* returning from the conquest of Caramania, led his army towards Sebastia, where the citifens had a little before depriued *Casi-Burchanidin* of his gouernment, for his cruelty, and placed his son in his stead: but in short time no lesse weary of the son, than before of the father, they with like inconstancy sent word to *Bajazet*, that if he would come that way, they would yeeld vnto him the city: vpon whose approach, *Casis* (his sonne) for feare fled out of the city, to Prince *Nasraddin* his brother in law. After whose departure, the citifens according to their promise, deliuered the city vnto *Bajazet* at his comming, wherein he left *Solyman* his eldest sonne gouernor. And so hauing in this notable expedition conquered the kingdom of Caramania, and taken the great cities of *Amasia* and *Sebastia*, with most part of Capadocia, and all that part of Asia, which the Turks call *Rumilia Asiatia*, he returned to Prusa, and there wintred.

*Amasia* yielded  
vnto *Bajazet*.

*Sebastia* deli-  
uered to *Bajazet*.

The next Spring, *Bajazet* hearing that his old enemy *Cutrum Bajazet* Prince of Castamona and Pontus, was dead, came to Castamona with a great army: which *Isfendiar* (*Cutrum Bajazets* son, and then Prince of that countrey) hearing, fled out of the city of Synope, a little city vpon the coast of the Euxin: from whence he sent an embassador to *Bajazet*, humbly requesting him, to suffer him to haue that litle city, as his seruant to liue in, (which he was sure he would otherwise bestow vpon some other of his seruants) and not to seeke the innocent blood of the son for the fathers offence. Which his request, *Bajazet* moued with pity, easily granted: yet neuertheles took from him Castamona, with the greatest part of his dominion in Pontus, which he gaue to his sonne *Solyman*. At the same time hee violently oppressed the Prince *Germean*, and tooke from him the cities of *Despotopolis* and *Hierapolis*, with all the rest of his dominion.

*Bajazet* in-  
dub *Isfendiar*  
Prince of Cas-  
tamona.

D The Prince of Mentesia long before driuen out of his country by *Bajazet*, (as is before declared) and hauing all this while made his abode at Castamona, doubting now of his owne safety, after the death of his good friend *Cutrum Bajazet*, in the habit of an hermit fled to the great Tartarian Prince *Tamerlane*.

*Bajazet* returning to Prusa, there built a magnificent Mahometane Temple; during which worke he with great superstition forbore drinking of wine, reposing himselfe with the company of graue and learned men, and the administration of justice: whereby hee greatly woon the hearts of his subiects, and had now so enlarged his kingdom, that all Kings and Princes bordering vpon him stood in great feare of him.

It fortuned about this time, that *Achmetes* King of Bagdat (or new Babylon) and *Eiracum*, with *Iosephus Niger* King of Colchis, inforced with the violent incursions of *Tamerlane* & his Tartars, for safegard of their liues were glad to fly into Syria: where they being discovered, were both cast in prison by the commandement of the Egyptian Sultan, who then commanded ouer Syria: from whence they afterwards hardly escaping, fled to *Bajazets* court. Where after *Achmetes* had staid two months, he by the aid of *Bajazet* recovered the possession of *Eiracum* part of his owne inheritance. *Iosephus* the other Mahometan King hauing tarried in *Bajazets* court eight moneths, at length procured him to invade the dominions of the Egyptian Sultan: in which expedition he mightily preuailed, and hauing slaine the Egyptian Sultans Generall, and discomfited his forces, tooke the city of *Malatie* or *Meletine* in Armenia, with *Diorige*, *Derende*, and *Bexene*, taken from the Turcomans, and spoyled all the countrey hereabouts. From thence marching with his army towards *Erznitzane*, the Prince thereof called *Tachretin* met him vpon the way, yeelding his city and countrey into his power, which *Bajazet* presently gaue to *Iosephus Niger*: who after he had six daies enioyed this new gouernment, finding the people vnwilling to be gouerned by him a stranger, surrendred the same againe into the hands of him that gaue it. Whereupon the Citifens of *Erznitzane* humbly requested of *Bajazet*, That they might be againe gouerned by their old Prince *Tachretin*, now his vassall.

Which thing he at their earnest request granted: but taking his wife and children as a pledge of his loyalty, sent them away to Prusa, where they were all not long after made away.

When Bajazet had now many yerres thus mightily prevailed against the Christian Princes in Romania, Bulgaria, Bosnia, Thessalia, Valachia, and other places of Europe, as is before declared, and inflamed with insatiable ambition, had in worse manner oppressed the Mahometan Kings & Princes of Asia (of whom some were by him slain, some driven into exile, some imprisoned, and other some brought into such subjection, that they lived as it were but at his devotion) and was now grown to that greatness, that in the pride of his heart he stood in feare of no man, but was (as he thought) a terrour vnto the world, hauing vnder his obeyfance great and large dominions in Europe, but far greater in Asia: it fortuned that diuers of these miserable & discontented Mahometan princes, by great fortune, as if it had bin by appointment, to meet together at the court of the great Tartarian Prince *Tamerlane*, whether they were fled for reliefe and succor. The Prince *Germian Oghli*, after long imprisonment in the castle of Ipsala in Europe, brake prison, and with *Hissar-Beg* his great counsellor and prison fellow, comforted themselves with a company of loitring companions, roaming from place to place, delighting the countrey people with their apish toys: in which company he passed *Hellespontus*, as a Bearward, and at length with much adoe came to *Tamerlane* his court: whither the Prince of *Mentesia* was come before in the habit of an hermit (as is aforesaid) with his head and beard shaven: *Aidin Oghli* passing through the countrey as a pedlar, with a packe at his backe came thither also: the Prince *Tachretin* as a seruing-man, came attending vpon the Prince *Isfendiar*, who came also, but in some better fashion than the rest, as an Embassadour from some other Prince. All these poore Princes, with diuers others in like misery, in short time arrived at *Samarcand* (great *Tamerlane* his court,) euery one particularly complaining of his owne priuate grieffe, & all together earnestly requesting that mighty prince, to take vpon him their defence, and to reuenge the wrong done vnto them by the Turkish tyrant *Bajazet*. Whose pittifull complaints much moued the noble Tartarian, but especially the long & wrongfull imprisonment of *Germian Oghli*; and the pittifull complaint and moone of *Tachretin*, who had of late lost his wife and children by the cruelty of *Bajazet*. Yet in this matter of so great and important consequence, *Tamerlane* made no great shew of his forwardnes, (although he was by nature in nothing more delighted, than in the relieuing of the distressed, and chastising of the proud) but coldly answered these Princes. That he could not tell whether all were so as they had reported of *Bajazet*, or not, but that he well knew him to be a very zealous King in setting forth of the Mahometan religion; and that he had therefore made great wars vpon the Christians, in which goodly cause (he said) perhaps they had refused to assist him, or els had giuen him some other greater occasion of offence, to him vnkowne: For I can hardly beleue (said he) that so great and religious a Prince as he, would without iust and sufficient cause, offer such violence as you may complaine of, especially vnto you his neighbor Princes, and of the same religion with himselfe: neuertheless, whatsoeuer I intend toward your request (said *Tamerlane*) I will send first an Embassadour vnto him, to vnderstand more of him and his proceedings, before I resolve vpon any thing: with which answer he willed them vntil then to hold themselves contented. But as *Tamerlane* was about to haue dispatched his Embassadour to *Bajazet*, he was aduertised, that *Achmetes* late King of new Babylon, and *Iosephus* King of Colchis, both by him driven out of their kingdomes, hauing broken out of prison from the Sultan of *Egypt*, were now come to *Bajazet* his court, to craue his aid and assistance: wherefore he deferred to send his Embassadour, suspecting that *Bajazet* incited by these two exiled Kings, would first in their quarrell begin to make war vpon him. But not long after, vnderstanding that they were both again departed from his court, as is before declared, he then dispatched his Embassadour to *Bajazet*, with many rich gifts and presents, courteously requesting him, (the rather for his sake) to deale kindly with these Mahometan Princes, his friends, as also with the Greeke Emperor *Emmanuel* his allye, for whom he was now become an intercessor vnto him. Some report also, that he besides this, requested to haue the two aforesaid Mahometan Kings of *Bagdat* & *Colchis* deliuered vnto him; and withall seemed not a litle to dislike of *Bajazet* his proceedings against the Turcomans his friends. But *Bajazet* being a Prince of a great and haughty spirit, and vnaccustomed to heare of any thing which fitted not his humor, highly offended with this embassage, in great scorn reiected the Presents by *Tamerlane* sent to him, and specially certain garments

A garments which *Tamerlane* after the manner of those Eastern nations, had in kindnes amongst other things sent him: willing the embassadour to bid his master to meddle with his own matters; and to prescribe lawes to his owne subiects, and not vnto him, with whom he had nought to do; and to send his rugs for presents vnto his inferiours, and not vnto princes of greater power and state than himselfe. Adding thereunto many other words full of despight and disdain, affording him no better stile than the plain name of *Tamerlane*: calling him the husband of a whore, if he met him not in the field; and wishing vnto himselfe againe, to take vnto him his thrice diuorced wife, after she had bin polluted by another man (as the greatest dishonor that might be) if he failed to meet him whersouer he durst dare him battell: which proud answer of the Turke, by the Embassadour reported to *Tamerlane*, and aggravated by *Axalla* (a Christian of the race of the *Genowales*, borne at *Capha*, and then one of his greatest counsellors about him, and the Greeke emperors great friend) was so euill taken by him, that all other things set apart, he resolved to go against the Turke, and to take in hand that war, as of all other the fittest for the increase of his honor and glory. Besides that, he thought it not in reason fit for the greatness of the Tartarian empire, to suffer such an vnquiet neighbor to grow great; as still encroaching vpon other the weak Princes confining to him, and adding conquests to conquests; and yet neuer the more contented, might in the end proue dangerous to his own estate and soveraignty: a common care to such as be themselves great, and mounted vp vnto the highest degrees of worldly honour, to haue in jealousy and distrust the sudden rising of others neerer or farther off, as perillous or disgracefull to themselves, or their estate: whose growing greatness they therefore seek by all means to hinder; as did now the mighty *Tamerlane* the proceedings and increasing of the great *Othoman* king, *Bajazet*: and the rather being continually prick forward so to do, by the solicitation of the Greeke Emperor *Emmanuel*, the other oppressed Mahometan Princes, and by the great captain *Axalla* (as is aforesaid) a Christian: of whom for all that *Tamerlane* himselfe, a Mahometan, for the great fidelity, valor and vertue he found in him, made no small reckoning, but was contented euen in his greatest and most weighty affairs to be by him aduised; disliking of no man for his religion whatsoeuer, so as he did worship but one only God, Creator of heaven and earth, and of all that therein is: being himselfe of opinion, That God in Essence one, and in himselfe immutable, without change or diuersity, yet for the manifesting of his omnipotency and power, as he had created in the world sundry kinds of people, much differing both in nature, manners, and condition, and yet all framed to the image of himselfe: so was he also contented to be of them diuersly serued, according to the diuersity of their natures and manners: so that they worshipt none other strange gods, but him alone, the maker and Creator of all things: which was the cause that he suffered the vse of all religions within the countries subiect to his obedience, were they not meere Atheists, Idolaters, or worshippers of strange and vaine gods.

Neither was proud *Bajazet* as one ignorant of the power or purpose of *Tamerlane*, in the meane time idle, but still prosecuted his good fortune for the enlarging of his empire, and increasing of his strength: wisely deeming (as the truth was) whatsoeuer messages were sent to him from *Tamerlane*, to be no other than meere threatnings and forewarnings of his more dangerous purposes and designs against him and his state: which he was so farre from fearing, as that to prouoke him the more, he spared no interperate speech, which might moue him to wrath, wishing (as should seeme) for nothing more, than to meet him in the field, there to try the fortune of a battell with him. So weak is our foresight of our fortunes to come, and the reach of our vnderstanding for the apprehension or declining of the fatal doom euen presently hanging ouer our heads; as that we oftentimes through ignorance most desirously wish for those things which are vnto vs the chiefe occasions of our vtter ruine and ouerthrow.

But here before we enter into farther discourse of the mortall war betwixt these two so puissant Princes, it shal not be much from our purpose to step a litle out of the way, to see what this mighty *Tamerlane* (of whom so many Princes craued aid) was, who liuing, held the East in such awe, as that he was commonly called, *The wrath of God*, and *Terror of the world*, which he then filled with the glory of his name. Most Historiographers report him to haue bin poorly borne, of base and obscure parents: and so himselfe also in his youth to haue liued as a poore shepherd or herdsman in the mountains, where consoorting himselfe with other sturdy companions of like quality and disposition, such as there liued by robbing of Merchants & other passengers,

*Tamerlane's* opinion concerning the diuersity of religions.

*The base opinion some haue, concerning the birth or rising of Tamerlane.*

passengers, he became a masterfull theefe amongst them: vnto whom other such lewd mates G  
dayly still more and more resorting, he in short time grew (as they say) to that greatnes, that  
he is reported to haue bin of such power, as neuer man but he euer yet came vnto. A matter al-  
most incredible: for albeit that the Romane empire, yea and this great empire of the Turks al-  
so, with some others, had their beginnings not much better or greater, the one vnder *Romulus*,  
and the other vnder *Othoman*; yet grew they not as on the sudden, in their times to any great  
lustre (neither was it possible for them of so small beginnings so to do) but by many degrees,  
and that in long time; euery of the succeeding Princes, according to their fortunes, adding  
something to their state, before it could be made great: whereas he (by their report) contrary to  
the course of things both naturall & ciuill (which from their small beginnings grow to no no-  
table perfection or greatnes, but by degrees, and that in the long reuolution of time) taking  
his beginning of nothing, grew vpon the sudden to be a burthen and terrour vnto the world. H  
Wherein our late Historiographers seem too much to haue followed the report of the Turks,  
who by him brought low, and their kingdome almost in one battell subuerted, report nothing  
simply of him; but in what they may, detracting from his worthy praises, wrongfully charge  
him with many vntruths, not concerning his parentage onely, but euen in the course of his  
whole life also; making him (as they would haue the world to beleue) first to haue bene a  
very abie& among men; and then for his inhumane cruelty a very monster in nature, (or as it  
was long before, but more truly said of another great one much like himselfe) a lump of earth  
tempred with blood. Which incredible reports concerning so great a Monarch, I list not to  
follow, as too full of dishonor, especially whereas others of no lesse credit than they, with far  
more modesty & greater probability report of him the greatest honor that may be. He was (as  
they & the others also say) born at Samarcand, the chiefe city of the *Zagataian* Tartars, plea-  
santly (situated vpon the riuier *Iaxartes*: his father was called *Zain-Cham*, or as some others wil  
Og, Prince of the *Zagataian* Tartars, and of the countrey of *Sachetay* (sometime part of the fa-  
mous kingdome of *Parthia*) third in descent from *Zingis* the great and fortunat leader of the  
Tartars, before in the former part of this history remembred: which Og, as a Prince of a peace-  
able nature (accounting it no lesse honor quietly to keep the countries left him by his father,  
than with much trouble and no lesse danger to seeke how to enlarge the same) long liued in  
most happy rest with his subiects no lesse happy than himselfe: nor so much seeking after the  
hoarding vp of gold & siluer (things of that nation not regarded) as contenting himselfe with  
the increase and profit of his flocks of sheep, and herds of cattell; then, and yet also, the prin-  
cipall reuenues of the Tartar Kings and Princes: which haply gaue occasion to some ignorant  
of the manner and custome of those Northern nations and countries, to account them all for  
shepherds & herdsmen; and so also to haue reported of this mighty Prince, as of a shepherd  
son, or herdsmen himselfe: vainly measuring his nobility by the homely manner of his people  
and subiects, and not by the honor of his house, and heroical vertues, such as were hardly to be  
found greater in any Prince of that or other former ages. His peaceable father now well stric-  
ken in yeres, and weary of the world, deliuered vp vnto him (not yet past 25 yeres old) the go-  
uernment of his kingdome, ioyning vnto him two of his most faithfull counsellors, *Odmar* and  
*Ally*, to assist him in the government of his state (retiring himself vnto a solitary life, the more  
at quiet to serue God, and so to end his dayes in peace;) which two his trusty seruants & graue  
counsellors he dearely loued whilst they liued, and much honored the remembrance of them  
being dead. The first prooue of his fortune & valor, was against the Muscouites, for spoyling of  
a city which had put it selfe vnder his protection, and for entering of his countrey, and for pro-  
claiming of war against him: whom he in a great battell ouerthrew, hauing slain fife and twenty  
thousand of the Muscouites footmen, and between fifteen and sixteen thousand horsemen,  
with the losse of scarce eight thousand horsemen and foure thousand footmen of his owne. Af-  
ter which battell he beholding so many thousands of men there dead vpon the ground, was so  
far from reioycing thereat, that turning himselfe to one of his familiars, he lamented the con-  
dition of such as commanded ouer great armies, commending his fathers quiet course of life, M  
accounting him happy in seeking for rest, and the other most unhappy, which by the destru-  
ction of their owne kind, sought to procure their owne glory; protesting himselfe euen from his  
heart to be grieved to see such sad tokens of his victory. With this ouerthrow the Muscouite  
discouraged, sent Embassadors to him for peace, which vpon such honourable conditions as  
pleased

Tamerlane be-  
lieuably de-  
scended.

The cause why  
some haue re-  
ported him to  
haue bene a  
shepherd or  
herdsman.

A pleased him to set downe, was by him granted, and so the peace concluded. Now the great  
Cham of Tartaria (his fathers brother) being grown old, and out of hope of any more children,  
moued with the fame of his nephew, after this victory sent him diuers presents, and withall  
offering him his onely daughter in marriage, and with her to proclaime him heire apparent vnto  
his empire, as in right he was, being his brothers sonne, and the daughters not at all succee-  
ding in those empires. Which so great an offer *Tamerlane* gladly accepted, and so the marriage  
was afterwards with great triumph at the old Emperors court solemnized, and he proclaimed  
heire apparent vnto that great empire. Thus was *Tamerlane* indeed made great, being euer af-  
ter this marriage by the old Emperour his vncke, and now his father in law, so long as he liued,  
notably supported, and after his death succeeding him also in that so mighty an empire. Yet  
in the mean time wanted not this worthy prince the enuious competitors of these his so great  
honors: in so much, that whilst by the aduice and persuation of the old Emperour, he was taking  
in hand to make warre against the great King of China (who had as then gone far beyond his  
bounds) and so was now well onwards on his way, he was by the conspiracy of *Calix* (a man of  
greatest power & authority in the great Cham his court) almost thrust out of his new empire:  
*Calix* with a right puissant army hauing already seized vpon the great city of *Cambalu*, and  
the citizens also generally fauouring those his traiterous proceedings, as disdainig to be go-  
uerned by the *Zagataian* Tartar. For redresse whereof, *Tamerlane* was enforced with the greatest  
part of his army to returne, and meeting with the rebell (who then had in his army fourescore  
thousand horse, and an hundred thousand foot) in a great and mortall battell (wherein of the  
one side and of the other were more than fifty thousand men slain) ouerthrew him (though not  
without the great danger of his own person, as being ther himselfe beaten down to the ground)  
C tooke him prisoner, and afterwards beleached him. Which so dangerous a rebellion, with the  
death of the traytor, and the chiefe of the conspirators repressed, and his state in the newnesse  
therof by this victory well confirmed, he proceeded in his intended war against the great king  
of China; brake down the strong wall, which the Chinoies had made foure hundred leagues  
long betwixt the mountaines, for the repressing of the incursions of the Tartars, entred their  
country, and meeting with the King, leading after him three hundred and fifty thousand men  
(whereof there were an hundred and fifty thousand horsemen, and the rest on foot) in a great  
and dreadful battell, with the slaughter of sixty thousand of his men, ouercame him, and took  
him prisoner: whom for all that he (in the course of so great a victory wisely moderating his  
fortune) shortly after set again at liberty; yet so, as that hauing before taken from him the one  
halfe of his kingdome, and therein left *Odmar* his trusty lieutenant, with a sufficient power for  
the restraining of the proud king, if he should again begin to raise any new stir; and withall  
imposed such other conditions as pleased himselfe, with the yerely tribute of three hundred  
thousand crownes, he well provided for the assuring of those his new conquests: and so in tri-  
umph returned with victory vnto the old Emperour his father in law at *Cambalu*, not a little  
glad to see both him and his daughter, who had in all those wars still accompanied him. But  
leaving him, now thus by birth great, by his fortune greater, but by his vertue greatest of all,  
(as able now to draw after him almost the whole power of the East) let vs again returne thither  
E from whence we haue for the better knowledge of him, thus with him digressed.

The war against the Turkish Sultan *Bajazet* (as is afore said) by *Tamerlane* resolved vpon, he  
sent *Asalla* the great captain to his countrey of *Sachetay* (called of some *Zagaty*) to giue be-  
ginning to the assembling of his forces from all parts; to the end, that with the first of the  
spring he might set forward for the reliefe of so many distressed Princes, and the abating of  
the pride of so great and mighty a tyrant as was *Bajazet*. Now had *Tamerlane* procured from  
the great *Tartarian* Emperour, his vncke and father in law, an hundred thousand footmen, and  
fourescore thousand horsemen, hoping to haue as many more from *Sachetay* his owne countrey,  
besides the lords that for his honors sake would accompany him in that his so honourable an  
expedition, from whom he made account also of 50000 men more which they would bring to  
F him, and diuers other great supplies which he expected from other places also, wherewith he  
doubted not well to performe what he had so honorably determined to take in hand, for the a-  
bating of the *Othoman* pride: for which and other such like, he was (as he would oftentimes  
say) by God himselfe appointed: so taking his leaue of the old Emperour his father in law, and  
of the princes his wife (then left behind him for the comfort of her aged father) he departed  
from

Tamerlane ma-  
ries the daugh-  
ter and heire of  
the great Cham  
of Tartaria.

from Cambalu towards Samarcand, the place of his birth and seat of his empire; leaving behind him the forces brought from the great Emperour his vncle, to come after him to Ozara, where he had appointed the generall meeting of his army. At which time among other Princes that thither brought or sent their supplies, the great Muscouite being requested so to do, promised to send him fifteen thousand horse, with a certain sum of money, and leave for his army to passe through so much of his territories as should be necessary: all which he afterwards performed vnto *Tamerlane*, being glad that he did set vpon others, rather than on himselfe; and that so great a preparation should fall vpon them, whose greatnes was as dreadfull and dangerous vnto him as to any other. All the earth almost at that time being astonished at the sudden greatnes of this *Othoman* King, and the happy successe he had in all his wars: not the least cause that moued *Tamerlane* to oppose himself against him, deeming it much better to go and set vpon him in his new conquests, than to stay vntill he therein settled, were come neerer to him, and so should debate the quarrell within his owne empire, to his damage. A good and sound resolution: first in that it tended to the destruction of the enemies country; & then, that if any thing should fall out with him otherwise than well, his country should not thereby receiue any such astonishment, as if the danger were neerer or within the bowels of the same. Now in the mean time that *Tamerlan* lay at Samarcand, *Axalla* the great captaine & *Tamerlan* his lieutenant general, had assembled all the army at Ozara. Whereof *Tamerlan* understanding, sent for him to Samarcand, to confer with him about the setting forward of his army. For although he were still accompanied with great renowned Princes, yet were they no body in comparison of *Axalla*, whose sound counsell had woon him such credit with his Lord & master, as by his aduice he did all things, and without him nothing: which his so great authority & fauor with his Prince, wanted not the enuy of the court, but that his great vertues, and rare found courtesie (in so great fortune) together with so many worthy seruices as he had done, supported him against the malice of the same. He by the commandement of *Tamerlane*, leaving the charge of the army at Ozara, with the prince of *Thanais*, another of *Tamerlanes* great captaines, came himselfe to Samarcand, and there at large discoursed with him, about the estate and order of his army. And shortly after, departing with *Axalla* and the rest from Samarcand, for to go to Ozara the place where all his army met, being come thither, entred into a great consolation with his most expert captaines, about the taking of his journey, and conducting of his army: as whether it were better to lead the same by the coasts of the Muscouit directly towards *Capha*, or els on the other side of the *Caspian* sea, by the skirts of *Persia*: where after long discourse, and sundry opinions with their reasons deliuered, it was resolved (although the way were the longer) to passe by the Muscouit, so to come to the *Georgians*, & to *Trebizonda*, and from thence to enter into the *Othoman* King his country. And so setting forward from Ozara, he came at length to *Maranis*, where he stayed three days looking for the forces which *Prince Odmar* should send him from *China*, not long before by him conquered: whereof he receiued newes, and there caused his army to be paid, and a generall muster thereof to be taken. He had also there newes of the aid the Muscouit did send him: and caused an infinite quantity of victuals, & most part of his furniture to be conueied by the *Caspian* sea, being a great commodity and ease to his army, which marching by land, was of necessity to passe some twenty leagues through places destitute both of victuals and water. *Tamerlane* all the way coasting along the sea shore, passed the time in hunting, his army not comming neerer him by so league, which was so great, that it extended it selfe full twenty leagues. Comming to the river of *Idel*, he stayed at *Zarazich* whilst his army passed the river at *Mecher*; and two other bridges which he had caused to be made for that purpose. Now the *Circassians* & *Georgians*, hearing of the approach of *Tamerlane* with his huge army, by their ambassadors offered him all the help and assistance they could, in his journey as he passed that way. These *Georgians* were and yet are Christians, a great and warlike people, of long time tributaries vnto the Greek Emperours, and afterwards sometimes tributaries, & sometimes confederats vnto the *Persians*, but always enemies vnto the *Turks*, by whom of late (and in our remembrance) but especially by *Tamerlan* the third, they together with some part of the *Persian* kingdome, have bin grievously oppressed, as in the proceffe of this history may appeare. Of these warlike people, *Tamerlan* his comming for the repressing of the *Turk*, *Axalla* drew great numbers vnto the service of his Prince: who not a little esteemed of them, being all tall men, very beautiful, of great strength

Prince Axalla  
in great credit  
with Tamer-  
lane.

A and courage, and withall most expert soldiers; as hauing oftentimes resisted the power of the *Othoman* Kings, by reason of the aduantage their country affordeth them, being very rough and hard to come into. By these kind people, *Tamerlane* was in euery place honorably entertained, and his great army with all necessities plentifully relieved. In passing through which country, and the rest as he marched, he took such order with his soldiers, that none of the people whereby he passed, were any thing by them iniured; insonmuch that if a soldier had taken but an apple, or other thing of like value from any man, he died therefore, so secure were his commands. It is reported that one of his soldiers, hauing taken a little milke from a country woman, and she thereof complaining, he caused the said soldier to be presently killed, and his stomacke to be ripped; where the milke that he had of late drunk being found, he contented the woman, and so sent her away; who had otherwise vndoubtedly died for her false accusation. B had it not so appeared. Which his so great severity, and in other like cases, was of many accounted for extream cruelty: yet was it indeed the wholsome preservation of his army, being so great, as that it was thought almost impossible to haue found sufficient victuals for the reliefe thereof: whereof for all that, there was no want, either of any thing else necessary for the vse of man, his camp being still as a most populous and well gouerned city, stored with all manner of things: wherunto both artificers and merchants, from far countries resorted with their commodities & merchandise, as to some famous mart; and the country people, without feare, from euery place brought in their country commodities, for which they receiued present money, and so in safety again departed. So marching on, he at length came to *Bachichich*, where C he staid to refresh his army eight daies, and there again took a generall muster thereof, wherein were found (as most write) foure hundred thousand horse, and six hundred thousand foot; or as some others that were there present affirme, three hundred thousand horsemen, and five hundred thousand foot of all nations. Vnto whom he there gaue a generall pay, and as his manner was, made vnto them an oration, informing them of such orders as he would haue kept, to the end they might the better obserue the same: with much other military discipline, whereof he was very curious with his captaine. At which time also, it was lawfull for euery common soldier to behold him with more boldnes than on other daies, forasmuch as he did for that time, and such like, lay aside his imperiall maiesty, and shew himselfe more familiar vnto them. Now could he hardly be persuaded, that *Bajazet* hauing subdued the most part of *Grecia*, D distressed the *Greece* Emperour, and so great means to recover whatsoeuer he should lose in *Asia*, would be so aduenturous as to come ouer the streits out of *Europe*, to try the fortune of a battell with him; but warily rather protract the time, to weary him at length with wars, that in a strange country drew such a world a people after him. Wherein he found himselfe much deceived: for hauing passed the *Georgian* country, and being come to *Buyfabuich*, *Axalla* (whom he had not seene in eight daies before, because he led the head of the army) came vnto him with such newes as he knew would be right welcome vnto him: which was, that *Bajazet* had raised his siege of *Constantinople* (as indeed he had) for to come and defend his new conquests in *Asia*; and that he was certainly resolved, to come to a day of battell, not so much trusting vnto the multitude of his army, as to the valour and experience of his soldiers, being E all men of long well trained vp in the wars. At which v unexpected newes, *Tamerlane* greatly reioyced: yet without insolency or vaunting, but rather with the countenance of such a one as iudged the euent of battell to be (as they are) alwayes doubtful: saying sometimes, that a small number well conducted, did oftentimes carry away the victory from the confused multitude. Three daies he stayed at *Buyfabuich*, and caused his souldiers continually to march forward, which at *Garga* and *Chiuslerig* passed ouer the river *Euphrates*: which he did the rather to maintaine his army vpon the spoyle of the enemy, in attending his comming, than vpon himselfe, or his allies. All the cities that yeelded vnto him by the way as he marched, he fauourably receiued; the other that refused to submit themselves to his obedience, he vsed with all extremity: specially the great and strong city of *Sebastia*, where certain of the forerunners F of his army were by the *Turks* there in garrison cut off and slaine, and the gates of the city as it were in contempt of him, set wide open: wherewith *Tamerlane* offended, sent out certaine of his *Tartarian* horsemen, commanding them on paine of his displeasure, so to beare themselves against their enemies, as that he might at his comming either find the city taken, or the gates thereof shut against him: for he had his men at so great command, that no danger was

The number of  
Tamerlane his  
great army.

unto them more dreadfull than his displeasure, neither did he punish any thing so severely as cowardise: inſomuch, that if in his diſport hunting the wilde beaſt, any did for ſcare giue way to the Lyon or Beare, and ſlew him not, was ſure therefore to die himſelfe; and to turn his backe vpon the enemy, was no leſſe danger than to run vpon his owne death. Now the Turks in gariſon at Sebaſtia, ſeeing theſe Tartarian horſemen marching towards the City, making little account of them, for that they were not in number many, iſſued out for to meet them; where they were ſo furiously charged by theſe few horſemen, that they were glad to retire, and for haſt to ſhut part of their owne men out of the city, leaſt the enemy following them at their heeles, ſhould haue entred the gates together with them. Which Turkes ſo ſhure out, were by the Tartarians ſlaine at the gates of the city. Shortly after came *Tamerlane* with all his army, and ſate downe before the city, where he lay ſill ſeuē dayes, not making ſhew of any violence at all; the defendants becauſe the city was of great ſtrength, all that while thinking that hee had intended by long ſiege to diſtrefſe the ſame, and the more, becauſe of his long lying ſill. But about the eight day, the walls and towers of the city in many places vndermined, were ſuddenly ouerthrowne, leauing large breaches for the enemy to enter. Wherewith the Turkes in the city diſmayed, forthwith yeelded the city to *Tamerlane*, in hope ſo to haue ſaued their liues: but hee (as the Turkes report) being entred the City, commanded a great number of deepe pits to be digged, and all the people of the City, without reſpect of age, ſex, or condition, to be throwne into the ſame, and there buried quick. Which done, the City was by his commandement vtterly rased alſo. After that, calling vnto him *Makozim*, the Gouverneur of the City, whom he had for that purpoſe only ſpared, he commanded him to go and tell his Maſter what was happened to his ſtrong City of Sebaſtia, and what he had there himſelfe ſeene. Of which tragicall action, *Makozim* hauing made true relation vnto *Bajazet*, was by him demanded, whether of the two armies he thought bigger or ſtronger: for now *Bajazet* had aſſembled a mighty army of three hundred thouſand men, or as ſome report of three hundred thouſand horſemen, and two hundred thouſand foot. Whereunto *Makozim* hauing before craved pardon, answered, That it could not be, but that *Tamerlane* might in reaſon haue the greater number, for that he was a Commander of farre greater countries. Wherewith proud *Bajazet* offended, in great choller replied, Out of doubt, the ſight of the Tartarian haſh made this coward ſo afraid, that he thinketh euery enemy to be two.

Moſt of the Latine hiſtorics report, that when *Tamerlane* had taken Sebaſtia, he put all the men to the ſword, and bringing the women and children into the fields without the city, there quer. ran them with his horſemen, excepting ſome few which were reſerued for priſoners. As alſo that *Bajazet* there loſt his eldeſt ſon *Erithogral* (of ſome called *Orithobules*) whoſe death with the loſſe of the city, ſo much grieued him (as it is reported) that marching with his great army againſt *Tamerlane*, and by the way hearing a country ſhepherd merrily reſoſing himſelfe with his homely pipe, as he ſate vpon the ſide of a mountaine feeding his poore ſlocke, ſtanding ſill a great while liſtning vnto him, to the great admiration of many, at laſt fetching a deep ſigh, brake forth into theſe words: O happy ſhepherd, which haſteſt neither *Orithobules* nor Sebaſtia to loſe: bewraying therein his owne diſcontentment; and yet with all ſhewing, That wordly bliſſe conſiſteth not ſo much in poſſeſſing of much, ſubiect vnto danger, as injoying in a little, contentment deſpoile of feare. Howbeit the Turkes themſelues reporting the taking of Sebaſtia, ſpeake not of *Orithobules* at all, but giue him loſt ſix yeares before, in the warres againſt *Casi Durandien*, and lyeth buried by his father at Pruſa. In this City of Sebaſtia was loſt twelue thouſand Turkes, men, women, and children, as their Hiſtorics report. The reſt of the Cities all the way as *Tamerlane* marched, warned by the deſtruction of Sebaſtia, yeelded themſelues for feare of like danger: the citizens whereof he courteouſly ſued, ſpecially the Chriſtians, whom he ſet at liberty, in reſpect of *Iamaul* the Greeke Emperour, whom he ſeemed wholly therein to graſtifie. But hee had not done ſare into the Turks dominion, but that he was certainly aduertified, how that *Bajazet* with a great army was coming againſt him, and now within thirty leagues of him: which cauſed him after that time, to march with his army more cloſely. *Analla* leading the Vanguard, ſent forth *Chianſin* Prince of *Ciarcan*, with ſoure thouſand Parthian horſemen, to get knowledge of the Turkes army, and where *Bajazet* lay, as alſo what country that

Sebaſtia beſieged by *Tamerlane*.

Sebaſtia yet did to *Tamerlane*.

A ſhepherd more happy than *Bajazet*.

was beyond *Sennas*, and if he could learne any thing thereof, to make relation of it vnto him. This Prince of *Ciarcan* was *Tamerlane*'s neere kinſman, a man of great reputation, & next vnto *Analla*, in whole abſence he had the commanding of the auantgard, his charge; who alſo ſent before him another Parthian captaine with 500 horſemen. So he had not ridden ten leagues, but that he heard news of *Bajazet*'s coming, & hauing ſurprized *Sennas*, vnderſtood there the certain eſtate of the Turkes army, which was then at *Tataia*, and ſo marching forward. Whereof *Tamerlane* certified, commanded him not to retire from that place, vntill he did ſee the arrival of the enemy, and thereot to giue him aduertifement euery houre, being himſelfe reſolved to paſſe on no further, as come to a faire large plain, and a country of aduantage for the order of his battell: for he knew that his army was far greater than *Bajazet*'s, & therefore he made choice of the great plains. Yet for that his army conſiſted of diuers nations, and withal conſidering that he was not to fight againſt the Chinois, a ſoft effeminate people, (as of late) but againſt the Turkes, a moſt warlike nation, & wel acquainted with all maner of fights & martiall ſtratagems, he thought it good to be well aduiſed how he proceeded againſt them. Wherefore he preſently ſent for *Analla*, with him to view the ſaid place, and to haue his opinion, Whether it would be for his aduantage or not, there to ſtaye who not milking of the choice of the place, yet aduiſed him alſo to keepe *Sennas* ſo long as he poſſibly could: and ſo ſent word vnto them that were therein, vpon the approach of the enemy to ſet fire vpon the ſame, and ſo to withdraw themſelues from thence, to the end that the enemy ſhould not haue any deſire to in campe there; but come ſtil forward neere to thoſe plains where *Tamerlane* deſired to fight, eſpecially ſuch as he was ſtronger in horſe than *Bajazet*. Thus the Turkes ſtill marching on, thought to haue ſurprized ſome of their enemies in *Sennas*, who as ſoon as they drew neere, retired all, excepting ſome hundred left of purpoſe to fire the town: who hauing performed the ſame, retired of purpoſe in great diſorder. Now the Prince of *Ciarcan* had diuided his forces into two parts, he giuen commandment to the firſt, that as ſoon as they perceiued the enemies to purſue the hundred horſe that ſo diſorderly of purpoſe fled, they ſhould receiue them, and ſo retire all together. He in the mean time with the reſt of his power ſtood cloſe in a valley, neere to a wood ſide, vntill all. Where hauing ſuffered 2000 of the enemies horſe (the vancouriers of the Turkes army) to paſſe by him, he following them in the taile, charg'd them home, the other which before retired, now turning vpon them alſo ſo that the Turkes ſeeing themſelues thus beſet, ſecond hardly laid vnto both before and behind, as men diſcouraged fled: in which flight moſt of them were ſlain, and the reſt taken priſoners. This was the firſt encounter betwixt the Turkes and the Parthians: all the priſoners there taken, were by the Prince as a preſent ſent to *Tamerlane*, & among the reſt the Baſſa of *Natolia* who led theſe troups: of whom *Tamerlane* carneſtly demanded, what cauſed *Bajazet* ſo little to eſteeme of him, as to ſhew ſo great contempt of his army, which he ſhould find ſtrong enough to abate his pride. Wherunto the Baſſa answered, That his lord was the Sun vpon earth, which could not endure any equall; and that he rather was aſtoniſhed to ſee, how he from ſo far had enterpriſed ſo dangerous a journey, to hinder the fortune of his lord, in whole fauor the heauens (as he ſaid) did bend themſelues to further his greatnes, and vnto whom all the world ſubiected it ſelfe; and that he committed great folly in going about to reſiſt the ſame. Vnto which ſo proud a ſpeech *Tamerlane* replied, That he was ſent from heauen to puniſh his raſhneſſe, & to teach him, that the proud are hated of God, whoſe promiſe is to plucke downe the mighty and raiſe vp the lowly. As for thy ſelfe (ſaid he) thou haſt already felt (although I pitty thy miſhap) what the valour of my Parthian horſe is againſt thy Turkiſh hand, thy maſter I haue already cauſed to raiſe his ſiege of *Conſtantinople*, and to looke to his owne things here in *Aſia*. Furthermore, *Tamerlane* changing his ſpeech, demanded, If his maſter did come reſolved to bid him battell? Aſſure your ſelfe (ſaid he) there is nothing he more deſireth, and would to God I might acknowledge your greatnes, in giuing leave to aſſiſt my lord at that battell. Good leaue haue thou, (ſaid *Tamerlane*) go thy ways and tell thy lord that thou haſt ſeen me, and that he ſhall in the battell find me on horſebacke, where he ſhall ſee a green enſigne diſplaid. The Baſſa thanking him, ſwore, that next vnto his lord he would vnto him his ſeruiſe. And ſo returning, declared vnto *Bajazet*, how that he had ſent *Tamerlane*, and truly reported vnto him all that he had willed him to ſay; not forgetting any all, except his courteſie and bounty: who beſides that he had frankly ſet him at liberty, had alſo giuen him a very faire horſe well furniſhed, although he well knew he was to

The Prince of *Ciarcan* death poliſtically with the forewarners of the Turkes Army.

serue against himselfe. Whereunto *Bajazet* answered no more, but that he would shortly make triall of him, and that he well hoped before the march were ended, to make him acknowledge his owne folly. The next day the two armies drew neere together, and incamped within a league the one of the other: where all the night long you might haue heard such noyse of horses, as that it seemed the heauens were full of voyces, the aire did so rebound, and euery man thought the night long, to come to the triall of his valor, and the gaining of his desires. The Seythians (a people no lesse greedy than needy) talked of nothing but the spoile; the proud Parthians of their honor; and the poore Christians of their deliuerance, all to be gained by the next days victory: euery man during the night time speaking according to his owne humour. All which *Tamerlane* walking this night vp and down in the camp heard, and much rejoiced to see the hope that his soldiers had already in general conceiued of the victory. Who after the second watch returning vnto his pavilion, & there casting himself vpon a carpet, had thought to haue slept a while: but his cares not suffering him so to do, he then, as his manner was, called for a booke, wherein was contained the liues of his fathers and ancestors, and of other valiant worthies, the which he vied ordinarily to read, as he then did: not as therewith vainly to deceiue the time but to make vse thereof, by the imitation of that which was by them worthily done, & declining of such dangers as they by their rashnes or ouersight fell into. And afterwards hauing a little slumbred, he commanded *Axalla* to be sent for, who forthwith came to him, with diuers other great lords and captains the chiefe commanders of his army: with whom after he had a while consulted of the order of the battell, he mounted on horsebacke himselfe, & sent euery one of them to their own charges, to put the same in readines. At which very instant he receiued news, that the enemy marched forward, and came to take his ground for the battell: whose order of march *Tamerlane* was desirous to see, that so accordingly he might marshal his own. And hauing caused 3000 horsemen to aduance forward, with charge to begin the skirmish, himselfe followed after to lodge euery part of his forces in such places as he had foreseen to be fittest for his aduantage. Now seeing the Ianizaries march in a square battell in the midst, and vpon the two fronts two great squadrons of horsemen, which seemed to be thirty thousand horse; and another which aduanced and couered the battalion of the Ianizaries: he thought this their order to be very good, and hard to be broken; and thereupon turning himselfe to *Axalla*, who was neere vnto him, said, I had thought this day to haue fought on foot, but I see that it behoueth me now to fight on horsebacke, to giue courage vnto my souldiers, to open the great battalion of our enemies. And my will is, that my men come forward vnto me as soon as they may, for I will aduance forward with an hundred thousand footmen, fifty thousand vpon each of my two wings, and in the midst of them forty thousand of my best horsemen. My pleasure is, that after they haue tried the force of these men, that they come vnto my auangard, of whom I will dispose, & fifty thousand horse more in three bodies, whom thou shalt command: which I will assist with 80000 horse, wherein shall be mine own person; hauing 100000 footmen behind me, who shall march in two squadrons: and for my arereward I appoint 40000 horse, and 50000 footmen, who shall not march but to my aid. And I will make choice of 10000 of my best horse, whom I will send into euery place where I shall thinke needfull within my army, for to impart my commands.ouer the first forty thousand horse the Prince *Ciarcan* commanded: ouer the formost footmen was the Lord *Synopes* a Genouois, kinsman to *Axalla*, and his lieutenant ouer the footmen, a captain of great estimation: the Prince *Axalla* his owne charge consisted of five squadrons of horsemen. *Bajazet* his army being also both faire and great, came brauely still on forwards towards their enemies, who stirred not one whit from the place they had taken for the battell: except certain light horsemen, Seythians, Parthians, and Muscouits, who sent out as loose men, hotly skirmished betwixt the two armies. Now was *Tamerlane* by an epic aduertised, that *Bajazet* hauing before giuen order for the disposing of his army, was on foot in the midst of thirty thousand Ianizaries, his principall men of war, and greatest strength, wherein he meant that day to fight, and in whom he had reposed his greatest hope. His battell of horse was very faire, amounting to the number of a hundred and forty thousand, all old souldiers. The Sultan of Egypt hauing also sent vnto his aid thirty thousand Mamalukes, all very good horsemen, with thirty thousand foot. So that his army marching all in one front, in forme of an halfe-Moone (but not so well knit together as was *Tamerlane*, whose squadrons directly followed one another) seemed

The great and martiall battell betwixt Bajazet and Tamerlane.

as a forest of trees: great as his: and so with infinite numbers of most horrible outcries still aduanced forward: & *Tamerlane* his souldiers all the while standing fait, with great silence. There was not possible to be scene a more furious charge, than was by the Turks giuen vpon the Prince of *Ciarcan*, who had commandment not to fight before the enemy came vnto him: which should haue been chosen a more faire plaine, and where the skilfull choice of place was of more aduantage for one of the other; but that *Tamerlane* had the ruer on the left hand of his army, forcing him to some small aduantage. Now this young Prince of *Ciarcan* with his 40000 horse, was in the first encounter almost wholly ouerthrowne: yet hauing fought right valiantly and earned euery inch of the Ianizaries, (where the person of *Bajazet* was) putting them in disorder, was himselfe there slaine. About which time *Axalla* let vpon them with the arereward, but not with like danger: for hauing ouerthrowne one of the enemies wings, & cut it all to pieces, and his footmen conning to join with him, as they had bin commanded, he faced the battalion of the Ianizaries, who right valiantly behaued themselves for the safety of their Prince. This hard fight continued one hower, and yet you could not haue scene any scattered, but the one still resolutely fighting against the other. You might there haue scene the horsemen like mountaine rath together, and infinite numbers of men die cry, lament, and threaten all at one instant. *Tamerlane* had patience all this while, to see the euent of this so mortall a fight: but perceiuing his men at length to giue ground, he sent ten thousand of his horse to joyne againe with the ten thousand appointed for the arereward, and commanded them to assault him at such time as he should haue need of them; and at the very same time charged himselfe, and made them to giue him roome, causing the footmen to charge also, ouer whom the Prince of *Thanaïs* commanded, who gaue a furious onset vpon the battalion of the Ianizaries, wherein was yet the person of *Bajazet*, who had sustained a great burden. Now *Bajazet* had in his army a great number of mercenary Tartars, called *Defenses*, with many thousands of other souldiers taken vp in the countries of the poore exiled Mahometane Prince, in whose iust quarrell, and the Greeke Emperours, *Tamerlane* had chiefly vnderaken that warlike Tartarians and other soldiers, seeing some their friends, and other some their natural and loving Princes in the army of *Tamerlane*; stricken with the terror of disloyaltie, and abhorring the cruelty of the proud tyrant, in the heat of the battell revolted from *Bajazet* to their owne Princes, which their revolt much weakened *Bajazet*'s forces. Who neuertheless, with his owne men of warre, especially the Ianizaries, and the helpe of the Christian souldiers brought to his aid from Seruia & other places of Europe, with great courage maintained the fight: but the multitude, and not true valor, preuailed; for, as much as might be done by valiant and courageous men, was by the Ianizaries and the rest performed, both for the preservation of the person of their Prince, and the gaining of the victory. But in the end the horsemen with whom *Tamerlane* himselfe was, giuing a fresh charge, and his auangard wholly knit again vnto him, re-inforcing the charge, he with much adoe obtained the victory. *Bajazet* himselfe wounded, and now mounted on horsebacke, thinking to haue escaped by flight, fell into the hands of *Axalla*: vnto whom he yeelded himselfe, thinking it had bin *Tamerlane*: who for a space knew him not, but took him for some other great commander of the Turks. *Musa* (sirnamed *Zelebi*, or the Noble) one of *Bajazet* his sons, with diuers others of *Bajazet* his great captaines, were there taken also: and amongst the rest, *George* the Despot of Seruia, who notwithstanding this misfortune, had that day gained vnto himselfe the reputation of a great and worthy captain, in so much that *Tamerlane* euen in the very heat of the battell marvelled to see him and the Seruians, with the other Christians which he had brought to the aid of *Bajazet*, so valiantly to fight, said vnto some of the captaines that were neere vnto him, See how courageously yonder Religious fight: supposing them by their strange attire to haue bene some of the Turks superstitious votaries. But being now taken, and afterwards brought to *Tamerlane*, he was by him courteously welcommed, but yet withall reprobued, for that he had fought for *Bajazet* against him, who was come in fauor of the Christian Emperour, and the other poore oppressed Princes, such as the Despot himselfe was. Who thereunto boldly answered, That indeed it was not according to his duty, but according to the prosperity of *Bajazet*, vnto whom it seemed that all the world did bend: and that his own safety had caused him, though against his will, to take part with him. Whereupon *Tamerlane* held him excused, and so without more ado gaue him leaue at his owne pleasure to depart.

The Prince of Ciarcan slaine.

The Turke ouerthrowne.

Bajazet and his son Musa taken prisoners.

Bajazet  
brought be-  
fore Tamer-  
lane, with  
his pride.

Bajazet also himself being afterwards brought vnto Tamerlane as a prisoner, and by him curteously entertained, neuer shewed any token of submission at all, but according to his proud nature, without respect of his present state, presumptuously answered him vnto whatsoever he demanded. Wherewith Tamerlane moued, told him, That it was now in his power to make him to lose his life. Whereunto he answered no more, but, Doe it for that, that losse should be his greatest happiness. Tamerlane afterwards demanding of him, What made him so proud, as to enterprize to bring into his subjection so noble a Prince as was the Greeke Emperour? he answered, Euen the same thing that hath moued thee to invade me; namely the desire of glory and soueraignty. But wherefore then (said Tamerlane) dost thou vse so great crueltie towards them thou hast overcome, without respect of age or sex? That did I (said he) to giue the greater terror vnto my enemies. And what wouldst thou haue done with me (said Tamerlane) had it bin my fortune to haue fallen into thy hands, as thou art now in mine? I would (said Bajazet) haue inclosed thee in a cage of yron, and so in triumph haue carried thee vp & down my kingdom. Euen so (said Tamerlane) shalt thou be fetted. And so causing him to be taken out of his presence, turning vnto his followers (said, Behold a proud and cruell man, he deserueth to be chastised accordingly, and to be made an example to all the proud and cruell of the world, of the just wrath of God against them. I acknowledge, that God hath this day deliuered into my hands a great enemy, to whom we must therefore giue thanks. Which he performed the same day: for the battell was won at foure of the clocke, and there was yet five houres of day light. The next day Tamerlane commanded the dead to be buried, where among the rest they found the body of the Prince of Ciarcan, dead in the midst of the Ianizaries; where he lay inclosed with their dead bodies, in token he died not vnreunited: whose vntimely death Tamerlane for all that greatly lamented, for he was his kinsman, and like enough one day to haue done great seruice. Whose dead body Tamerlane caused to be embalmed, and with two thousand horse (and diuers of the Turks prisoners chained and tied together) to be conueyed to Samarcand, vntill his coming thither. All the other dead bodies were with all honour that might be, buried at Sennas.

This great bloody battell fought in the yere of our Lord 1397, not far from the Mount Stella, (where sometime the great King Mithridates was by Pompey the great in a great battell overthrown) was fought from seuen a clocke in the morning, vntill foure in the afternoon: victory all that while as it were with doubtfull wings, hovering ouer both armies, as vncertaine where to light, vntill at length the fortune of Tamerlane preuailed. Whose wisdom, next vnto God, gaue that daies victory vnto his souldiers: for that the politicke tyring of the strong forces of Bajazet, was the safeguard of his own; whereas if he had gone vnto the battell in one front, assuredly the multitude finding such strong resistance, had put it selfe into confusion: whereas this successiue manner of aiding of his men, made them all vnto him profitable. The number of them that were in this battell slaine, is of diuers diuersly reported: the Turks themselves reporting, That Bajazet there lost the noble Mustapha his son, with two hundred thousand of his men, and Tamerlane not many fewer: and some other speaking of a far lesse number, as that there should be slaine of the Turks about threescore thousand, and of Tamerlane his army not past twenty thousand. But leauing the certainty of the number vnto the credit of the reporters, like enough it is, that the slaughter was exceeding great in so long a fight, betwixt two such armies as neuer before (as I suppose) met in field together.

By this one days euent is plainly to be seen the vncertainty of worldly things, & what small assurance euen the greatest haue in them. Behold, Bajazet the terror of the world, and as he thought, superior to fortune, in an instant with his state in one battell overthrown into the bottom of misery & despair, and that at such time as he thought least, euen in the midst of his greatest strength. It was three days (as some report) before he could be pacified, but as a desperate man still seeking after death, & calling for it: neither did Tamerlane after he had once spoken with him, at all afterwards curteously vse him, but as of a proud man caused small account to be made of him: And to manifest that he knew how to punish the haughty, made him to be shackled in fetters and chains of gold, and so to be shut vp in an yron cage made like a grate, in such sort as that he might on euery side be seen; and so carried him vp and downe as he passed thorow Asia, to be of his own people scorned and derided. And to his further disgrace, vpon festiual daies vsed him for a footstool to tread vpon, when he mounted to horse: and at other times

Bajazet like a  
beast shut up in  
an yron cage.

A times sensibly felt him like a dog, with crums fallen from his table. A rare example of the vncertainty of worldly honour, that he vnto whose ambitious mind Asia and Europe, two great parts of the world, were too little, should be now carried vp and downe cooped vp in a little yron cage, like some perillous wild beatt. All which Tamerlane did not so much for the hatred to the man, as to manifest the just iudgement of God against the arrogant folly of the proud: It is reported, That Tamerlane being requested by one of the Noblemen that might be bold to speake vnto him, to remit some part of his severity against the person of so great a Prince, answered, That he did not vse that rigor against him as a King, but rather did punish him as a proud ambitious tyrant, polluted with the blood of his owne brother.

Now this so great an overthrow brought such a feare vpon all the Countries possessed by Bajazet in Asia, that Axalla sent before by Tamerlane with 40000 horse, and 100000 foot, without carriages, to prosecute the victory, came without resistance to Prusa, whither all the remainder of Bajazet's army was retired, with the Bassa Mustapha: the country as he went still yielding vnto him. Yea, the great Bassa with the rest hearing of his coming, and thinking themselves not now in any safety in Asia, fled ouer the streit of Hellespontus to Callipolis, and so to Hadrianople; carrying with them out of the battell, Solymen, Bajazet's eldest son, whom they set vp in his fathers place: Mahomet his younger brother presently vpon the overthrow being fled to Amasia; of whom, and the rest of Bajazet's children, more shall be said hereafter. Axalla coming to Prusa, had the city without resistance yielded vnto him, which he riled, and there with other of Bajazet's his wiues and concubins, tooke prisoner the which he riled, and there with other of Bajazet's his wiues and concubins, tooke prisoner the

Solymen set up  
in his fathers  
stead.

Prusa taken by  
Axalla.

Came Despina, Bajazet's best beloued wife, to the doubling of his griefe. He then the Greeke Emperour now hearing of Tamerlane's coming to Prusa, sent his embassadours (the most honorable of his court) thither before to Axalla: by whom they were there stayed vntill the coming of Tamerlane; who received them with all the honor that might be, shewing vnto them all his magnificence, and the order of his camp, to their great admiration: For he reuealed a most populous and well gouerned city, for the order that was therein, which brought vnto it plenty of all kind of victuals and other merchandise, as well for pleasure as for vse. By these Embassadours the Greeke Emperour submitted all his empire, together with his person vnto Tamerlane the great conqueror, as his most faithfull subject and vassall: which he was bound (as he said) to do, for that he was by him deliuered from the most cruell tyrant of the world: also for that the long journey he had passed, and the discommodities he had endured, with the losse of his people and the danger of his person, could not be recompensed but by the offer of his own life and his subjects; which he did for euer dedicate vnto his seruice, with all the fidelity and loyalty that so great a benefit might deserue: besides that, his so many vertues & rare accomplishments, which made him famous thorow the world, did bind him so to do. And that therefore he would attend him in his chiefe city, to deliuer it into his hands as his owne inheritance of the Empire of Greece. Now the Greeke Embassadours looked for no lesse than to fall into bondage to Tamerlane, thinking that which they offered to be so great and delicate a sacrifice, as that it would not be refused, especially of such a conquering Prince as was Tamerlane; and that the acceptance thereof in kindnesse and friendship, was the best bargain they could make therein. But they receiued answer from this worthy Prince, farre beyond their expectation: for he with a mild countenance beholding them, answered them, That he was not come from so far a country, or undertaken so much paines, for the enlargement of his dominions already large enough, (too base a thing for him to put himselfe into so great danger and trouble for) but rather to win honour, and thereby to make his name famous vnto all posterity for euer: And that therefore it should well appeare vnto the world, that he was come to aid him being requested as his friend and allie: and that his vpright meaning therein was the greatest cause, that God from aboue had beheld his power, and thereby bruiſed the head of the greatest and fiercest enemy of mankind that was vnder heauen: and now to get him an immortal name, would make free so great and flourishing a City as was Constantinople, gouerned by so noble and ancient an House as the Emperours: That vnto his courage he had alwayes faith joyued, such as should neuer suffer him to make so great a breach in his reputation, as that it should be reported of him, That in the colour of a friend he came to invade the Dominions of his allies: That he desired no more, but that the seruice he had done for the Greeke Emperour, might for euer be ingrauen in the memory of his posterity, to the end they might for

for euer with well vnto him and his successors, by remembring the good he had done them; That long might the noble Emperour liue, happily to gouerne his estate: and that before his returne he would so well consider for the establishing of the same, as that he should not lightly fall againe into the like jeopardy, alwaies assuring himselfe of his good will and fauour towards him. Easie it is to iudge what joy these Greeke Embassadors received, to heare this so kinde an answer from the mouth of *Tamerlane*, himselfe: who rather than he would seeme to breake his faith, refused an empire offered vnto him, with one of the most stately and magnificent cities of the world. Few Princes (I suppose) would performe such a part: but so there be likewise but few *Tamerlans* in the world. These Embassadors by the command of *Tamerlane*, were by *Axalla* royally feasted, and all the honour done them that might be. One of them being sent backe to carry these vnto the Greeke Emperour, filled both him and all the city of Constantinople with exceeding joy and gladnesse, which both he and his subjects in general spared not with bonfires and all other signes of joy and pleasure to manifest. And the more to shew his thankfulness, shortly after by the aduice of his graue Councellors, passed ouer the streit into Asia, to see *Tamerlane* at Prusa, and in person himselfe to giue him thanks: who hearing of his coming, and very glad thereof, presently vpon the first daies journey sent the Prince *Axalla* to meet him, and to certifie him of the joy that he conceived, to haue the good hap for to see him, as also to conduct him to Prusa, where those two great princes, with the greatest magnificence that might be met, and so spent one whole day together. The Greeke Emperour the next day taking his leaue, was by *Tamerlane* with much honor conducted out of the city. Now had *Tamerlane* himselfe conceived a secret desire to see this so famous a city as was Constantinople, from which he was not now farre, yet would he not goe thither as a conqueror, but as a priuat person: which by the meanes of *Axalla* was accomplished, and he thereinto by the Greeke Emperour priuately receiued, and with all familiarity possible, entertained: the Emperour shewing vnto him all the rare and excellent things that were therein to be seene, and the other Greeke Princes deuising all the means they could to do him pleasure, and them which did accompany him, who were in a manner all appalled after the Greeke fashion. At which time the Greeke Emperour himselfe was curious to shew vnto him all the faire gardens alongst the sea coast, a league or two from Constantinople, and to priuately conducting him, spent five or six daies with all the mirth that might be possible; *Tamerlane* by the way oftentimes saying, That he had neuer seen a fairer city: and that it was indeede the city (considering the faire and rich situation thereof) of right, worthy to command at the world. He wondered at the costly buildings of the temples, the faire ingrauen pillars, the high pyramides, & the making of the faire gardens, and oftentimes afterwards said, That he nothing repented him of his so long, and dangerous a voyage, if it had bin only but to haue preferred from fire & sword so notable a city as that was. In the Greeke Emperour he commended greatly his mild nature and cirtiesie: who knowing him aboue all things to take pleasure in faire seruiceable horses, gaue vnto him thirty of the fairest, strongest, and readiest, that were possible to be gotten, all most richly furnished, and sent likewise faire Presents vnto all the Princes and great Commanders of the army, and bountifully caused to be deliuered vnto them all things which he thought to be necessary for the army. So after many great kindeneses in short time passed, and a streit bond of friendship made, and by solempne oath confirmed by these two great Princes, *Tamerlane* with great contentment tooke his leaue of the Emperour, and returned againe to his army at Prusa. Where with he now at his pleasure without resistance waisted and spoyled all *Bajazet* his dominion in Asia, no man daring to make head against him.

The yere being now well spent, and Winter drawing on, *Tamerlane* dispersed his army into diuers of the Provinces of the lesser Asia, expecting still when some of *Bajazet* his fionnes or other friends should make suit or meanes vnto him for his deliuerance, but none came: some fearing *Tamerlane* his heauy indignation, and others no lesse dreading the fierce nature of *Bajazet* himselfe, who if he had bene deliuered, was like enough (as was thought) to haue taken sharp reuenge vpon all them which forooke him in the late battell; and therfore neuer made intercession for him. Whereupon *Tamerlane* one day passing by him, said vnto him, I maruell that none of thy sons or friends either come to see thee, or to intreat for thee, it must needs be that thou hast euill deferred of them, as thou hast of others: yet how thinkest thou, if I should set thee at liberty, would they againe receiue thee as their Lord and Soueraigne, or not? To whom

when *Bajazet* boldly answered; Were I at liberty, thou shouldest well see, how that I want neither courage nor means to reuenge all my wrongs, and to make those disobedient and forgetfull, to know their duties better. Which his proud answere, made *Tamerlane* keepe a watchful hand ouer him.

In this great and bloody war, wherein the *Othoman* Empire had almost taken end, the Sultan of Egypt had (as is aforesaid) giuen aid vnto *Bajazet*: which *Tamerlane* tooke in so euill partes that he refused to be therof reuenged: for as he was vnto his friends of all others most kind & sweetest, so was he to his enemies no lesse terrible and dreadfull. Yet thinking it good before his departure out of the lesser Asia, to take some good order with these his new conquests, and finding nothing more honorable to resolve vpon, he restored vnto the poore Mamelukes, and finding nothing more honorable to resolve vpon, he restored vnto the poore Mamelukes, and finding nothing more honorable to resolve vpon, he restored vnto the poore Mamelukes,

the Sultan Princes (*Tachitin*, *Isfindiar*, *Germeau*, and the rest before fled vnto him for refuge) all their ancient inheritances, with something more; as he did also diuers cities and countries of *Nuolia* vnto the Greeke Emperour, for the yearly tribute of foure hundred thousand ducats of gold, and eight hundred thousand franks of silver, which the Emperour promised to pay vnto him yearly. And so hauing enriched his army with the spoiles of the *Othoman* Empire in Asia, he turned his forces against the Egyptian Sultan, and so passing thorow *Caama* (being before yeelded vnto him) was fought betwixt them a great & mortal battell, the Sultan hauing with him an hundred thousand foot, and seuentie foure thousand horse: whereof there were thirty thousand Mamelukes, accounted the best horsemen of the world. In which battell, *Axalla* the great captain, with the auingard of *Tamerlane* his army, was hardly distressed, and *Axalla* himselfe taken: but forthwith againe rescued by *Tamerlane*: who had he not by his coming with new forces, speedily restored the battell, cunningly protracted by *Axalla*, that day with his new conquests had made an end of his good fortune, but the victory after a long and bloody fight, wherein were fourescore thousand men on both sides slaine) inclining to *Tamerlane*, the Sultan fled, *Tamerlane* pursuing him by the space of three leagues. After which victory, *Tamerlane* dividing his army, sent *Axalla* with forty thousand horse and fifty thousand foot to pursue the Sultan alongst the coast of Arabia: who oftentimes shewed himselfe with his horse about his horse to haue hindered *Axalla*, who hauing the smallest forces, followed him the secret *Tamerlane* him (also in the meane time, with threescore thousand horse, and an hundred thousand foot, marching alongst the sea coast, had all the cities as he went yeelded vnto him: *Magara*, *Aman*, otherwise called *Apamea*, *Tortosa*, *Barruto*, and *Nephthalin*: only the city of *Damasco* refused to receiue him, whereinto the Sultan had put the Prince *Symon*, with a strong garrison, who did what he might to haue defended the same: but all in vaine, for *Tamerlane* haping by battery ouerthrowne a great part of the wall, by assault in the day, only the castle yet remaining, as being of a wonderfull strength, and almost impregnable, whereinto such a multitude had at the taking of the city retired themselves, as was so terrible to see, long to liue: who in short time pinched with hunger, and many of them dead, the rest for the safegard of their liues offered to yeeld: whom for all that, *Tamerlane* would not receive to mercy, to make them feeble what it was to hold out against him: so that by the third day of famine, the rest yeelded without condition, and were for their obstinacie all slaine. Which his severity towards them of *Damasco* caused, that thirty leagues off they brought the keyes of their cities vnto him, in token of their submission: whom he no more molested, more than in contributing vnto the charge of his army. From *Damasco*, he went directly towards *Ierusalem*, at which time they of the city had driuen out the Sultan's garrison, and had almost all they of Iudea, submitting themselves vnto *Tamerlane*. At *Chorazin* the Sultan had left six thousand men in garrison for the defence of the place, who at the first sight of him vpon their guard, but afterwards dismayed to see so great an army before it, and that *Tamerlane* having approached the wals, was set downe to haue it, they submitted themselves and sought mercy: In which city *Tamerlane* left certaine of his men in garrison, for the better keeping of the Mamelukes, who with often incurfions troubled his army. So marching he to himselfe with certaine horsemen for his guard, rode to *Ierusalem* to visit the sepulchre, so much reuerenced of all nations, and there to make his oblations: where he was of the inhabitants joyfully receiued, and hauing sought out all the antiquities of that ancient city, would be conducted vnto all the places thereabouts, where Iesus Christ had preached,

A great battell fought betwixt the Sultan of Egypt and *Tamerlane*.

*Damasco* won by *Tamerlane*.

*Tamerlane* commeth to *Ierusalem*.

euen

*Tamerlane* goeth to Constantinople.

*Tamerlane* much delighted with the pleasures of Constantinople.

even as the pilgrims doe: and coming to the sepulchre, gave thereunto, and the devout there, many rich and precious gifts, to the great contentment of all men (to see him honour those holy places) but of the Lewes only, who greatly blamed him for so doing: of whom of all others, *Tamerlane* made no reckoning, but called them the accursed of God. There had he news that the Sultan had gathered all his forces, and being come into Egypt, was there fortifying of his cities, especially the great cities of Alexandria and Caier. *Tamerlane* his army in the mean time by his commandment came towards Egypt to Damietta which strong city he thought not good to leave behind him, although he was by some persuaded so to do, for that it was thought impregnable, as well in respect of the castle, as of the strong garrison that the Sultan had put thereinto: but his fortune nothing could hinder, would needs go thither: and so having commanded *Axalla* to set upon it, followed himselfe after with the rest of his army. Now *Axalla* having summoned the city, and declared unto the inhabitants (who were most of them Christians) the mildnesse and courtesie of *Tamerlane*, as also who himselfe was, and what religion he held: causing many of the Greeke captaines to speake unto them, and to tell them of the misery they indured vnder the Moores and Mamalukes: so farre prevailed with them, that they all determined to adventure their liues, to put the Mamalukes out of the city, with all them that fauoured the Sultan. And so in the night taking vp armes, made themselves master of one quarter of the city, and deliuered one of the gates to *Axalla*: whereby he entering, put all the Mamalukes to the sword, or tooke them prisoners, and so gained the city. Whereof *Tamerlane* hearing, being as yet upon his march, was in good hope of so prosperous a beginning, to find an happy end also of his designs in Egypt. For besides the good fortune thereof, he knew that this haue of Damietta might serue him with victuals out of all the parts of Greece, as the Emperor *Emanuel* had promised him, and wherein he nothing failed him. Into which port *Tamerlane*, having made his entry, left there in garrison two thousand of the Emperor *Emanuel* his souldiers, with a gouernour, of whom heooke an oath for their obedience. So having staied a space at Damietta, hecaused his vaungard to march towards Alexandria: and having passed ouer the river, even in an instant turned directly vnto Caier, to the great astonishment of the Sultan, who made provision for the defence of Alexandria, as the nearest vnto danger. But vnderstanding of these news, vsed such diligence, that he entered into the city with forty thousand horse, and three score thousand foot: euen as *Tamerlane* his army approached, purposing in person himselfe to defend it. By whose coming the great city ready before to haue revolted, was againe in his obedience confirmed, to the great hinderance of *Tamerlane* his affaires: for to remaine long before it, was impossible, for want of victuals for so great an army in the enemies Country. Yet notwithstanding all this, did not *Tamerlane* forbear to draw neere vnto it, and with all his army to encampe neere vnto the same, having caused a great trench to be made for to couer his horsemen, and thereby to lodge his army more safely: during which time he caused diuers onsets to be giuen, as well to try what confidence the enemy had in himselfe, as to see how the people of the City, especially the slaues (which in that populous city are infinite) were affected towards him: who certainly informed of the state of the City, and the army, as glad to see the same by him shut vp, and the proud Mamalukes still put to the worst. But thus lying still at the siege, one day he thought it good to shew his army before the City, to try whether the enemy had a desire to come to a day of battell or not: as also to view what forces he had, and so indeed to seeke occasion to fight: in hope also, that if the Sultan did come forth with all his army into the field, some reuolt might happen within the city, as well by the slaues (vnto whom liberty was by him promised) as by the citizens themselves (discontented with the insolencie of the Mamalukes entered of late into the city with the Sultan) vnto whom he had made it knowne by certaine slaues (for that purpose fled as fugitiues out of his army into the City) how that hee was not come to hurt them, but onely for the destruction of the Mamalukes, both his and there enemies. But betimes standing so in battell array, no man come forth, neither was there any tumult or stirre raised in the city, as he had expected. For the Sultan in so great a City well prouided of all things, was resolved to weary him out with lying still, and not to put all to the hazard of a battell. Which *Tamerlane* perceiuing, and set downe not to depart from thence but victorious, resolved likewise to force him euen in his greatest strength, in the heart of his greatest City, although it were not to be done, but with great aduice.

Damietta taken  
by Axalla.

Tamerlane  
marcheth to-  
ward Caier.

Caier besieged  
by Tamerlane.

*Tamerlane* such confidence he had in the strength & multitude of his army. Now his purpose was to take one of the cities (for Caier is diuided into three) & therein incamping himselfe, by the way to a quare forward as he might, till fighting with the enemy. Vpon which resolution the commandment of an assault to be giuen, and having brought his footmen to the place where he would haue them to giue the onset (for the city was not walled, but onely fortified with ditches & trenches) he commanded the Prince of Thanais with fifty thousand footmen, to be the first to assault, vpon the face of the enemy, which he most valiantly performed, and there began a most terrible and cruel fight. *Axalla* in the mean time, deeming (as the truth was) that the Sultan had drawn his greatest forces to the place where the Prince of Thanais fought, to intercept him, was a place of greatest danger, set a compass about, and vpon another quarter of the city, where from the distance passed the trenches, where he presently left thirty thousand men, to sit upon the ditches, and to make way for the horsemen to enter, aduancing forward himselfe, against many thousand (not by the Sultan to haue stoppt his further passage: the Prince of Thanais being at that same time almost beaten backe by the Mamalukes. But the way being made plainly about that were for that purpose left by *Axalla*, and ten thousand horse entered, which charged vpon the backs of the Mamalukes, where the Sultan himselfe was; and they flood with ten thousand more sent in by *Tamerlane*, following himselfe after, with all his power. The Sultan retired vnto a second strength, which he had made in the next city. The fight ended full the space of seven houres, wherein where slain of the Sultan his men about sixteen thousand, and of *Tamerlane* betwixt seven and eight thousand. Who contented to haue dislodged the enemy, and gained a third part of the city, caused a retreat to be sounded, in hope the next day to win all the rest, as indeed he did. For the Prince of Thanais the next day forcing the enemies trenches in one place, and *Axalla* in another, the Sultan after a great fight finding himselfe hardly pressed by the obstinate enemy, and too weake long to hold out, retired, and so forthwith abandoned the city, & encamped himselfe along the side of the river Nilus, with purpose to passe the same, and to fly to Alexandria his second strength & refuge. Which *Tamerlane* suspecting, followed after him with his horsemen (who onely were in order) and some footmen, hardly drawne from the city, which their fellowes were in spoiling; so as hee was glad to promise them especially, to regard and reward their good seruice. Against whom the Sultan vpon a narrow causey, had opposed twelue or fifteen thousand men, whom he called his slaues (to honour his passage) but were indeed his best souldiers, and stood fast, the place being greatly for their aduantage, who for all that, at length forced by their enemies, still increasing vpon them, (though not without great losse) cast themselves into the great river, and made a most honorable retreat: euery man having his weapon in the one hand, and swimming with the other on the further bank. The Sultan flying with some eighteen thousand horse (for the rest were soddy waies fled or els drowned) is reported in his flight, to haue comforted his men, by telling them, that they were not men that had vanquished them, but gods, there appeared in them (to great wisdome, force, and valor) diuers of the Mamalukes taken in the late fight, being brought before *Tamerlane*, and by him curteously vsed, were of him demanded, if they would be content to serue him, now that their master was fled and gone? which they all utterly refused, whom notwithstanding, for their fidelity, *Tamerlane* set at liberty to go againe to the Sultan: as no lesse desirous to be admired of his enemies for his bounty and courtesie, than feared for his force and valor. The wonderfull wealth of this so great and famous a city became a prey vnto his soldiers; who for the space of foure and twenty houres had the spoile thereof, euery man being then by open Proclamation commanded to repaire to his quarter. The citizens he set at liberty, not suffering any of them to be taken prisoners: and so leaving ten thousand good soldiers, with a great number of others (whereof he caried a great multitude in his army, placing euery where as he passed as it were new colonies) and carrying away with him such of the inhabitants as he thought might hurt him, and taking order for all things necessary for the keeping of such a city, he caused his army to passe ouer the river for to follow the Sultan to Alexandria, to the end not to leaue his victory vnperfect: *Axalla* having before with the vaungard, for to hinder the Sultan for joyning his forces againe together; and the rest of his army conducted by the Prince of Thanais; he himselfe with an infinite number of horse & soldiers to attend vpon him, going by water, taking great pleasure to behold the faire river, and his swift course sometimes, & in an instant to become so calme as if it scarce moved.

Caier besieged  
by Tamerlane.

The

The citizens of Alexandria hearing of his coming, and fearing what might betide them, besought the Sultan to have compassion on their estate, and to withdraw himself into Lybia, whither *Tamerlane* for the barrenesse of the country could not with any great power follow him; resolved for their parts to give place unto fortune, and to do as the time required, and no more to resist so great a force, whereof they had already made sufficient triall: promising yet to remain in heart still his, & upon the first occasion offered, to make the same to him appeare. Whereupon the Sultan seeing all things desperate, determined for a time to tarry, in hope, that time would bring some change: as also that *Tamerlane's* populous army would not long remaine there. And so departing out of Alexandria with his army standing in his ties, oftentimes said, That God was angry with him and his people; and that he must of necessity suffer the fatal overthrow of his estate, himselfe having done as much as in him lay, according to his charge, and the expectation the world had of him: and yet that he hoped at length to returne againe, and deliver his people from the bondage, whereunto they must needs now submit themselves. *Tamerlane* coming to Alexandria (before yielded to *Axalla*) there staid a great while, sending *Axalla* to pursue the Sultan, exceedingly grieved, that he could not get him into his hands; and therefore still fearing some innovation to be by him raised, which caused him to deale the more hardly with them whom he suspected to favour him. Now the bruit of these victories having with *Axalla* passed beyond Alexandria into Lybia, had brought such a feare, not onely upon the people adjoining unto these conquests, but also upon all Africa (they supposing that *Tamerlane* did follow) that two and twenty of the Moore kings sent their ambassadors unto him, to offer unto him their obedience: the Sultan as a man forsaken of fortune, still flying before him. Of the nearest of which Kings, *Tamerlane* took hostages: as for the other farther off, he contented himselfe with their faith given, and with the other outward signes of their good will.

Now after this long travaill and paines taken, was *Tamerlane* more desirous than he had before vied, to see the pleasures of his owne native country: where rather shereunto moved by the request of his wife, then longing for his returne; and the newes beheard of the sickness of the old Tartarian Emperor his father in law; besides that, age it selfe began to bring unto him a desire of rest: with whom also the desires of hisouldiers well agreed; as men now weary to have run so many and diuers fortunes. The onely stay was, that he expected the coming of *Calibes*, an old and faithfull servant of his, whom he for his good desert had of his own accord appointed gouernor of all his new conquests in Egypt and Syria: a great honour no doubt, but not too great for him that had so well deserved. So minded was he of the good deserts of his faithfull seruants, as that he needed not by others to be of they put in remembrance, were they neuer so far off, as was now *Calibes*, who at this time was with the third part of his army making way for him along the great riuer Euphrates, for the conquest of Mesopotamia, and Persia whose coming was now with great deuotion looked for of the whole army, desirous to returne. Which their expectation he long delaied not, but being sent for, came to Alexandria, whither the whole army was now by the commandement of *Tamerlane* againe assembled. Upon whose coming, *Tamerlane* departed from Alexandria, hauing there left the Prince *Zamazan* (a man of great reputation) with six thousand horsemen and ten thousand foot, as gouernour of that place, and lieutenant generall vnder *Calibes*: whom *Tamerlane* (as I haue said) had now appointed to command ouer all Egypt and Syria, together with the Countreys newly conquered in Lybia and Barbary: and now conducting him vnto the great City of Caire, and there taking the best order hee could for the preservation of his new conquests, left him with forty thousand horse and fifty thousand foot. And so hauing sufficiently instructed him how hee would haue those Kingdomes gouerned, dismissed him, not like a master, but as a companion, seeming very sorry to leaue him destitute of his presence. So setting forward with his Army, conducted by the Prince of Thanais, *Tamerlane* himselfe, with a few to guard him, by the way turned aside vnto Ierusalem: Where hee remained eleven daies, dayly visiting the sepulchre of Christ Iesus (whom he called the God of the Christians) and the ruines of Solomon his Temple: much wondering thereat, and at Ierusalem, the seat of *Dauid's* Kingdome, and of that great *Solomon*: but grieved that he could not see them fully in their former beauty. He onely despised the Lewes, which had committed so cruell a murder against him that came to saue them. And so shew his deuotion towards

The Sultan flying from Alexandria.

*Tamerlane* desirous to returne into his country.

with the holy city commanded it to be free from all subsidies and garrisons of men of war; and gave great gifts vnto the Monasteries, and honoured them so long as he remained there. Departing from Ierusalem, he came to Damasco: which great city, as well for that it was infected with the opinion of *Isidore* (accounted an arch hereticke among the Mahometans) as also for that it affected to his proceedings, he caused to be raised, and the bones of *Isidore* the false Prophet to be digged up and burnt, and his graue, before much honored, in despite to be filled with dung. So marching on, and blasting the world before him as he went (for long it were and from our purpose, to recount all his victories) he passed ouer the riuer Euphrates, and hauing conquered Mesopotamia, with the great city of Babylon, and all the kingdome of Persia, laden with the spoile of the world, and eternized for ever, he returned at length to Samercand, the famous place of his birth, and glorious seat of his Empire.

Now had *Bajazet* (but a little before one of the greatest Princes on earth, and now the scorn of fortune, and a by-word to the world) with great impatience lien two yeares in most miserable thralldom; for most part shut up in an yron cage, as some dangerous wild beast: and hauing no better means to end his loathed life, did violently beat out his braines against the barres of the yron grate wherein he was inclosed, and so died about the yere of our Lord 1392. Yet of his death are diuers other reports: some saying, that he died of an ague proceeding of sorrow and griefe others, that he poysoned himselfe: and the Turks affirming, that he was let at liberty by *Tamerlane*, being by him beforehand poysoned, whereof he died three daies after he was enlarged (a report not like to be true:) but how soeuer it was, his end appeareth to haue bene C right miserable. His dead body at the request of his son *Mahomet*, was by *Tamerlane* sent to Alfrapolis, from whence it was afterwards conueied to Prusa, and there lieth buried in a Chappell nere vnto the great Mahometan Temple without the city Eastward: where also lieth his beloved wife *Despina*, with his eldest sonne *Erihogrud*. And fast by in a little Chappell lieth buried his brother *Iacup*, whom he in the beginning of his reigne murdered.

These two great and mighty Princes, *Tamerlane* and *Bajazet*, (both of them whilst they liued aburthen to the world) as they tooke their beginning from the Scythians or Tartars, so were they of like honorable progenitors descended: *Bajazet* being the fourth in descent from the warlike *Othoman*, the raiser of his family; and *Tamerlane* in like degree from the great *Zingis*, the first and most fortunate leader of the Tartars (his countrymen) vnto the pleasure of the D Eastboth Princes of great power and like spirit, wife, hardy, painefull, resolute, and most skillfull in martiall affaires; but ambitious aboue measure, the ground of all the former troubles by them raised, to the astonishment of the world. Howbeit, the great vertues and other honourable qualities of *Bajazet*, were in him by his cholericke and inward nature much obscured, which made him to exceed both in cruelty and pride: being also much more handfast than were his honourable predecessors. For which causes he was much feared and lesse beloved of his soldiers and men of war in generall, and of them at his most need forsaken: He used commonly to say, That his treasures were his childrens meat, and not his soldiers pay: which by way of reproch was by a common souldier cast in his teeth, when he raged to see himselfe by them forsaken in the great battell against *Tamerlane*; telling him as he fled, that he ranne not away, but went to seeke his pay, wherewith to provide his children bread. Where as all the afore said vertues in *Tamerlane* were graded with diuers other of like nature, no man being to his friends more courteous or kinde, either vnto his enemies more dreadful or terrible. The seruice of his seruant he neuer forgot, either left the same long unrewarded: being thereof so mindfull, as that he needed not by them or others in their behalfe, to be put in remembrance thereof, hauing alwaies by him a catalogue both of their names and good deserts, which he dayly perused. Oftentimes saying that day to be lost, wherein he had not giuen them something: and yet neuer bestowing his preferments on such as ambitiously sought the same (as deeming them in so doing unworthy thereof) but upon such as whose modesty or desert he thought worthy those his great fauours, so tempering the severity of his commands with the greatness of his bounty, as that it is hard to say, whether he was of his nobility and men of war, for the one more feared, or for the other beloved: both, the great faies of Princes states; feare keeping the obsequious in obedience, and love, the dutifull in deuotion. But with *Bajazet* it was not so, who deeming all done for him but duty, and by nature cholericke and proud (after the manner of Tyrants) desired aboue all to be of his subjects feared, not much regarding how

The miserable death of *Bajazet*.

A comparison betwixt *Bajazet* and *Tamerlane*.

Bajazet in his  
posterity more  
fortunate than  
Tamerlane.

how little he was of them beloued; not the least cause of his great fall and misery, and that therein he was of his own so smally regarded: wherein for all that he is to be accounted more fortunate than the other great conqueror his enemy, hauing euer since in the lineall descent of himselfe, had one of the greatest Monarchs of the world to succeed still in his kingdome and empire: as he hath euen at this day, the great Sultan *Mahomet*, the third of that name, who now in great majesty reigneth in Constantinople. Whereas the glory of *Tamerlane* his Empire, euen in his owne time growne to the height thereof, and labouring with the greatnesse of it selfe, and by him diuided amongst his sons, shortly after his death decayed, rent in sunder by ambition and ciuill discord; and not long after, together with his posterity, rooted out by *Vsun Cassanes* the Persian King, to the worlds wonder, tooke end: nothing of the huge greatnesse thereof now or since then remaining, more than the fame thereof: as doth also the misery of the other so brought low. But leauing this mirrour of mishap (*Bajazet*) vnto his rest, and *Tamerlane* for a while to triumph in Samarcand; let vs now proceed in the course of our History, yet not forgetting by the way to remember such Christian Princes as then liued together with these two great Monarchs.

## F I N I S.

Christian Princes of the same time with Baja- zet the first.	Emperors	Of the East	{ <i>Emmanuel Palaeologus.</i>	1387. 30
		Of the West	{ <i>Wenceslaus, sonne to Charles</i>	
			{ <i>King of Bohemia.</i>	1378. 22
			{ <i>Rupertus Duke of Bauaria.</i>	1400. 10
	Kings	Of England	{ <i>Richard the second.</i>	1377. 23
			{ <i>Henry the fourth.</i>	1399. 12
		Of France	{ <i>Charles the sixth, surnamed,</i>	
			{ <i>The Welbeloued.</i>	1381. 42
		Of Scotland	{ <i>John Stewart, otherwise</i>	
			{ <i>called Robert the third.</i>	1390. 16
	Bishops of Rome		{ <i>Vrbane the VI.</i>	1380. 11
			{ <i>Boniface the IX.</i>	1390. 14



Phil I onicer.  
Hist. Turc. l. i.

*Vindicibus Mahomet patrum sibi vendicat armis  
Imperium, & fractas servidus auget opes.  
Quod patri abstulerat violentia Tamberlani,  
Imperio reddit Marte fauente suo.  
Ille sagittiferosque Dacae, validosque Tribellos  
Contudit, & populos Ister amare tuos.  
Turcica sic rursus sublata potentia, stragem  
Attulit imperio Romule magne tuo.*

By force of armes stout Mahomet his fathers Kingdome gaine,  
And doth the broken state thereof repaire with restless paines.  
What so the force of Tamerlane had from his father tane,  
He by his fortune and his force restor'd the same againe.  
The Dacians he vanquished, and Seruians in field,  
And forc'd the people neere to thee faire Ister, for to yeeld.  
So once againe the Turkish state (by him rais'd vp on hie)  
Hath to thine Empire, *Romulus*, brought great calamitie.

THE



THE LIFE OF MAHOMET, THE  
FIRST OF THAT NAME, FIFTH KING OF  
THE TURKES, AND RESTORER OF  
THEIR SORE SHAKEN  
KINGDOME.



How wonderfully the Turkish kingdome was by the violence of Tamerlane shaken, and the majestie thereof defaced, it well appeareth, in that the Histories of that time, as well those of the Greeks, as of the Turks, in nothing more differ, than in the successors of Bajazet, their late unfortunate King. Some writing, that he had two sons, Orchanes (otherwise called *Calepinus*) and Mahomet: and that *Calepinus* in the second yeare of his reigne was slaine, and his kingdome possessed by Mahomet his brother. Others reporting, that Bajazet had two sons, namely, *Calepinus* and *Musapha*: and that *Calepinus* succeeding his father in the Turkish kingdome, when he had reigned six yeres, died, leaving behind him two sons, Orchanes and Mahomet: and that Orchanes being young, was slaine by his vnkle: whom Mahomet in revenge of his brothers death, afterwards slew, and possessed the Kingdome himselfe; Orchanes reckoned vpon seven sons of Bajazet, *Iosua*, *Musulmanes*, *Moses*, *Calepinus*, *Iosua* the younger, *Musapha* and *Hadu*; with an vnertaine succession amongst them also. This diuersitie of opinions, full of so lesse vncertainty, as I meane not to follow in report of this History, so will I not spend any time in refuting the same, (although much might be said in the matter) but leave these reports, together with the history following, to such credit as they shall hap to find with the considerat Readers.

The Greek Historiographers (best like to know the Turkish succession, as well by reason of their occurence, as in that they were by them as their bad neighbors, so much troubled) make no mention at all either of *Calepinus* or of Orchanes: In like manner, *Historia Musulmana Turcorum*, diligently gathered out of the Turks own histories by *Io. Leunclavius* (a learned Phy. Man, and himselfe a great scholar amongst them, and therefore deseruing the more credit) do not so much as name the succession of *Calepinus* or Orchanes, after the captivity of Bajazet, but reject them both as counterfeit. But in my opinion (without prejudice to any, that vpon better reason may seeme otherwise) the great confusion of the Turkish Kingdome, in short time wrought by the mighty Tamerlane and his Tartars, with the ciuill discord and war afterwards arising among the sons of Bajazet, arising all as it were at once, for the restless roome of souerainty, which suffered no partners; and euery one of them, according to his hap or power, lying hand vpon some one part or other thereof, and bearing himselfe therein for a time as a King in countries so far distant, neither leaving, vntill they had like the earth-borne brethren, wrought one anothers destruction; might giue just occasion of such diuersity of reports as is before spoken of, concerning the succession of that time, in that troubled and rent Kingdome: And reckoning one, some another; and some, such as neuer were, to haue succeeded in the gouernment, and so vntuly augmenting the number of the Turkish Kings. Wherefore leaving *Calepinus* & Orchanes vnto them that first found them, with that little, which without any good ground and lesse probability is written of their supposed reigne; I (following the authority of the Turkish history) reckon this Mahomet one of the yongest sonnes of Bajazet (of whom we

are now to intreat fifth king of the Turks: who after great and dangerous wars as well against his own bretheren, as his forreine enemies, was at length solely inuested in the Turkish Kingdome, about ten yeares after the captiuitie of his father *Bajazet*, as shall hereafter be declared.

The true posterity of Bajazet.

*Bajazet* after the manner of the Turkish Kings, having laid vp the hope of his posterity in the common treasure-houfe of nature, rather than in the body of one lawfull wife, had by diuers wives and concubins feuen sonnes, *Ethogru*, otherwise called *Orthobulus*, *Emir Solyman*, *Mustapha-Zelebi*, (that is to say, the noble) *Isa-Zelebi*, *Musa-Zelebi*, *Sultan Mahomet*, and *Casan-Zelebi*. Of whom *Orthogru* the eldest was lost in the wars against *Casi Borchaniden*, as is before said in the life of *Bajazet*. *Mustapha* was slaine in the great battell against *Tamerlane*, and there buried in the bed of fame. *Casan* the youngest was a child in *Bajazet* his court, when his father was taken, and afterwards with his sister *Fatime* deliuered as hostages, by their brother *Solyman*, vnto *Emanuel* the Emperor of Constantinople, where they both happily became Christians, and so shortly after died.

*Solyman* was by *Ali* *Bassa* President of *Bajazet* his Councell, and other great captains, conueyed out of the battell against *Tamerlane*, into Europe, and so by them at Hadrianople saluted Sultan. *Mahomet* fled out of the same battell to Amasia in Capadocia, where he was in his fathers time gouernour. *Isa* hearing of his fathers captiuitie, after the departing of *Tamerlane* with his Tartars, seised vpon *Prusa* a city of Bithynia, the ancient seat of the Turkish Kings, with the country adjoining, and there reigned as a King. *Musa-Zelebi* was taken prisoner with *Bajazet* his father, and afterwards set at liberty by *Tamerlane*. But of their fortunes more shall be said in this history following.

Mahomet gouernour of Amasia.

*Mahomet* was but fifteene yeares old when his father *Bajazet* in the vnfortunate battell of mount *Stella* was taken prisoner, and was at the same time by his appointment Gouernour of Amasia, with a great part of Capadocia adjoining: which places became so troublesome after the great victory of *Tamerlane*, that the Turks in that country were glad day and night for the safeguard of themselves, their wives, and children, to keepe continuall watch and ward: in so much that many of them wearied with those troubles, & despairing of better times, went into voluntary exile, because they would not see so great miseries: which thing much grieved yong *Mahomet*. Wherefore calling vnto him his most faithfull counsellors, to consult what course to take in the midst of so many dangers, it was by generall consent thought best (for so much as they could not without apparant danger continue neere vnto *Tamerlanes* forces) to get themselves further off into places of more strength, & from thence to expect the departure of their enemies, and in the meane time to content themselves with such advantages as occasion and chance of war might minister, cutting them short by policy, whom they were not able to meet in the plain field, and so by little and little to weaken or weary their mighty stragling enemies. For albeit that *Tamerlane* himselfe was not neere him, as then lying in Caria; yet did the Captains of his great and victorious army, at their pleasure spoile and forrage the countries far and neere all ouer the lesser Asia. Vpon this resolution he with all his forces departed from Amasia, to *Derby* in Paphlagonia, where by the way he encountered with *Cara Tabia* a nigh kinsman to the Prince *Isfendiar* of Castamona, his enemy, whom he put to flight with great slaughter of his men. This was the beginning of *Mahomet* his good fortune. From thence he went to Kere-

Mahomet sent Spies into Tamerlanes campe.

den, and there staying certaine daies, sent a spy into *Tamerlanes* campe, to see how all things went there: and afterwards entred again into councell with his captains, concerning his further proceedings. In which consultation some were of opinion, That it was best for him to withdraw himselfe into the mountains of the lesser Asia, as a place of good safety, vntill the departure of *Tamerlane*, which was shortly hoped for: for that it was not to be thought, that *Tamerlane* would with his huge army pursue him in that mountainie country, flying from hill to hill, and as it were from strength to strength. Others better aduised, thought those mountains to be no places to trust vnto, and therefore that it were more honorable, and as free from danger, for him to turn again into Amasia, and there to liue amongst his subiects, protecing them in such sort as he might, and not to leave them for a prey to euery stragling company of the rude Tartarians: which counsel he followed, as most reasonable; and being ready to set forward, the spy before by him sent into *Tamerlanes* campe, returned, certifying him that he had seen his father *Bajazet* in good health in the Tartars Campe, but could not by any means speake with him, by reason of the streight guard set ouer him: and that all that part of Asia was by *Tamerlane* possessed,

possessed, who then with his army wintered in Caria and Lyfia: whereupon *Mahomet* returned backe againe into Amasia; where he had not long stayed, but that newes was brought vnto him, That one of the Tartarian Princes called *Cara Duleschach* (that is to say, the fortunate blacke King) was with an army of twenty thousand comming to spoyle his country, being giuen him by *Tamerlane*. With which newes he was exceedingly troubled: wherefore with all speed calling together his forces for the safegard of his country, he sent before a spy to discover the enemies doings. This diligent spy returning in all hast, told *Mahomet*, That *Cara Dulet* lay at the towne of *Egiolus* in Galatia, in great security, hauing about him but a small power, for that he fearing no danger, had at that time disperfed his army, to seeke after pillage abroad in the country. *Mahomet* taking hold of this opportunity, marched thither with great celerity, and suddenly setting vpon *Cara Dulet*, ouercame him. In which conliet *Cara Dulet* himselfe was shot thorow the head with an arrow and slaine, and his army vterly discomfited. *Mahomet* returning backe to Amasia with victory, refreshed and rewarded his soldiers, yet no lesse carefull of the safety of his kingdome than before.

Cara Dulet slaine.

Shortly after he was aduertified that *Cubad Oglu* with a great army laid hard siege to the city of *Gastrea* in Capadocia, and was like in short time to take it, if it were not speedily relieved. By taking of which city, that Tartar Prince was like to make a great entrance, to the hazing of the whole country. Wherefore *Mahomet* hauing his army alwaies in readinesse, marched day and night with such speed to *Casaria*, as that he was vpon *Cubad Oglu* before he was aware of his comming, and there slew most of his souldiers, and put him with the rest to flight. After that he returned into *Cubad Oglu* his Country in Pontus, and grievously spoiled and destroyed the same: at which time he also by force won the strong castle *Peltæ* in the confines of Phrygia.

Immediately after that, *Inall Oglu* another of *Tamerlanes* Captaines (which at their pleasure without let foraged all the countries of the lesser Asia, during the time that *Tamerlane* made his abode within the Turks dominions) vpon the sudden entred into Capadocia with an army of twenty thousand fighting men, killing the inhabitants, and spoyling the country before him: so that the people for feare left their dwellings, and fled into the woods and mountains, to hide themselves from his fury. Whereof *Mahomet* hearing, was therewith exceedingly grieved, and wrote vnto him as followeth:

D  
Sultan Mahomet, vnto the Prince Inall Oglu.

Whereas without any iust or lawfull cause, or any war proclaimed, you haue invaded Our Kingdome, and haue not truely to kill Our subjects, by God committed to Our protection; and to spoile their wealth and labours: to the great disturbance of the Mahometan commonweale: and make no end of your malice and truely, you do therein quite digresse from the manners and lawes of the true Mahometans, or right beleaguers. For if thou wouldst not only be accounted, but indeed be a true Musul-man, thou shouldst forthwith departe out of my kingdome with thine army; thou shouldst not thus shed the innocents blood, or without cause wrong my people: but forasmuch as thou knowest not what becometh thee, neither wilt thou vnderstand thyselfe, but wilfully proceed in thy wicked purpose, falsly persuading thy selfe, this my Kingdome to be destitute of a lawfull inheritor, and therefore doest so great wrong and injury vnto the defenders of the true Mahometan religion; I would thou shouldst know, that I wish my so often victorious army with thine by the power of God come against thee, and in plaine field according to thy desires chastise thee. Therefore whilst thou yet maist reclaim thy selfe, and proceed not too far in thine obstinacy: no longer stand, and did neuer man yet good. Thus much We thought good to aduertise thee, that thou shouldst not be ignorant of Our purpose, but mightest so better consider and dispose both of thy selfe and thine affaires. In the yeare after the departure of the great Prophet Mahomet 806.

Mahomet his Letters to Inall Oglu the Tartar Prince.

And to which letters *Inall Oglu* returned this answer in writing:

F  
Prince Inall Oglu, to Mahomet.

Why dost thou Mahomet with such letters prouoke me? why dost thou so vnciuilly taunt me, lying thy selfe out a boy, and in truth a very child? Is becometh thee not to haue entred into these countries, or

Inall Oglu his answer to Mahomet.

to lay hands thereon, wrongfully gracing thy selfe with the title of a Sultan. Neither is there any cause why thou shouldst complaine, that I should lie in wait or seeke after thy life, thy kingdome, or any thing that thine is. I challenge vnto my selfe this kingdome, but none of thine: out of which it is reason for thee, as a wrongfull intruder of thy selfe, to depart, whom otherwise I will forthwith thrust out, and joyne the same vnto the rest of my territories. Wherefore except thou without delay get thee packing, and cease to oppose thy selfe against my designes, I denounce vnto thee all the calamities of warre, and wish thee with speed to prepare thy selfe to battell, for that I meane shortly to meet with thee. This yeare of our great Prophet 806.

Yenil Oglu over-  
thrown by Ma-  
homet.

Shortly after, Mahomet according to his promise meeting with this Tartar Prince, by plain force ouerthrew him, and had of him a notable victory.

The like good hap he had also not long after, against *Casser Oglu* and *Kinpeck Oglu*, two other Tartarian captains, at the castle of Chara chizar and the Plaine of Aruck-Oua. And hearing that one *Atesites* a Turke, had fortified himselfe in the ruins of Sebastia, and from thence spoiled the country round about, he sent *Bajazet* one of his Bassa's against him; who in short time rooke him, and brought him bound vnto him: by whom he was adjudged to die. But seeing in the man an inuincible courage, and contempt of death at such time as he should haue bene executed, moued therewith, he gaue him his pardon; for which he euer after continued vnto him faithfull, and did him great seruice.

Mahomet hauing many times thus vanquished the stragling Tartarian Princes, which had fought the spoils of his country, became thereby famous amongst the great commanders of *Tamerlane* his army; in so much that the bruit of his name came at length to *Tamerlane* care, yet lying in the lesser Asia who as he thought it not worth his greatnesse and labor, himself in person to goe against so weak an enemy; so he thought it not good or conuenient, quite to neglect him, but by some other meanes (if he could) to ouertake him. For which purpose he began to speake many times very honourably of him, highly commending his great valor and forwardnesse in so tender yeeres. And calling for *Bajazet*, told him what great commendation he had heard of his sonne Mahomet, and that he was therefore very desirous to see him: where if he found that true which was reported of his great vertues, hee would bestow one of his daughters vpon him in marriage, with many other great preferments: and therefore willed *Bajazet* to write vnto him. Not to doubt to come vnto him, to the great good both of himselfe and his father. Which thing *Bajazet* at the first doubting the worst, requested *Tamerlane* not to belecue that of his son, being yet very yong, and not worthy of so great a fauor. Neuertheless partly perswaded by *Tamerlane* his protestations, and importuned by him that might now command him, he with an euil will wrote to his son Mahomet to such effect as *Tamerlane* required. With which letters, and others of like purport for himselfe, with many rich Presents, *Tamerlane* sent *Hozza Mahomet* (one of his secret counsellors) Embassador to Mahomet, of whom he was right honorably receiued, and likewise entertained. But hauing read the aforesaid letters, and thereby vnderstood the cause of his coming, he entred into counsell with the great Bassas about him, whether he were best to go to *Tamerlane* or not. Where his Counsellors were all cleare of one opinion, that it was not good for him to aduenture his person to the danger of such a journey, or the mercy of so mighty an enemy, of whose faith he had no assurance. And if so be (saide they) he therewith offended, will by force seeke to haue you, we at his coming will take the refuge of the woods and mountains, and there shroud our selues vntill he be departed againe: for that he with his huge army cannot here long stay in this barren country, for want of necessaries. Neuertheless, Mahomet hoping that his journey might be both for the good of his father, and his own aduancement; contrary to the mind of all his counsellors resolved to go: and so hauing prepared all things needfull for the honor and safety of his journey, set forward. But as he was vpon the way in the marches of Pontus, *Cara Labia* whom he had before ouerthrowne, vnderstanding of his coming that way, thinking now to be reuenged, and hauing got vnto him some of the Prince *Isfendiar* forces, set vpon him by the way: but with as euill successe as before, most of his men being there by Mahomet slain, & himselfe glad shamefully to fly. So traueiling on further, he vnderstood that *Alia Beg*, a great Lord in those countries, went about to intercept him also: which caused him in such hast to goe on, that he was vpon *Alia* before he was aware of his coming, or well provided for him: so that for feare he was glad to betake himselfe to flight. Mahomet considering the danger he had escaped in that

A that journey; and that the nearer he came to *Tamerlane*, the more like he was to fall into greater, although happily without *Tamerlane* his knowledge: by the aduice of his graue and faithfull counsellors, resolved to go no further. Wherefore calling vnto him *Tamerlane* his Embassador, he thus spake vnto him:

Thou see the dangers and injuries I indure in this my journey, and my minde for bodie greater to enquire: for which cause I may not goe any further, but here returne. Commend me therefore I pray you vnto the most mighty *Tamerlane* with my father's, and tell them what dangers haue happened vnto me vpon the way: which I considered, I hope they will haue me excused. For which purpose I will also send in your company an Embassador of mine owne.

Mahomet his  
Bech to Ta-  
merlane Em-  
bassador.

B Mahomet at that time had with him a graue, wise, and learned man, called *Sophis Bajazet*, sometime his schoolemaster: whom he sent Embassador to *Tamerlane* and his father, to haue him vnto them both excused: and so departed, he homewards, leauing the way he came (for feare of further danger) and they towards *Tamerlane*, who honourably receiued *Mahomet* his Embassador and letters. But taking pleasure in the man sent vnto him, gaue him honourable entertainment, but would neuer after suffer him to returne againe vnto his master.

It was not long after, but that old *Bajazet* died of impatience (as is aforesaid:) whose dead body *Tamerlane* left at *Apropolis* with the Prince *German*, to be deliuered vnto his sonne *Mahomet*; with *Musa* his elder brother (who all this while had bene kept prisoner with *Tamerlane*) if *Mahomet* should require him. And so the mighty Prince *Tamerlane*, after he had long time wasted *Phrygia*, *Caria*, *Lydia*, with the most part of the lesser Asia; and conquered all Syria, Iudea, Egypt, and Persia, with many other great countries and provinces; returned at last into his owne Kingdome, vnto the great city of *Samarcand*, which he wonderfully enlarged, and beautified with the spoils of a great part of the world, before by him wasted: where he afterwards in great peace and glory reigned, no lesse honourable than feared of all the Princes of the East. To the terror of whom, and for the assuring of estate, he kept alwaies a standing army of forty thousand horse, and threescore thousand foot ready at all assaies: besides other his great garrisons which he kept in Syria, Egypt, China, and *Cambalu*, as also against the Muscouite, and Turkes; being commonly in euery place threescore thousand strong, though not still in field, but as occasion required. Vntill that at length hearing of the rising againe of the Turkish kingdome, vnder the *Othoman* Princes, the sons of *Bajazet*, with whom the oppressed Mamalukes of Egypt, and the Greeke Emperour (as doubtfull of his estate) had now also for feare of him combined themselves; he by the persuation of *Axalla* (then General of his imperiall army) made great preparation for a second expedition to be made for the vtter rooting out of the *Othoman* family, and the conquest of the Greeke Empire. But hauing now all things in readinesse, and also giuing a good beginning vnto these his intended conquests, (one of the Turkes great Bassas being by *Axalla* his lieutenant in a great battell ouerthrowne, and thirty thousand of the Turkes slaine) he in the midst of these his great hopes, as also of his greatest power, died of an ague the 72 day of January, in the yere of our Lord 1402. A little before whose death, appeared a great and terrible blasing star, portending as it were to the world the death of so great a Prince. He was a man of a middle stature, (somewhat narrow in the shoulders, otherwise well limmed, and of a great strength. In his eyes face such a rare majesty, as a man could hardly indure to behold them without closing of his owne: and many in talking with him, and often beholding of him, became dumbe; which caused him oftentimes with a comely modesty to abstaine from looking too earnestly vpon such as spake vnto him, or discoursed with him. All the rest of his visage was amiable and well proportioned: he had but little haire on his chinne; and ware the haire of his head long and curled, contrary to the manner of the Tartars, who shaued their heads, hauing the same alwaies covered: whereas he contrariwise was for the most part bare headed, commanding his son also to be so by his tutors brought vp: his haire was of a darke colour, somewhat drawing towards a violet, right beautifull to behold: which his mother comming of the race of *Samson* (as he gaue it out) willed him to nourish, in token of his descent: the cause that made him to be the more respected of his men of war; most part of them beleueing that in those haire was some rare vertue, or rather some fatall destiny: an old practise of many great commanders of former ages, to fill the heads of their soldiers with some strange opinion conceiued of them, to be the more of them honored, as if in them had bin some one thing or other more than in other men.

The great power  
of *Tamerlane*  
continually  
kept.

The death of  
*Tamerlane*.

The description  
of *Tamerlane*.

His

His lively counterfeit, as I find it expressed by them that write the best of him, you may here behold, with the testimony of his greatnesse following.

## TAMERLANE.



Paulus Iulius,  
Illustr. Viror.  
Elog. li. 3. p. 97.

*Ille novus Xerxes, orientis victor, & ingers  
Quacunq; permearet, horror gentium:  
Complevit totos Scythico qui milite campos,  
Hoc se ferebat ore trux Tamerlance.  
Cujus in aduentum tanta altis manibus vrbes,  
Ipsumque terra contremiscebant solum;  
Ipse adeo montes, ipsa per devia valles,  
Vim Barbarorum non ferebant agminum.  
Quare ab Caucasio Asiæ conuallibus omnem,  
Ad usque Nilum flumina armis subdidit;  
Euphratem, & Tigrim, & rapidum tranavit Orentem,  
Vi vastitate, cade, cuncta proterens.  
Vtque olim sæda cum tempestate coorta  
Brumpit atra nube fulmen igneum:  
Obuia quaque cadens perrumpit, & alia sonanti  
Templa atque solidas strage turres disscit.  
Subsidit vasto tellus labefacta fragori,  
Humilisque mentes sternit humanas paucor:*

Hand

*Hand secum ille viam ferro molitus, & igni,  
Energit arces, opida aquavit solo.  
Regem Asia horribili captum impetu Bajazetem  
Caneaque clausum ferrea circumtulit.  
Hæc agitantem illum, & spirantem immania iussa.  
Qua cunctis undique orbis expauescet;  
Et quæ cæca damnum molimine febris  
Fatalis vno soluit hora triduo.  
Regna tot insanis opibus, de tot modo regnâ,  
Reliqua una parvo gleba texit pulvere.*

In English thus:

Of Tamerlane a Xerxes new, which did the East subdue,  
And in all places where he came, the nations ouerthrew;  
That fill'd the fields with Scythian troups, brought from those climates cold,  
This was the feature and the shape which thou dost here behold.  
At whose approach, the strongest townes could small resistance make,  
The earth it selfe under his feet seeming for feare to quake.  
The mountaines high, mating the skie, and vncouth vallies low,  
Vnable were the force to beare where he did come or goe.  
All Asia from mount Caucasus, vnto the bankes of Nile,  
With withers hand he vanquished and made his force to feele.  
Euphrates, Tigris, and the swift Orantes gaue him way,  
With fast waile, and destruction great, on what he list to prey.  
And at his approach great oft times, when all things go to wracke,  
The very lightning flashing forth, out of the clouds so blacke,  
Doth break downe what it lights vpon, and with a dreadfull fall  
Crasheth the Temples, with their towers, and stately buildings all:  
So that the darth dismayd therewith, doth lower downe descend,  
And fearful wighes wrapt vp in woe, are brought to their wits end:  
In like sort he with fire and sword seeking all to confound,  
The strongest castles, towers, and townes, laid equall with the ground.  
And like a whirlwind taking vp great Bajazet away,  
Clompted in cage, so carried him for his disport and play.  
But whilst he rageth thus about, and plotteth in his head  
Such hard commands and heauy doomes, as all the world should dread:  
A little feaver, with three fits, oppress'd him with woe,  
And closing vp his vitall spirits, did lay his head full low.  
So that for all the world of wealth and Kingdomes he possesst,  
The small remainder of himselfe in simple graue doth rest.

His great empire by himselfe diuided betwixt his sons, was by their discord, & the ambition of some of their disloyall subjects, in short time after brought to great confusion, and his posterity thereby rooted out by *Vsun Cassanes*, the Armenian Prince, as in the proceffe of this History may appear. But to return againe to our purpose, *Mahomet* deliuered of his greatest feare, by the departure of *Tamerlane* out of those countries, determined to go to *Prusa* in *Bythia*, where his brother *Isa* as then reigned: but vnderstanding that *Isa* had before taken the straits whereby he should passe the mount *Horminius*, he tooke another way about, and came to *Palao Castrol*, where the valiant captaine *Zine-beg Sub-bassa* then remained: who with all honor and gladnesse receiued him; and there for certaine daies refreshed both him and his army. Afterwards greater forces still repairing vnto him, he marched thence to *Vladad*, call'd in ancient time *Lopadium*. Of whose comming *Isa* before vnderstanding, & hauing assembled his army, marched thither also, and encamped on the other side of the towne towards *Prusa*, ready to giue him battell. But *Mahomet* seeing his brother so forward, consulted with his

*Mahomet goeth  
against his brother.*

captaines

captaines what were best to be done: where *Eine Sub-bassa* a man of great experience, and of late one of *Baizet* his great counsellors and captaines, told him, That it was not for their honours being brethren, to pollute their hands one in the others blood, but to assay if the quarrell might by some other good meanes be composed, and they made friends. For which purpose, *Mahomet* presently sent letters vnto his brother *Isa*, concerning the partition of their fathers kingdome in Asia betwixt them: offering vnto him the prouinces of Aidinia, Saruchania, Germeania, Charafia, Charamania, with other countries to them belonging: so that he might haue *Prusa* with all the other prouinces about the same. Which letters, when *Isa* had read, and saw that *Mahomet* offered him but titles for Kingdomes, and such countries as were rather sometimes tributaries vnto their father *Baizet*, than any part of his kingdome, and now of late by *Tamerlane* againe restored vnto their ancient liberty and gouernors, sharing out the best and strongest part thereof vnto himselfe, he brake forth into choler, and said:

The answer of  
Isa to Mahomet  
was this.

*What doth not my fathers kingdome of right belong vnto me being the elder brother? Mahomet is yet but a youth, and scarce crept out of the shell: by what right then can he claime my fathers kingdome as his inheritance? If he can by the sword win it, let him take it, and so hold it.*

*Mahomet* hauing receiued his answer, prepared himselfe to the field, where his brother as ready as himselfe, stood expecting his coming: and hauing set his army in order of battell, gaue the first charge: which was the beginning of a most cruel and bloody fight, wherein, as it commonly falleth out in doubtfull battels, many were on both sides slain. At last the fortune of *Mahomet* preuailing, *Isa* his army began to retire: which he seeing, left nothing vndone for the encouraging of his fauouring souldiers, which belonged to a politicke Generall, or valiant soldier to do, but pressing into the thickest of his enemies, there with his owne hand slew the ancient and valiant captaine *Eine Sub-bassa*, who had many times bene Generall of the footmen in old *Baizet* his wars. But what preuaileth courage against euil fortune? *Isa* must either fly or die. And therefore hauing done what he could in so desperat a case, being himselfe on euery side forsaken, in the end was glad himselfe to fly to the sea side: where finding a ship ready bound for Constantinople, he passed ouer thither in safety, and there yeelded himselfe vnto the protection of the Greeke Emperour *Emanuel*. In this chase *Mahomet* his souldiers tooke the valiant captaine *Temurtas* prisoner, another of *Baizet* his great commanders, and brought him to *Mahomet*: who in reuenge of the death of *Binn*, commanded his head presently to be smitten off, and his body to be hanged vpon a tree by the high way side. Of this victory, *Mahomet* certified his brother *Solyman* at Hadrianople, and in token thereof sent him *Temurtas* his head. This battell was much spoken of, both for that it was fought betwixt two brethren, and also for the death of the two famous and old captaines *Binn* and *Temurtas*, who both together as louing friends, had fortunately fought many great battels vnder *Baizet* his ensignes, and now as it were by destiny, and against their wills, without any priuate grudge, were both drawne into contrary factions and slaine: both whilest they lived wishing a good peace betwixt the ambitious brethren. But as the Turks vsite to say, *What is by God written in a mans forehead before his birth cannot be his life be auoyded.*

After this victory, *Mahomet* thinking himselfe now in sure possession of all his fathers dominions in Asia, led his army to *Prusa*, where he was of the citizens joyfully receiued as their Sultan: and for his great bounty, of all men highly commended and honoured. From thence he went to *Nice*, and so to *Neapolis*, and there in both places was likewise receiued. Thither resorted vnto him all the garrisons of Carasina, Saruchania, and Aidinia, with other the inhabitants of those cognies, with all loyalty submitting themselves vnto him, with such honor and reuerence as belongeth to their King.

All things thus fowling according to his desire in Asia, he sent to the Prince *Gormane* for the body of his father *Baizet*, and for his brother *Musa*, which were there left by *Tamerlane*, as is before deolated. This body was by the same Prince at the request of *Mahomet*, with great solemnity sent to *Prusa*, and there sumptuously buried, with all the Turkish obsequies and ceremonies: the Turkish Alcoran or booke of their Law, being read seuen daies vpon his tombe. All which this great chere was kept for altroomers, and much giuen to the poore (vpon the Turkish deuotion) for *Baizet* his soule: but aboue all others, exceeding bounty was extended to the posterity of their Prophet *Mahomet*, which are knowne from others amongst the Mahometans, by the colour of their appasell, which is all greene, and not lawfull to be worne of any but

The body of  
Baizet honour-  
ably buried at  
Prusa.

A box of them: so that they were by the bounty of *Mahomet*, at that time greatly enriched. He also endowed the abbey which his father had there lately built, with great lands and possessions for the maintenance thereof. All which things done, and the solemnity past, he went in person to all parts of his kingdome, and was in euery place joyfully receiued: and so after, was returned to *Amasia*, and there in great pleasure spent that summer. Where we will for a while leaue him, to see what *Solyman* his eldest brother in the meane time doth at Hadrianople, whose lively countenance is by the skilfull workemans hand thus exprest:



*Non malus est nisi eneruct male suada voluptas,  
Quaque minus bello conuenit ingluuius.  
Hospitio Mirxi fruitur jam Musa Valachi:  
Ille tuum vigilat promus in exitum.*

IAC. BOISARDVS.

Enill art thou not, except leaud lust do hasten on thy fall:  
Or ryot, which becometh not a marriall man at all.  
Thy brother *Musa* entertain'd by *Marke* to thine annoy,  
Doth take no rest, but waiteth still how he may thee destroy.

*Solyman*

*Solyman* the eldest sonne of *Bajazet* (who kept his court at *Hadrianople*, there peaceably reigning all this while ouer the countries which his father *Bajazet* sometime possessed in Europe) hearing what his brother *Mahomet* had done, and how violently against all right he had driven *Isa* out of *Prusa*, and made him glad to fly to *Constantinople*: was with this his outrageous dealing much offended, and thereupon calling vnto him his Bassaes and faithfull counsellors, declared vnto them the vnnaturall proceedings of *Mahomet* against his brother *Isa*. Wherein (said he) he doth me also great wrong in taking vpon him the souerainety ouer those great dominions and countries in *Asia* which of right belong to me his elder brother, and not to him the youngest of six. In reuenge of which injury and wrong, I intend in mine owne right to passe ouer into *Asia* with a strong army, and by force of armes to recover mine inheritance there, if I may not otherwise come by it. Vnto which speech one of his graue counsellors replied, That in his opinion it was not the best course for himselfe to goe in person into those warres. For although (said he) your brother *Mahomet* be but young, and therefore by your greatnesse lesse accounted of, yet is his fortune great, and his experience about his yeares. None hath yet had to doe with him, but they haue had enough of him: yea, it is worth the noting, how politicly he hath borne himselfe for his owne safety, and the safeguard of the countries which he gouerned all the while that the great and mighty *Tamerlane* with his innumerable forces conuered the face of the countries fast by him: most part bereof, *Mahomet* hath now since his departure, againe recovered. Wherefore it were best for you to send for your angry brother *Isa*, to *Constantinople*, and to make him Generall of the army you intend to send into *Asia* against *Mahomet*. In which warres, it is not unlike, but that one of your brethren will be lost, whereby you shall haue one competitor of your kingdome the lesse. So shall you afterwards with lesse trouble subdue him that is left, or at leastwise please him with some part of that which they haue so mightily striven for. This counsell was of *Solyman* and all the rest well liked of, and approued. So was *Isa* presently sent for vnto *Constantinople*, and a great army leuied. Who being come to *Hadrianople*, was by *Solyman* courteously welcommed, and made Generall of his Army: and therewith shipped ouer the streit of *Hellespontus* into *Asia*. Where at his first comming, he possessed the whole country of *Carafia* or *Lydia*: and passing further, in all places where he came, was receiued of the people with great reuerence, they all promising him their obedience, if it were his fortune to preuaile against his younger brother *Mahomet*: wherewith he held himselfe well contented. So comming to the city of *Beg-Bazer*, otherwise called *Despotolis*, he there wintered with his army. In which time, he with many kinde and louing letters still directed to *Mahomet* as his younger brother, seemed to be glad that he was so well obeyed and liked of by his subjects: and that presuming of his loue and fauour, he was as his louing brother, and not as an enemy come into *Asia*, to intreat with him of such matters as much concerned the good of them both. Whereunto *Mahomet* with like dissimulation answered, That he was right glad of his comming, for which he needed not (as he said) to make any excuse, for that he was entered into a kingdome, in part his owne, and the rest open before him: in token whereof he commanded a rich garment to be cast vpon the messenger as a fauour, sending also diuers rich presents vnto his brother, with great prouision of victuals, and other necessaries for his souldiers.

But Winter past and the Spring come, *Isa* marched with his army to *Prusa*, & there shewed vnto the citizens the louing letters he had at sundry times before receiued from *Mahomet*: and telling them that he was in good hope that they should in short time right well agree, requested to haue the castle deliuered vnto him, sometime their soueraine: whereinto the better sort of the citizens had retired themselves, and made fast the gates against him: but when he saw that he could by no faire words or policy gaine the possession of the castle, enragd with that repulse, he set fire vpon that goodly city, and burnt it downe to the ground. *Mahomet* not ignorant how his brother *Isa* roamed vp and downe his kingdome, vsing all kindnes to such as yeelded vnto him; and exercising no lesse cruelty vpon such as refused his obedience: and how that he had raised the royall city of *Prusa*: hauing gathered a strong army, marched in ten daies from *Amasia* to *Prusa*, and by the way meeting with his brother *Isa*, in a great battell overthrew him with all his forces. *Isa* himselfe accompanied with no more but ten persons, fled vnto *Castamona*, Prince *Isfendiar* his city: who hearing of his arriuall there, entertained him with all the honor he could, in recompence of the great friendship he had before found at his hands, at what time he was an humble suter in his father *Bajazet* his court.

Mahomet

*Mahomet* comming to *Prusa*, grieved exceedingly to see that fair city so destroyed: yet to comfort the poor citizens, he gaue exceeding sums of money to be bestowed among them, and took order for the new building of the city, and there continued certain daies himselfe to see the work begun.

In the mean time hauing incited the prince *Isfendiar* in his quarrell to invade his brother *Mahomet*, & going thither himself in person, was by him now the third time ouerthrown and put to flight. Neuertheless he with some small forces twice afterwards entered *Mahomet*'s dominion, but finding few or none willing to follow his euill fortune, was glad at last to fly to the Prince of *Smyrna*, by whom he was both honorably entertained and comforted.

This Prince of *Smyrna*, moued with *Isa* his pittifull complaints in so manifest a wrong, did not only promise him what help he could of himself, but also by Embassadors solicited the princes of *Aidinia*, *Sarucania*, and *Mentesia*, to giue him aid in so iust a quarrell, for the relief of *Isa* against his vsurping brother. These princes pitying the estate of the distressed Prince, and moued with the request of the Prince of *Smyrna*, and fearing also the ambitious spirit of *Mahomet*; amongst them sent such aid, that being all assembled together, *Isa* had now twenty thousand men in arms. *Mahomet* vnderstanding of this great preparation made against him, and hearing raised a strong army, thought it not best to expect his brothers comming into his country (where perhaps many might join themselves vnto him, being so strong in field) but entered into the prince of *Smyrna*'s Country with such speed, that hee was vpon him and the best of his enemies before he was looked for; where after a great and bloody fight he obtained of them a notable victory. *Isa* hauing lost the battell, and therewith his hope also, fled into *Caramania*, and there in such obscuritie ended his daies, that no man can tell where or how he died. This was the end of this noble Prince, alwaies of greater courage than fortune.

The Prince of *Smyrna* the chief author of this war, humbling himselfe to *Mahomet*, obtained his fauor. The other confederat princes which gaue aid to *Isa*, were shortly after by *Mahomet* for most part spoiled of their dominions. Which done, he returned with victorie to the building of *Prusa*, hoping now to liue at more quiet.

But whilst *Mahomet* after this victory dreading no danger, was in the midst of his pleasures at *Prusa*, he was certainly aduertised, That his brother *Solyman* had raised a great army in Europe, to invade him in *Asia*. Vpon which aduertisement, he furnished the castle of *Prusa* with a strong garrison, and all things needfull for the enduring of a long siege, and placed *Tunc Beg* the son of *Firuz*, captain therein, and afterwards departed himself, because that City (lately before burnt by *Isa*) was not as yet to be defended, much lesse to be accounted of as a place to retire vnto, if need should so require. From *Prusa* he came to *Ancyra*, and from thence directed commissions for the taking vp of foldiers in all parts of his kingdome. At which time he wrote letters also to *Doiran* a Tartar prince (whom hee had many times greatly pleased) for aid: who presently came vnto him with certain troupes of braue horse, promising him his faithfull seruice.

Not long after, being that his brother *Solyman* was with a puissant army now come ouer *Hellespontus*, he consulted with his best leaders, what course first to take; being himselfe of opinion, without delay to meet his brother in the field; deeming it great shame, not to offer him present battell: but he was by his more expert captains aduised to consider, that hee was to fight against his eldest brother, of whose good or bad fortune hee had as yet no experience: and that many secretly fauored his quarrel and claim, as the eldest son and right heir of his father *Bajazet*. Wherefore it were better for him to retire further off into the strength of his kingdome, and so temporizing, to await all good opportunities that might chance (as it doth in nothing more than in martiall affairs) rather than to commit all to the hazard of one battell, wherein if fortune failed him, all were then vtterly lost. Vpon which resolution he retired from *Ancyra* toward *Amasia*. At which time *Doiran* the false Tartar, marching out at the other side of the city, fell to robbing and spoiling of *Mahomet*'s subjects as an enemy, burning the country villages as they went. Which thing when *Mahomet* vnderstood, he with his horsemen pursued him, and ouertaking him before he was looked for, slew most part of his men, & recovered all the spoil which he had before taken; all which *Mahomet* gaue to his soldiers: *Doiran* himselfe hardly escaping by flight. And so *Mahomet* hauing reuenged himselfe vpon his dissembling friend, held on his way towards *Amasia*.

Solyman

The castle of  
Prusa besieged  
by Solymán.

Solymán being come into Asia, led his army towards Prusa, where the Citizens vnderstanding of his coming, went out of the city to meet him, and hauing don vnto him such honor and reuerence as belonged to their Sultan, brought him peaceably into the City. But Iacup Beg stood vpon his gard, and would by no means deliuer vnto him the castle, which was before by Mahomet committed to his charge: for which cause Solymán laid hard siege vnto it, and gaue therunto diuers sharp assaults, whereby the defendants were greatly weakened, many of them being slain, and the rest for the most part wounded. Whereupon Iacup by letters sent by one Eime Hoxze, certified Mahomet how things stood, and that the Castle could not long bee holden against the furious assaults of Solymán, vnlesse it were speedily relieved: vpon which news he in all hast made toward Prusa, returning the same messenger before him with letters to the captain of the castle, if haply he could find means to deliuer the same, wherein he highly commended him for his faithfull seruice, and promised him speedy relief. This messenger with his letters chanced by Solymán's soldiers to be intercepted, and brought to Aliú Bassa, Solymán's chief Counsellor, a man of a sharp conceit, who of nothing could make something; but hauing any thing to work vpon could do wonders: he hauing streitly examined the messenger and perused the letters, suppressed the same, and presently writ others in the name of Mahomet, commending the captain for that he had already done in his seruice: but yet forasmuch as he could not possibly in time relieue him, he willed him therefore to deliuer vp the Castle, and to provide for the safeguard of himselfe and his Garrison by such conditions as hee could best obtain. These counterfeit letters Aliú Bassa found means to be as cunningly deliuered to the captain, as they were craftily indited: who hauing read the same, and now out of all hope of relief, expecting also euery hour to be assaulted by the enemy, vpon reasonable conditions yielded the Castle to Solymán. The news whereof being brought vnto Mahomet, now come within one daies march of Prusa, exceedingly grieved him; but seeing no remedy, hee returned back again to Amasia: whither Solymán (now possessed of the City and castle of Prusa, and hauing thereby got a great name in Asia) shortly after came with his army, and hardly besieged his brother in Amasia: but seeing no hope to win the city, hee retyred backe againe to Prusa, and there after his wonted maner spent his time in ryot and exces, wherunto hee was exceedingly giuen. Iacup Beg for yielding the castle was afterward by Mahomet streitly imprisoned, and in danger to haue bin put to death, had not the great Bassa's become intercessors for him.

Mahomet lying at Amasia, was by his secret espials aduertised, that his brother Solymán hauing dispersed his Army, lay in great securitie, garded but with a small power, passing his time in all voluptuous pleasure, his common exercise. Whereupon hee in all hast marched with his Army thitherwards, to haue surpised him before he should be able to call together his dispersed Forces. But when hee was come to the riuer Sangarius, hee was discovered by Solymán Sub-Bassa a great Captain, whom Sultan Solymán had sent for the taking vp of men in that side of the country. Who returning in all hast, gaue Solymán knowledge of his brothers coming: with which sudden news he was so dismayed, being now of small strength, that for the auoiding of the imminent danger, he would presently haue fled into Europ, had not Aliú Bassa otherwise persuaded him; telling him, that if he should so cowardly fly away, it would not only blemish and defame his honor, but discourage his friends also in Asia, and incourage his enemies to pursue him perhaps vnto the gates of Hadrianople: and that therefore it were better with such forces as he had to take the streits of Neapolis, and so to stay his brothers further passage into that country, vnill such time as he might assemble the rest of his army. According to which good counsel, he first took the before named streits and passages, whereby Mahomet was of necessitie to passe, and there strongly fortified himself. Mahomet coming thither, with great force entred those streights, but was still valiantly by Solymán repulled. The like attempt he many times valiantly gaue, for that he knew himselfe to be at that time too hard for his brother. But Solymán hauing the advantage of the place, with little danger or losse frustrated those his brothers braue attempts, although he were then a great deale the weaker. Aliú Bassa (whose wily head fraught with long experience, could with nothing else & great matters) in the mean time was not idle, but making Solymán before acquainted with his doings, sent a secret messenger (one of his owne most trusty seruants) to Mahomet with Letters; certifying him, That most of his Nobility and great Captains had secretly conspired

A conspired to betray him into the hands of his eldest brother Solymán, as the vndoubted heir of his father Bajazet; and so with the price of his head to make their own peace and atonement with him: and that for the performance thereof they had bound themselves first vnto Solymán and afterwards one to another, by solemn oath. Which treason hee discovered vnto him, with great profection of his loue and good wil, as he that had a long time eaten bread and salt (as the Turks vsu to say) in his fathers court, and therefore could not but with wel vnto him, being one of his Lord and masters sons. These letters something troubled Mahomet, breeding in his head many malicious conceits: for all that, hee ceased not for six or seuen daies space, to giue many a hot skirmish for the gaining of those streit passages, but all in vain. In which time it chanced one of his seruants heere about his person, to fly vnto the enemy; which caused him the more to suspect all that to be true whereof Aliú Bassa had forewarned him. Which considered, and thereby lying there hee preuailed nothing, but lost and wearied his men (for it was all that while exceeding foul weather) and withal doubting to be betrayed, returned as he came, to Amasia: And Solymán had also of his departure, retired to Prusa, giuing order into all parts of his kingdom, for the assembling of a great army: but vnderstanding that the King of Caramania had made a league with his brother Mahomet, and that they were agreed to join their forces against him for the driuing of him out of Asia, he forthwith drew all his forces to Anteyra, as a place of more safety.

Whilst Solymán thus lay at Ancyra, it fortuned that Musa (who had all this while remained with his brother Mahomet, since he was set at liberty by Tamerlane, though not altogether well pleased with his own estate) one day by way of talk thus spake vnto his brother: Thou see (said he) how our elder brother Solymán ceaseth not to vex and molest vs daily, and is not vnlike in the end to preual against vs to our utter destruction. Now if it might please you to giue mee leaue, I would goe to Isfendiar Prince of Caramania and Ponnus, our brothers enemy, and of him procure shipping to pas ouer the Buxine Sea, into Europ, where I doubt not to find opportunitie to make some great innovation in that kingdom whil my brothers absence: by reason whereof Solymán shall of necessitie be drinen to leaue Asia, to be againe by you (as he is possessed) or els be brought in danger there to lose his kingdom in Europe. Which if it shall be my good hap to gett out of his hands by your supportacion, I promise you faithfully to hold the same of you as of my Lord and Souerain.

This greatly pleased Mahomet, and therupon not long after they concluded betwixt themselves, one to stand fast vnto another, and the one to help the other in what they could, during life; confirming the same with great solemnitie of their Turkish faith giuen & taken. Whereupon Mahomet furnished his brother Musa with great sums of mony and other needful things for the taking in hand of so great an enterprife.

Musa thus furnished, taking his leaue of his brother, set forth towards the prince Isfendiar: who hearing of his coming, met him on the way, & entertained him as a great prince. But after that Musa had made him acquainted with his purpose for passing into Europe, and had obtained grant of his help therein, he tooke his leaue of him for a time, and went to visit the King of Caramania, who also most honorably entertained him, and the rather in despite of Solymán. But whilst Musa was thus passing the time in Caramania, it fortuned that Mark (of some called Merces) prince of Valachia, hauing his country much spoiled by Solymán's garrisons; and hearing that Musa one of Bajazet his sonnes was with the Prince Isfendiar, hee writ vnto him, promising to bestow his daughter and heir in marriage vpon Musa, if he would come ouer into Europ, and reuenge the wrong done vnto him by Solymán. Whereof Musa aduertised by the Prince Isfendiar, gladly returned out of Caramania, and was by him transported ouer the Buxine or black Sea, into Europe. Where the Prince of Valachia glad of his coming, receiued him with great honor, and according to his promise gaue him his daughter in marriage.

The same of Musa his coming into Europe, and of his marriage, was in short time bruited thorow all Solymán his kingdom in Europe, and wrought such effect in the minds of the notable vulgar people (always desirous of nouelty) that they all as it were with one consent submitted themselves vnto him as vnto their Lord and Souerain: inso much that coming to the roial city of Hadrianople, in the absence of his brother Solymán hee was there receiued as their King.

Solymán now lying at Ancira in Asia, vnderstanding of these proceedings of Musa in Europ, and

Musa marieth  
the Prince of  
Valachia his  
daughter.

Musa in Solymán's  
absence  
receiued as their  
King.

and that hee was possessed of a great part of his kingdom there, was therewith exceedingly troubled. Wherefore leaving his deputy in Ancyra, he with all his army came to the streit of Bosphorus, and there of Emanuel the Greek Emperour obtained passage, promising for the same to restore unto him certain places before taken from him in Asia. For his brother Musa had so provided, that he could haue no help of the Turkish shipping, which was by his commandment all before brought ouer vnto Europ side. Musa hearing of Solyman his arriual in Europ, made towards him with a great power: but after that both their armies were come the one within view of the other, and now ready to join battell, many of Musa his captains forsook him, and fled to Solyman his eldest brother and their vndoubted King. Which Musa beholding, was glad to fly, and to take the safegard of the Woods and mountaines for his refuge. After which victory, Solyman returning to Hadrianople, tooke againe possession of his Kingdom, and there without measure gaue himselfe to ryot and excess, according to his wonted manner.

After the departure of Solyman out of Asia, Isacup Beg (but lately before againe receiued into Mahomet's fauor, and now left as Solyman's deputy) deliuered Ancyra, with the castle of Prusa, and all the rest that Solyman had gained in Asia, to Mahomet, who shortly after led his Army thorow the countries of Carasia, Aidinia, Sarucania, Tekenfis, and Germeania, reducing them once againe vnto his obeylance: and afterwards returned to Prusa, where hee now the second time took possession of his fathers kingdom in Asia.

Musa carried  
against Solyman.

Musa still aided by the Valachian prince his father in law, gaue many great attempts against his brother Solyman, but was still put to the worse. At length hauing gathered some good strength and diligently attending the least smile of better fortune, drew neere vnto the place where Solyman lay, who at that time was (as his maner was) banqueting with great pleasure in his camp, and full of wine. In somuch that when news was brought vnto him, that his brother Musa was at hand with a great power, he in his drunkenness caused the messenger that brought the news to be beaten; and when he had with greater earnestnes than was to his liking, affirmed that his report to be true, he commanded him to be laine for troubling his mirth. But shortly after, Musa was come so neer, that the vancurriers of his army skirmished with some of Solyman's soldiers. When as Chafis Eurenoses one of his fathers old captains, preffing in, told him that Musa was at hand, and had skirmished with part of his army. Whereof Solyman (now far in wine) had no regard, but said, *Good Tutor trouble mee no more: my brother Musa dares not come to nigbt me, but if I do but hold up my cap he is gon.* With which answere the old Captaine going out discontented, sent in Chafan Aga of the Janizaries: who boldly comming to him, told him plainly of the imminent danger, and sharply reprovved him for his intemperance and securitie. With whose free speech Solyman mooued, in great rage commanded his beard to be cut off, then no small disgrace amongst the Turks. Chafan presently comming forth thus disgraced, said to them that stood waiting without, *This is the honor wherewith Sultan Solyman in his excessiue rewards his most faithfull seruants: Wherefore be it known to you all, I will from henceforth (and not without cause) serue Musa, a Prince of greater temperance and discretion: whose will follow me, come and welcome.* So mounting to horse, and accompanied with a number of his Janizaries, (of whom he was greatly beloued) went ouer to Musa, as did many other great Captains also, with their companies, mooued by his example so to doe. But when Solyman vnderstood that Chafan with most of the Janizaries, & many other worthy captains, with the greatest strength of his army, were revolted to Musa, then fast by, and ready to set vpon him; it then repented him too late of his dissolute folly, and finding no other remedy now to escape, hee hid himselfe vntill it was dark night; then taking horse, accompanied only with Caratze-Beg and Cara Muchil two of his Noblemen, and one country Turk whom they had retained for their guide, thought to haue fled to Constantinople. This malicious Clown hauing of purpose led them by vnknown waies all that night, to and fro as it were in a maze, (oftentimes mis-naming vnto them the places they passed by, as if they had bin in the right way) brought them in the morning to a Village not farre from the place from whence they departed the night before: and there riding a little before them of purpose, gaue warning vnto a sturdy Peasant or two of his acquaintance, That Solyman was comming after, willing them to make stay of him. These rude country churles, with some others of like breed, running out with bars and stauces, and such other homely tooles as first came to hand, slew Caratze-Beg and Cara Muchil, who would

Solyman fleeth.

A would not yeeld vnto them, but stood vpon their gard, and took Solyman aliue: where, as commonly it falleth out in the vulgar peoples fury, some cried out to kill him, and so to end the war; some likewise to burn him; and some to hang him; and some few to saue him: euery one as his trade or cōtion led him. In the heat of this country vprore came Musa, who glad to see his brother Solyman so hard beset, caused him presently to be there strangled, when hee had reigned in Hadrianople six years and ten moneths.

Solyman strangled by his brother Musa.  
The Solyman is he whom some call celubius, & others celubius, and reckon him for the fifth king of the Turks.

This was the miserable end of Solyman, the eldest son which Bajazet left aliue: a man much given to excess, otherwise endued with many great vertues, being both of great valor, and exceeding bountifull. In his time liued the learned Doctor Achmetes, who wrought the history of Alexander the Great in Turkish verse, and published it in the name of Solyman himselfe, for which he was by him bounteously rewarded. The dead body of Solyman himselfe was by the commandment of Musa conueyed to Prusa, and there lieth buried fast by the body of Amurath his grandfather. So now of these Cadmeian brethren remained none but Mahomet and Musa: the one reigning in Asia, and the other in Europ, diuers parts of the world, & wel bounded with the surest bounds of nature: yet not sufficient to content or contain their ambitious minds, vntill the younger had most vnaturally deuoured the elder: whose liuely counterfeite, as it is by the skillfull workman expressed, you may here behold.



*Quid propter as infanctuum, pessundare fratrem?  
Nam scelera tanti, pramia digna feret.  
Quisquid enim fratri malefeceris, hoc tibi frater  
Mox referet, nimis hac in sua fatatus?*

RIC. KNOLLEVS:

Why hastest thou, mad fool, thy brother to confound?  
The guerdon of such villany shall to thy selfe redound.  
For looke what mischief thou hast wrought, shall turn to thee again:  
Why dost thou therefore, foolish man, so hasten on thy pain?

Musa presently after the death of his brother Solyman took vpon him the Turkish kingdom in Europ: who in the beginning of his reigne displaced most of them which had borne great offices before in the time of his brother Solyman, and had now of late revolted to him, fearing to be by them betrayed or forsaken, as his brother was, and in their rooms placed others his own creatures. And not so content, proceeded further, vpon a small cause most vnkindely to imprison and put to death many of them which had of him well deserved. Which cruell dealing so alienated the mindes of his Nobility, that many of them kept themselves out of the way, doubtfully expecting the euent of such his tyrannical government. Chalis Eurenscis that old and renowned captain, to escape his hands was glad to seign himselfe blinde, so to absent himself from court. At this time he also by his Embassadors demanded of diuers Christian Princes his neighbors, such tribute as they had in times past either payd or promised to pay vnto his father Bajazet; and in that quarrell invaded many of them, namely the Princes of Serbia and Bulgaria. Amongst other, he sent Ibrahim Bassa (a learned man of great experience, and sometime one of his fathers graue counsellors) vnto Emmanuel Palaeologus the emperor of Constantinople, to demand the like tribute of him. Who so soon as he was come to Constantinople, from thence by letters aduertised Mahomet of the vndiscreet government of his brother Musa in his new gotten kingdom; and what vntimely stir hee began to make before he was therein well settled, losing the loue both of his subjects & neighbor princes: with much other matter concerning his misgovernment. Which things when Mahomet vnderstood, hee sent a messenger with letters backe againe to Constantinople, requesting the Bassa to come ouer vnto him into Asia, and in token of his great fauor sent him diuers rich garments, with many great and princely promises. Wherewith the Bassa moued, and detesting the cruell government of Musa, went ouer vnto him to Prusa, and there was of him honorably entertained, and sworn one of his priuy Counsel: in which place of honor he long time afterwards serued him faithfully, and after him, his son Amurath also.

Mahomet thinking vpon the aduantage of his brothers euill government, to find meanes to thrust him out of his kingdom, and so to draw the whole government of the Turkish empire vnto himself, as well in Europ as in Asia; assembled an army of fifteen thousand choice soldiers to invade his brother in Europ, before he were therewith established in his Kingdom. And so shocking down towards the streights of Bosphorus, by his Embassadour concluded a League with Emmanuel the Greek Emperor, That none of them should euer wrong or damne the other: And that if Mahomet should hap to obtaine the Turkish kingdom in Europe, he should alwaies honour and reuerence the Emperour as his especiall good friend. But if it should chance him to be distressed or ouerthrowne by his brother Musa, that then the Emperour should presently transport him and his Army backe againe into Asia. This League was with great solemnitie of words on both parts confirmed. And shortly after, Mahomet with all his Army was by the Emperours shipping at the streit of Bosphorus neer vnto Constantinople, transported ouer into Europ: for Musa possessed of Callipolis, had stoppt all the other passages.

Musa hauing knowledge before of his brothers coming, was forthwith in readinesse to meet him with a strong army. So that Mahomet had not marched far from the sea side, but that the vancurriers of his army met with his brothers at a place called Intzuge, and there began a light skirmish; wherein Musa his fore-runners were by Mahomet put to flight, and chased vnto Musas Camp. Wherof such a sudden feare arose in the Army, that they were almost ready to fly, thinking Mahomet had been vpon them with all his power: But vnderstanding the truth of the matter, both Armies rested that night; which as then drew fast on. The next day these two brethren, armed with equall hope, brought their Armies into the field, and gaue the signall of battell, wherupon began a mortall and bloody fight; in the fury wherof Michael Ogli Bassa of Romania, and certain other of Musas his chiefe captains, vpon secret discontentment revolted to Mahomet: wherewith many of Musas his souldiers discouraged, fled. Which Mahomet his souldiers seeing, pursued the chase with such earnestnesse and fury, that few were left with himselfe: yet with such as were left, in hope of good hap, hee set vpon his brother: who although he was halfe discomfired with the flight of the greater part of his Army, whom the enemies had then in chase, yet stood he fast himselfe with 7000 Ianizaries his best soldiers: so taking the vnexpected good hap presented vnto him by his brothers forwardnesse,

The battell betweene the two brethren in Mahomet & Musa.

A Hee valiantly receiued his charge. But Mahomet finding there a greater strength than hee had before supposed, and himselfe too weake to withstand the fury of the Ianizaries, because most of his men also were following the chase, was now for safegard of his life glad himselfe to fly to Constantinople, whither he came accompanied scarce with 200 men; and was from thence according to the agreement before made betwixt him and the Emperour, speedily shipped ouer into Asia. Musa hauing thus put his brother to flight, with great slaughter of his men, presently took his tents with all that was therein, and there incamped himself. They of Mahomet's army which had followed the chase of such as had fled in the beginning of the battell, not knowing what had hapned to Mahomet, returned to the camp, doubting no perill; and finding it at their return possessed by their enemies, stood as men amazed and vterly discouraged: at which time Musa would not suffer his soldiers to put them to the sword, as they would haue done; but commanded them to be dispoiled of their armes and such other things as they had, and so with life suffered them to depart.

After this ouerthrow, whilst Mahomet lay still at Prusa, the Prince of Smyrna forcibly entered into Adinia, purposing to passe thorow into Saruchania. Which thing Mahomet hearing, gathered a great army, and entering into the Princes country, made such spoil as he went, and so distressed the Prince himself, that he was glad to submit himselfe vnto him, and from thenceforth to hold his dominion of him as of his Lord and Soueraign, and so returned vnto Amasia.

Mahomet could not well digest the losse he had so lately receiued in Europ, and therefore leued an army of choice soldiers out of all parts of his kingdom, once againe to try his fortune against his elder brother Musa. For the better successe wherin, hee by his letters craued ayd of the prince Dulgader Ogli, written to this effect:

Sultan MAHOMET, vnto the Prince DVLGADER OG LI, his father in Law.

**M**y purpose is to lead myne army into Romania in Europ, and there againe to try my quarrel with my brother Musa: My hope is, that you will not with your aid be wanting vnto me your son in Law, in my great affairs, neither for want of goodwill to hinder this my purpose. Fare you well. In the year of the great Prophet Mahomet 814. From Amasia.

Mahomets letter vnto the Prince Dulgader Ogli his father in Law.

Wherunto the Prince returned this kind answer:

Prince DVLGADER OG LI, vnto the great Sultan MAHOMET.

**I** Doubt not (most mighty Monarch) but that whithersoever your desires shall draw you for the vnder-taking of any great exploit, He that ruleth aboue in heauen, will be alwaies your aid, prosper your attempts, whithersoever you sit occasions, and bring all your actions vnto most happy end, with most assured victorie. Wherfore seeing (God so disposing our affairs) I cannot my selfe in person come vnto you with my power, and giue you my trusty help in this your intended war: yet will I in no case fail with all speed to send my son your seruant, so aid you with our Forces in this war. Fare you well. This same year of our Prophet 814.

Prince Dulgaders answer to Mahomet.

And so shortly after, the Prince sent vnto him his son, according to his promise, with a company of brane soldiers excellently furnished: for the welcomming of whom, Mahomet his brother in law made a great and royal feast; and there in his mirth gaue vnto the yong Prince the rich apparel he wore himself, with the horse he rode vpon, and all the rich plate of gold & silver wherin they were serued at that feast, a matter of great valu. And to euery one of his Nobles he gaue a rich garment made for that purpose, with some other gift as a fauor: and afterwards gaue them all to vnderstand, That he intended forthwith to passe ouer into Europ, and there to recover all his fathers kingdom, or els there to end his days: as for the spoil and prey (aid he) it shal be theirs that can win it, one horse, one sword, one horsemans mace shall content my self. So hauing furnished his army with all things needfull for so great an enterprize, he set forward and came to the streight of Bosphorus, and from thence gaue knowledge of his

his comming to the Emperour of Constantinople: who glad thereof (for the displeasure hee bare to *Musa*) transported him and all his army over that streit into Europe, and there in one of his country palaces royally feasted him. At which time *Mahomet* requested the Emperour to join with him in that war against their common enemy: but he excused himself by reason of his great age, yet neuertheless assisted him with certain companies of valiant Christians, whose seruice afterward stood the Turk in great stead.

So *Mahomet* taking his leaue of the Emperour, marched with his army to the riuer Wyzen in Thracia, where by the way he received letters from the antient captain *Chafis Eurenosis*, advising him to be very circumspect in his marching, and not to make too much hast to join battell with his brother: counselling him also, if he could by any means, to allure *Iegides Bassa*, *Barac Beg*, and *Sinan Beg*, to forsake his brother, and to follow his ensignes; for that in those men consisted *Musa* his chiefest strength: and promised in good time to come vnto him himselfe also, if he were not too hastily. This messenger that brought this newes, *Mahomet* bountifully rewarded, and so sent him away. Shortly after, as he was marching toward Hadrianople, part of the enemies army began to shew it selfe vnder the leading of *Cara Calile*, and was presently charged by *Michael Oglu* and put to flight. So holding on his way to Hadrianople, he laid siege to the city: where the citizens sent out to him certain of their grauest and most substantiall Burgeses, to certifie him, that by reason of the garison there left by *Musa*, they could not as then deliuer the city vnto him; but if it should please him to go and try his fortune in the field against his brother, who should be the commander thereof, he should find them ready to follow his good fortune, and to yeeld themselves, the city, and all therein, to his pleasure, if it were his good hap to carry away the victory. With which answer *Mahomet* contenting himselfe, raised his siege, and took the way toward Zagora. In that place *Musa* is reported to haue come secretly disguised into *Mahomet*'s camp, and to haue taken full view thereof; but perceiving himselfe too weak, to encounter his brother, withdrew his army into the safegard of the great woods and strong places, and so from thence retyred with his army toward Philippopolis, and so marched along the riuer Meritze, called in antient time Hebrus: where *Iegides Bassa*, with *Hanza Beg* and *Ismair Oglu* (three of *Musa* his great captains) set vpon the rereward of *Mahomet*'s army, and were by *Michael Oglu* repulled. *Mahomet* holding on his way, came to Sophia, where as he went, *Musa* diuers times from the mountains made shew of his army, but durst not come down into the plain to giue him battell. *Mahomet* hauing refreshed his army at Sophia, marched to Sarkiue, where he receiued Letters from *Iegides Bassa*, *Barac Beg*, and *Sinan Beg*, all secretly perswaded by old *Eurenosis* to reuolt vnto him: The tenour whereof in brief was this:

**I E G I D E S B A S S A, B A R A C B E G, and S I N A N B E G, vnto the great Sultan MAHOMET.**

**W**E are three yong men (most mighty Monarch) and haue with vs three thousand choise soldiers, men of incomparable valour, such as the world hath scarce the like: draw your forces neere to vs with as much speed as you can, and you shall find vs ready to come ouer vnto you. Fare you well.

*Musa his chief captaines reuolt to Mahomet.*

Wherupon he marched all the next night after, vntill hee came to the riuer Moraua, and there incamped: where the three aforesaid Captaines according to their promise joined themselves vnto him with all their soldiers. Thither came also old *Eurenosis*, of all others the most famous captain among the Turks, and now no longer blinde, bringing with him a great company of most expert soldiers. Mark the Despot of Serbia, for the displeasure he bare vnto *Musa*, sent him aid thither also. By which supplies *Mahomet*'s army was greatly increased; who after he had curiously welcommed all these new come Captaines, hee began again to march further, vntill he came to Cossova the vnfortunat plain; where *Hanza Beg* the Prince of Smirna his son, hauing forsaken *Musa*, came vnto him with five hundred horse, certifying him that all the Nobility had forsaken his brother. So as he marche from place to place, his forces still increased by the reuolt of his brothers. *Musa* seeing his soldiers thus daily fall from him, in so much that he had almost none now left but the souldiers of the Court (which were indeed his best men of war, and alwaies vnto him faithfull, because hee had bin euer vnto them exceeding

**A** ding bountifull) thought it best to attempt something before hee were left himselfe alone. Wherfore hauing yet with him 7000 of those expert foldiers, he drew neerer to his brother, seeking to haue taken him at some aduantage. But *Mahomet* hauing knowledge of his purpose, and contented to be aduised by his old expert captains, had euer a vigilant eye vnto him. Yet at last, whether it were vpon good hope, or els prickt forward with despair, *Musa* vpon the sudden valiantly set vpon his brothers army: but his souldiers oppressed with multitude, rather than overcome with true valor, after a hard and bloody fight were put to the worst. Which he seeing, desperately brake into the midst of his enemies, seeking there for death among the thickest of them. But being known by *Bajazet Bassa*, *Mahomet*'s lieutenant general desirous to take him alive, he was beset on euery side: where seeing himself in more danger to be taken than slain, he with great courage brake from amongst the midst of them and fled. In which flight his horse falling into a deepe muddy ditch (or as some others say, hoxed by *Saruffis* his owne seruant, and himself wounded) ouerthrew him, and there before he could again recover himselfe, was taken by *Bajazet Bassa* the great Lieutenant, *Michael Oglu*, and *Birac beg*, which had hardly pursued him out of the battell; and so with his hands bound, by them brought thorow the midst of the army. Which pittifull sight grieved not a little the hearts of many, to see him but euen now so great a King, and one of the sons of great *Bajazet*, by the strange change of fortune, bound like a captiue laue led forth to execution: yet were most part glad thereof, hoping this long ciuill wars would now in him take end. Shortly after came vnto him a Nobleman called *Bahia Oglu*, sent (as they thought) from *Mahomet* himselfe; who after hee had in few words bitterly reproued him, for the cruelty by him before shewed vnto his brother *Solyman* in like case, caused him presently to be strangled with a bow string. His dead body was by and by after presented to his brother *Mahomet*, who seeing it, shed a few Crocodiles teares over it. He reigned three years and seuen months, and was afterward conueyed to Prusa, and there lieth buried by the body of his brother *Solyman*, in the same chappel with his Grandfather *Amurath*.

*Mahomet* after the death of *Musa* now free from all competitors, took vpon him the sole gouernment of the Turkish kingdom as well in Europ as Asia. And here the Turkish Historiographers begin the reign of this *Mahomet* fift king of the Turks; accounting the troublefome time from the captivity of *Bajazet*, vnto the death of *Musa*, as a time of vacancie or anarchy, wherein the Turkish kingdom was not at any time wholly possessed by any one of *Bajazet*'s sons: *Ila* possessing one part thereof, wherof he was by *Mahomet* dispossessed: who afterward vsurped all that part of the Turkish kingdom in Asia, being the right of his elder brother *Solyman*: who at that time reigning in Europ, was deposed and strangled by his brother *Musa*; who was in like manner serued by his yongest brother *Mahomet*, the only sonne of *Bajazet* then left, as is before declared. Which diuers mutations and interrupted successions, was the cause that the historiographers do so greatly dissent from the successor of *Bajazet*, some reckoning one, some another, some more, some fewer; and some, such as neuer were. But forasmuch as *Mahomet* held all or most part of the Turkish kingdom in Asia, during his troublefome time, and in the end possessed the other part thereof in Europ also; I reckon him for the fift King of the Turks, and successor to his father *Bajazet*: including also in this history of his life, all that intestine and serpentine-like tragedy, wherein he himselfe was the principall actor.

Whilst *Mahomet* was (as is aforesaid) thus busied in his wars in Europe against his brother *Musa*, the king of Caramania taking aduantage of his troubles there, with a great army inuaded his kingdom joining vpon him in Asia, burning and spoiling all before him as hee went: *Elnafes Bassa*, *Mahomet*'s lieutenant then lying at Prusa, not able to withstand him; and fearing his comming thither, because it was the seat of the *Othoman* Kings in Asia, he caused the citizens to bring the greatest part of their wealth into the Castle; whereinto he also receiued as many of the citizens as he conveniently could, willing the rest to shift for themselves as they might, in such case of extremitie. Shortly after, the King of Caramania (according to his expectation) came to Prusa, and without resistance tooke the City, not as yet fully fortified; which he without delay caused the second time to be burnt downe to the ground; and afterwards laid siege to the castle, giuing many great assaults thereto by the space of 30 dayes, but was alwaies valiantly repulled by *Elnafes* the Bassa, who ceased not continually to encourage his soldiers, still putting them in comfort, that *Mahomet* hauing now overcome his enemies in Europe,

*Musa taken.*

*Musa strangled.*

1415

*Prusa burnt by the Caramanians King.*

Europ, would in few daies vndoubtedly come to their reliefe. It chanced at the same time, that the dead body of *Musa* sent to *Prusa* to be buried, was honourably conveyed upon the way, with much people following it. The *Caramanian King* hearing of the coming of such a multitude, and fearing it to haue bin *Mahomet* with his power, raised his siege and speedily departed. Whereat the *Turks* long time after jested, saying, If the *Caramanian King* run away for fear of the dead body of the *Orthoman King*, what would he do if he had come against him alive? But the truth was, he feared *Mahomet* and his power.

*Orchanes* the son of *Selyman* (yet a boy) having lived at *Constantinople* euer since his fathers death, about this time departed thence, because of the league but lately made betwene the Emperor and his vncle *Mahomet*, purposing to haue gon into *Valachia*: but by the way as he was traueiling, the *Turkish* voluntary souldiers vnderstanding that he was the son of their late King *Selyman*, resorted vnto him in great numbers, offering in his quarrell to spend their liues. Of which insurrection *Mahomet* hearing, marched thither in all hast with a great power to suppress the same: of whose comming the souldiers with *Orchanes* vnderstanding, dispersed themselves and fled. As for *Orchanes*, he was by his vnlawfull tutor *Zaganes* betrayed vnto his vncle *Mahomet*, who presently caused his eyes to be put out, and so sent him to *Prusa*, allowing him great reuenues to liue vpon, and euer after vsed him with great honor. The sister of this *Orchanes* he gaue in marriage to one of his noblemen with a great dowry. This is that *Orchanes* whom some Historiographers reckon vp among the *Turkish Kings*, as one of *Bajazets* Successors, and that he was betrayed to his vncle *Moses*: erring, as I suppose, both in succession and the name, mistaking *Moses* for *Mahomet*.

1416

*Mahomet* invades the *Caramanian King*.

Now *Mahomet* calling to remembrance the injury which the *Caramanian King* had done to him in his absence, returning to *Prusa*, assembled a great army to reuenge himselfe of that wrong. At which time he sent to the prince *Isfendar* *Isotaid*, who sent him his son *Cassumes*. He commanded also the Prince *Germean Oglu* to make prouision for the victualling of his camp, as he should passe by his country; which was accordingly don. And so provided of all things necessary, he with his army entred into the *Caramanian country*: where he rooke the cities *Aspropolis*, *Despotopolis*, *Hierapolis*, and besieged *Iconium*; but by reason of the immoderate rain which at that time fel, hee was glad to make peace with the *Caramanian King*, called also *Mahomet*, and forsaing his siege, departed towards *Pontus*: where he had not long staid, but that news was brought him, that the *Caramanian King* renouncing his league, was again vp in arms: wherefore returning into *Caramania*, and so to *Iconium*, he there ouerthrew the King in battell, and took both him and his son *Mustapha* prisoners: who redeemed themselves by deliuering many of their strong Cities and Castles into his hands: and afterward concluding a peace, they received from him an ensigne (as the *Turkish* manner is) in token they were now become his vassals.

1417

*Valachia* tributary to the *Turks*.

The *Caramanian* war thus happily ended, he went ouer into *Europe*, and passing ouer *Danubius*, foraged the country of *Valachia Transalpina*, making there great spoil: for redresse whereof the *Valachian Prince* by his Embassadors sent him such tribute as he demanded, and his son also to serue him in his court. About which time hapned a great earthquake in *Prusa* and other places of *Asia*, whereby many houses and towns were ouerthrown; after which ensued great troubles in most parts of *Asia*: howbeit *Mahomet* going thither, by his presence kept all his dominions in peace and quietnesse.

*Isfendar* Prince of *Castamona* and part of *Pontus*, reseruing vnto himselfe *Castamona*, with a little part more of his dominion, gaue the rest vnto *Mahomet*, vpon condition that he should restore no part thereof again vnto his son *Cassumes*; who having long time serued in *Mahomet* his court and Wars, could not be perswaded to returne again vnto his father, and therefore was by him thus disinherited. Which great gift *Mahomet* thankfully accepted of, and in lieu thereof, hee assigned vnto *Cassumes* other great and large possessions lying within his own kingdom.

*Mahomet*, after the death of his brother *Musa*, had sent *Scheiches Bedredin* (his brothers Cadelescher) to *Nice* in *Asia*, as vnto a place of exile; allowing him neuertheless a great pension whereto to liue. This *Bedredin* had in his house one *Burguluzes* *Mustapha* his Steward: these two consulted together, how to raise some tumult or rebellion to trouble the peaceable government of *Mahomet*: for which purpose *Burguluzes* (according to the plot by them laid) took his way

A way into *Aidin* (sometime called *Caria*) and there pretending great zeal of reforming Religion, with wonderful granitic began to broach diuers new and strange opinions, far differing from the *Turkish* ancient superstition, yet very plausible, and well fitting the humour of the vulgar people. By which meanes hee was in short time reputed for a famous learned deuout man, and had many followers, drawing after him much people, fit to begin some great innovation. *Bedredin* glad of his mans success, fled from *Nice*, into the prince *Isfendar* country, from whence he took shipping ouer the *Euxine* into *Valachia*, and there withdrawing himself into a great forest, as if he had bin some deuout or religious man, allured vnto him a great number of out-laws and theues which there liued. Whom when he had sufficiently instructed and framed to his purpose, he sent them in the habit of religious men into the country of *Zagora*, and other places in the frontiers of *Mahomet* dominions neer vnto him, as his disciples;

who with great boldnes and confidence published *Bedredins* doctrine and authority, & how that he was by God appointed to be the King of justice, and Commander of all the World, whose doctrine and manner of government was (as they said) already receiued in *Asia*, beeing set forth but by one of his schollers, *Burguluzes*, whose fame was now dispersed throughout all the *Turks* dominions. And that therefore if any were desirous of preferment, they should repair to *Bedredin*, who would in short time shew himself to the world, and promote his followers according to their deserts. Many of the country people deluded with this phantasie and promise of these seditious seed men, resorted to *Bedredin* in hope of preferment, & with them some of good calling also. At last, out of the Forrest commeth this great Prophet with banners displayed, attended vpon with a great multitude of the seditious vulgar people, which daily resorted vnto him more and more. *Mahomet* for the repressing of these dangerous tumults, sent his son *Amurath* and *Bajazet* the great Bassa, with two thousand men to apprehend *Burguluzes* in *Aidin*.

But when they came thither, they found him garded with three thousand men well appointed, ready to aduenture their liues in defence of their foolish Prophet. Neuertheless *Amurath* and *Bajazet* not dismayed with the multitude of those vplandish people, set vpon them; where was fought a right bloody battell for the number, and many slaine on both sides: yet at last the Rebels fled, in which flight *Burguluzes* himselfe was slaine and hewne all to pieces. After which victorie *Bajazet* from thence halted to *Magnesia*, and there executed *Talar Keman* another seditious *Turkish* Monk, who with two thousand by him seduced, did much harm in the country therabout. At the same time also *Mahomet* sent another power against *Bedredin*: but most of his followers seeing in him no such matter as was by his disciples and himselfe promised, and as they hoped for, were already fallen from him; so that of that great multitude which before followed him, few or none were left with him: whereby he was easily apprehended by them whom *Mahomet* had sent against him: and so being brought to *Mahomet*, to *Serris*, was there in the market place before a traern door fair hang'd, without any further harm.

*Mahomet* in the short time of his reign finished the great *Mahometan* temple at *Hadrianople*, before begun by his brethren *Solyman* and *Musa*: Where he also built a princely palace, the seat of the *Turkish Kings* in *Europ*, vntil the taking of *Constantinople*. He also built an other Temple, with a most sumptuous Abby, and a publique school therto adjoining, indowing the same with great reuenues, such as had by him and those his brethren of late bin taken from the Christians. He also gaue great sums of mony, yearly to be paid at *Medina* and *Mecha*, for the relief of poor pilgrims traueiling from far, to the sepulchre of their great prophet *Mahomet*, at *Medina*, or his temple at *Mecha*.

Shortly after, *Mahomet* fell sicke at *Hadrianople*, and perceiving himselfe in danger of death, by his last Will appointed his eldest son *Amurath* to succeed him in his kingdom, and sent *Blum-Beg* (a man in great fauor with him) in post to *Amasia*, to wil him with all speed to repair to the Court at *Hadrianople*. But feeling death to approach, and that he could not possibly liue vntill the coming of his son, he streightly charged his Bassa's, with all secrecy to conceal his death vntill his coming, for fear lest any trouble should arise vpon the brute thereof, before his coming thither. And so having set all things in order, he departed out of this world vnto his prophet *Mahomet*, about the year of our Saviour Christ 1422, when he had reigned seuenteen years: accounting in his reign that troublesome ten yeares next after the captiuitie of *Bajazet*, in which time the *Turks* Kingdome was by his ambitious sons rent in

*Mahomet* dies at *Hadrianople*

fun.

The death of  
Mahomet being  
nearly concei-  
led from the  
Turks, by  
the three great  
Bassas.

funder (as is aforesaid) until it was at length again by this Mahomet restored to the former integrity, about 7 years before his death, which the Turks account the whole time of his reign; and the other troublesome 10 years as a vacancie or anarchy of their kingdom, as is aforesaid. Mahomet being dead, the three great Bassas, *Eiuas*, *Bajazet*, and *Ibrahim*, to rid themselves of the fear they had of the Janizaries and other soldiers of the court, called a Divano or counsel for the wars, as if the King had bin aliue. Wherin it was pretended, that Mahomet had determined to make war vpon the prince of Smyrna, & that for that seruice it was his pleasure, that the Janizaries should forthwith passe ouer into Asia to the castle of Baga. Whereupon presse mony was presently giuen them, and they sent ouer with letters directed to the viceroy of Anatolia, for the assembling of an army for Baga. In the mean time the great Bassas of the court sat daily in counsel, placing and displacing, promoting & disgracing whom they pleased, as if the King had so commanded. The Kings physicians also, to countenance the matter, were commanded continually to go to and fro with their porions and receipts, after their wonted manner, as if they had had the King still in cure: and letters were sent in post to *Eliu* Beg, for speedy dispatch of the busines for which he was sent into Asia. Yet for all this cunning dissimulation, the pensioners and other soldiers of the court, wont to be neer the kings person, and some of them alwaies of the priuy chamber, began to suspect the matter: and comming to the Bassas, said, they marvelled the King in so long time did neuer shew himself, as he had alwaies before don. Wherunto the Bassas answered, That he had bin dangerously sick, & was as yet but a little recovered, and that therefore the Physicians would not suffer him to looke abroad or take the air, for fear of casting him down againe. Then will wee our selues (said the pensioners) go and see his Majesty, and with that were ready to force in vpon the Bassas. *Eiuas* seeing their importunitie, desired them to hold themselves contented, and not as then to trouble the King, for that he had that day taken physicke; but to morrow (said he) we will request his Majesty, if he so please to shew himself, that you may see him. Wherewith they for that time were satisfied. Now among the Kings physicians there was one *Geordin* a Persian, a man of a quick spirit and subtil deuice, who found means to deceiue the Pensioners: he deuised, that the dead body of the King being apparelled in royal large robes, should be brought betwixt two, as if hee had bin led, into an high open gallery, and beeing there set, to haue a boy so neatly placed behind him vnder his large robes, as that hee vnperceiued might moue the Kings hand vp to his head, as if he should stroke his face or beard, as his manner was. The next day the dead king being accordingly brought forth by the Bassas in his rich robes, and wrapped with cloaths about his head, as if it had bin for feare of the aire, or taking cold, and so placed in an high open gallery, as was before deuised, suddenly the physician came running in, fuming and raging as if he had bin halfe mad, ready to teare his cloaths for anger, and in great choler casting his cap against the ground, asked the Bassas if they meant to kill the King, by bringing him into the open aire? Wee (said hee) haue with great paines, in a long time a little recovered him, and will you thus foolishly cast him down again. Pardon vs good doctor (said *Eiuas*) for these gentlemen (pointing to the Pensioners) were so importunate to see his Majesty, that to satisfie their desires, he was content to be led forth of his chamber, wherof we hope shall ensue no harm. The pensioners seeing the King many times moue his hand to his face, and as it were stroking his beard, held themselves wel contented, supposing him to haue bin aliue, although but weak, and therefore not willing to speak vnto them. The physicians taking them vp amongst them, carried him into his lodging again, which was but fast by, making as if they had caried an extream sick man. Thus was his death cunningly concealed one and forty daies, until the comming of *Amurath* his son.

This Mahomet was both wise and valiant, and withall exceeding bountifull, but ambitious about measure, who may of right be accounted the restorer of the Turks kingdom; for he recovered again all those Countries in Asia, which *Tamerlane* had taken away and giuen to other Mahometan princes, after the ouerthrow of *Bajazet*. And when as the kingdom of the Turks was rent in pieces and almost brought to nought by ciuill wars, and the ambition of his brethren and himself, he at length got possession of the whole, and so left it to his son *Amurath* an intire kingdom, in the former greatnes, although not so much by him augmented. His body lieth buried in a faire tomb made of artificiall stone, very beautifull to behold, in a chapel on the East side of *Prusa*, where we leaue him at his rest.

F I N I S.

Emperors	Of the East { <i>Emanuel Paleologus.</i>	1387. 30
	Of the West { <i>Rupertus Duke of Bararia.</i> <i>Sigismund King of Hungary</i>	1400. 10 1411. 28
Kings	Of England { <i>Henry the fourth.</i> <i>Henry the fifth</i>	1399. 13 1413. 9
	Of France { <i>Charles the sixth, surnamed, The Welbeloued.</i>	1381. 42
	Of Scotland { <i>John Stewart, otherwise called Robert the third.</i> <i>James the first</i>	1390. 16 1424. 13
	Bishops of Rome { <i>Boniface the IX.</i> <i>Innocent the VIII.</i> <i>Gregory the XII.</i> <i>Alexander the V.</i> <i>John the XXIII.</i> <i>Martin the V.</i>	1390. 14 1405. 2 1407. 2 1410. 1 1411. 5 1417. 13

Christian Princes of the  
same time with Mahomet the first.

Z

AMV.



Phh. I. on.  
Hist. Tur.  
Lib. 1.

*Europam luctu & funestis cladibus implens;  
Sevus Amurathes totus in armis aruit.  
Major at Huniades virtute & fortibus ausis,  
Cogit cum trepida vertere verga fuga.  
Conflis Eugenij bellum furialia suadens,  
Sacrorum antistes Martia ad armavit:  
(Arma viri tractens, curat sua templa sacerdos)  
Europa exitium res tulit ista grave.*

Fierce Amurath doth Europ fill with bloud and wofull cries;  
And wholly given to martial deeds, doth whole in arms arise.  
But yet Huniades (than he, of greater force and might)  
Inforced him right fearfully to turn his back in flight.  
Eugenius his infernall spels stirs up a fatal jar;  
Who having charge of sacred Rites, runs headlong into war.  
(Leave martial deeds to martial men, and let the Priest go pray)  
Such diuelish counsel, worst receiv'd, wrought Europ great decay.



THE LIFE OF AMVRATH, THE  
SECOND OF THAT NAME, SIXT KING OF  
THE TURKS, AND THE GREAT ESTABLISH-  
SHER OF THEIR KINGDOME:

After the death of Mahomet had bin politiquely concealed one and fortie days, by the three great Bassa's, Bajazet, Eiuafes, and Ibrahim; Amurath (or Murat, as the Turks call him) his eldest son, at that time comming to Prusa, was by them placed in his fathers seat, and the death of Mahomet at the same time published. Whereupon great troubles began on euery side to arise.

Murat is the  
same that we  
call Desiderius.

The Princes of Smyrna and Mentesia rose vp in arms: and at Thessalonica, an obscure fellow crept as it were out of a chimney corner, took vpon him the name and person of Mustapha the son of Bajazet, who was slain many years before, in the great battell against Tamerlane at mount Stella, as is before declared in the life of the vnfortunate Sultan Bajazet. This counterfeit Mustapha, animated by the Grecian princes, and going from Thessalonica to Vardarium, set so good a countenance vpon the matter, with such a grace and Majesty, that not only the country people (apt to beleue any thing) but men of greater place and calling also, as Tzumites Beg the prince of Smyrna's son, with the sons of old Eurenafes Bassa, persuaded that he was the very son of the great Bajazet, repaired vnto him, as vnto their naturall Prince and Soueraign. From Vardarium he went to Serræ, and from thence to Hadrianople (Amurath being then at Prusa) where he was received as if it had bin that noble prince Mustapha, whom he feigned himself to be. So that in short time he was honored as a King in all parts of the Turkish Kingdom in Europ.

Mustapha, Bassa, is supposed for Bajazet's rebellion against Amurath.

Amurath to repress this so great and dangerous a rebellion, sent Bajazet Bassa, a man of great authority in his Court, with a strong army into Europ. This great Bassa passing ouer Hellepontus, found all the country revolted vnto their new found King Mustapha: but marching toward Hadrianople, with purpose to haue giuen him battell, hee was first forsaken by the European soldiers which he brought out of Asia, and afterwards of all the rest also; and being left post alone, with his brother Hamze Beg, was for safeguard of his life glad to yeeld himself to Mustapha, of whom he was graciously entertained, and vpon promise of his loialtie sworn one of his priuy Councell.

Mustapha thus now possessed of the Turkish kingdome in Europe, and entertaining great thoughts, the better to maintain his credit, leuied a great army to make war vpon Amurath in Asia. And as he was vpon his way, at a place which the Turks call Sallidere, or the place of Willows, his other counsellors repining at the great honor he gaue to Bajazet Bassa, aduised him to beware he trusted him not too far, of whose small faith he had sufficient trial already, and was like enough when occasion should serue, to reuolt from him to Amurath, & to draw after him some great part of his army, to the great peril both of himself & all them his faithfull seruants & followers. Vpon which jelous conceit, this great Bassa Bajazet was there forthwith as a traitor apprehended, and without further trial executed: at which time his brother Hamze was with much ado spared. This done, Mustapha proceeded on his journey, and passed

Europ, would in few daies vndoubtedly come to their reliefe. It chanced at the same time, that the dead body of *Musa* sent to Prusa to be buried, was honourably conveyed vpon the way, with much people following it. The Caramanian King, hearing of the coming of such a multitude, and fearing it to haue bin *Mahomet* with his power, raised his siege and speedily departed. Whereat the Turks long time after jested, saying, If the Caramanian King run away for fear of the dead body of the *Othoman* King, what would he do if he had come against him alive? But the truth was, he feared *Mahomet* and his power.

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1416

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1417

*Mahomet* invaded the country of the Danubius.

The Caramanian war thus happily ended, he went ouer into Europe, and passing ouer Danubius, foraged the country of Valachia Transalpina, making there great spoil: for redresse whereof the Valachian Prince by his Embassadors sent him such tribute as he demanded, and his son also to serue him in his court. About which time hapned a great earthquake in Prusa and other places of Asia, whereby many houses and towns were ouerthrown; after which ensued great troubles in most parts of Asia: howbeit *Mahomet* going thither, by his presence kept all his dominions in peace and quietnesse.

*Isfendar* Prince of Castamona and part of Pontus, reseruing vnto himselfe Castamona, with a little part more of his dominion, gaue the rest vnto *Mahomet*, vpon condition that he should restore no part thereof againe vnto his son *Cassumes*: who hauing long time serued in *Mahomet* his court and Wars, could not be perswaded to returne againe vnto his father, and therefore was by him thus disinherited. Which great gift *Mahomet* thankfully accepted of, and in lieu thereof, hee assigned vnto *Cassumes* other great and large possessions lying within his own kingdome.

*Mahomet*, after the death of his brother *Musa*, had sent *Scheiches Bedredin* (his brothers Cadescher) to Nice in Asia, as vnto a place of exile; allowing him neuertheless a great pension when on to liue. This *Bedredin* had in his house one *Burgluzes* *Mustapha* his steward: these two consulted together, how to raise some tumult or rebellion to trouble the peaceable government of *Mahomet*: for which purpose *Burgluzes* (according to the plot by them laid) took his way

A way into Aidinia (sometime called Caria) and there pretending great zeal of reforming Religion, with wonderful granitie began to broach diuers new and strange opinions, far differing from the Turkish ancient superstition, yet very plausible, and well fitting the humors of the vulgar people. By which means hee was in short time reputed for a famous learned devout man, and had many followers, drawing after him much people, fit to begin some great innovation. *Bedredin* glad of his mans success, fled from Nice, into the prince *Isfendar* his country, from whence he took shipping ouer the Euxine into Valachia, and there withdrawing himself into a great forest, as if he had bin some devout or religious man, allured vnto him a great number of out-lawes and theeves which there liued. Whom when he had sufficiently instructed and framed to his purpose, he sent them in the habit of religious men into the country of *Zagora*, and other places in the frontiers of *Mahomet* his dominions neer vnto him, as his disciples:

B who with great boldnes and confidence published *Bedredins* doctrine and authoritie, & how that he was by God appointed to be the King of iustice, and Commander of all the World, whose doctrine and maner of gouernment was (as they said) already receiued in Asia, being set forth but by one of his schollers, *Burgluzes*, whose fame was now dispersed throughout all the Turks dominions. And that therefore if any were desirous of preferment, they should repair to *Bedredin*, who would in short time shew himselfe to the world, and promote his followers according to their desires. Many of the country people deluded with this phantasticke and idle of these seditious seed men, resorted to *Bedredin* in hope of preferment, & with them some of good calling also. At last, out of the Forrest cometh this great Prophet with bander displayed, attended vpon with a great multitude of the seditious vulgar people, which daily resorted vnto him more and more. *Mahomet* for the repressing of these dangerous tumults, sent his son *Amurath* and *Bajazet* the great Bassa, with two thousand men to apprehend *Burgluzes* in Aidinia. But when they came thither, they found him garded with three thousand men well appointed, ready to aduenteure their liues in defence of their foolish Prophet. Neuertheles *Amurath* and *Bajazet* not dismayed with the multitude of those vplandish people, set vpon them; where was fought a right bloody battell for the number and many slaine on both sides: yet at last the Rebels fled, in which flight *Burgluzes* himselfe was slaine and hewne all to pieces. After which victorie *Bajazet* from thence hasted to Magnesia, and there executed *Torlac Keman* another seditious Turkish Monk, who with two thousand by him seduced, did much harm in the country therabout. At the same time also *Mahomet* sent another power against *Bedredin*: but most of his followers seeing in him no such matter as was by his disciples and himselfe promised, and as they hoped for, were already fallen from him; so that of that great multitude which before followed him, few or none were left with him: whereby he was easily apprehended by them whom *Mahomet* had sent against him: and so being brought to *Mahomet*, to Serras, was there in the market place before a tauern door fair hang'd, without any further harm.

*Mahomet* in the short time of his reign finished the great *Mahometan* temple at Hadrianople, before begun by his brethren *Solyman* and *Musa*: Where he also built a princely palace, the seat of the Turkish Kings in Europ, vntil the taking of Constantinople. He also built an other Temple, with a most sumptuous Abby, and a publique school therto adjoining, endowing the same with great reuenues, such as had by him and those his brethren of late bin taken from the Christians. He also gaue great sums of mony, yearly to be paid at Medina and Mecha, for the relief of poor pilgrims traueiling from far, to the sepulchre of their great prophet *Mahomet*, at Medina, or his temple at Mecha.

Shortly after, *Mahomet* fell sicke at Hadrianople, and perceiuing himselfe in danger of death, by his last Will appointed his eldest son *Amurath* to succeed him in his kingdom, and sent *Eltan-Beg* (a man in great fauor with him) in post to Anafia, to wil him with all speed to repair to the Court at Hadrianople. But feeling death to approach, and that he could not possibly liue vntill the coming of his son, he freightly charged his Bassa's, with all secrecy to conceal his death vntill his coming, for fear lest any trouble should arise vpon the brute thereof, before his coming thither. And so hauing set all things in order, he departed out of this world vnto his prophet *Mahomet*, about the year of our Saviour Christ 1422, when he had reigned seuenteen years: accounting in his reign that troublesome ten yeares next after the captivity of *Bajazet*, in which time the Turkes Kingdome was by his ambitious sons rent in

founder (as is aforesaid) until it was at length again by this Mahomet restored to the former integrity, about 7 years before his death, which the Turks account the whole time of his reign; and the other troublesome 10 years as a vacancie or anarchy of their kingdom, as is aforesaid.

The death of  
Mahomet the  
fifth, King of  
the Turks, by  
the great  
Bassas.

Mahomet being dead, the three great Bassas, *Eiuafes*, *Bajazet*, and *Ibrahim*, to rid themselves of the fear they had of the Janizaries and other soldiers of the court, called a Divano or council for the wars, as if the King had bin alive. Wherin it was pretended, that Mahomet had determined to make war upon the prince of Smyrna, & that for that service it was his pleasure, that the Janizaries should forthwith passe over into Asia to the castle of Baga. Whereupon presse money was presently given them, and they sent over with letters directed to the viceroy of Anatolia, for the assembling of an army for Baga. In the mean time the great Bassas of the court sat daily in council, placing and displacing, promoting & disgracing whom they pleased, as if the King had so commanded. The Kings physicians also, to countenance the matter, were commanded continually to go to and fro with their porions and receipts, after their wonted manner, as if they had had the King still in cure: and letters were sent in post to *Elian Beg*, for speedy dispatch of the busines for which he was sent into Asia. Yet for all this cunning dissimulation, the pensioners and other soldiers of the court, wont to be near the kings person, and some of them alwaies of the priuy chamber, began to suspect the matter: and coming to the Bassa's, said, they marvelled the King in so long time did neuer shew himself, as he had alwaies before don. Wherunto the Bassas answered, That he had bin dangerously sick, & was as yet but a little recovered, and that therefore the Physicians would not suffer him to looke abroad or take the air, for fear of casting him down againe. Then will wee our selues (said the Pensioners) go and see his Majesty, and with that were ready to force in upon the Bassa's. *Eiuafes* seeing their importunitie, desired them to hold themselves contented, and not as then to trouble the King, for that he had that day taken physicke; but to morrow (said he) we will request his Majesty, if he so please to shew himselfe, that you may see him. Wherewith they for that time were satisfied. Now among the Kings physicians there was one *Gordiron* a Persian, a man of a quick spirit and subtil deuce, who found means to deceiue the Pensioners: he deuised, that the dead body of the King being apparelled in royal large robes, should be brought betwixt two, as if hee had bin led, into an high open gallery; and beeing there set, to haue a boy so neatly placed behind him vnder his large robes, as that hee vnperceiued might moue the Kings hand vp to his head, as if he should stroke his face or beard, as his maner was. The next day the dead king being accordingly brought forth by the Bassa's in his rich robes, and wrapped with cloaths about his head, as if it had bin for feare of the aire, or taking cold, and so placed in an high open gallery, as was before deuised, suddenly the physician came running in, fuming and raging as if he had bin halfe mad, ready to teare his cloaths for anger, and in great choler casting his cap against the ground, asked the Bassa's if they meant to kill the King, by bringing him into the open aire? Wee (said hee) haue with great paines, in a long time a little recovered him, and will you thus foolishly cast him down again. Pardon vs good doctor (said *Eiuafes*) for these gentlemen (pointing to the Pensioners) were so importunate to see his Majesty, that to satisfie their desires, he was content to be led forth of his chamber, wherof we hope shall ensue no harm. The pensioners seeing the King many times moue his hand to his face, and as it were stroking his beard, held themselves well contented, supposing him to haue bin alive, although but weak, and therefore not willing to speak vnto them. The physicians taking them vp amongst them, carried him into his lodging again, which was but fast by, making as if they had caried an extream sick man. Thus was his death cunningly concealed one and forty daies, until the coming of *Amurath* his son.

This Mahomet was both wise and valiant, and withall exceeding bountifull, but ambitious about measure, who may of right be accounted the restorer of the Turks kingdom; for he recovered again all those Countries in Asia, which *Tamerylane* had taken away and giuen to other Mahometan princes, after the ouerthrow of *Bajazet*. And when as the kingdome of the Turks was rent in pieces and almost brought to nought by ciuil wars, and the ambition of his brethren and himselfe, he at length got possession of the whole, and so left it to his son *Amurath* an intire kingdom, in the former greatnes, although not so much by him augmented. His body lieth buried in a faire tomb made of artificiall stone, very beautifull to behold, in a chapel on the East side of *Prufa*; where we leaue him at his rest.

F I N I S.

Christian Princes of the same time with Mahomet the first.	Emperors	Of the East { <i>Emanuel Paleologus</i> .	1387. 30
		Of the West { <i>Rupertus Duke of Bauaria</i> .	1400. 10
	Kings	{ <i>Sigismund King of Hungary</i> .	1411. 28
		Of England { <i>Henry the fourth</i> .	1399. 13
		{ <i>Henry the fifth</i> .	1413. 9
		Of France { <i>Charles the sixth, surnamed, The Welbeloued</i> .	1381. 42
	Bishops of Rome	Of Scotland { <i>John Steuart, otherwise called Robert the third</i> .	1390. 16
		{ <i>James the first</i> .	1424. 13
		{ <i>Bonifacc the IX.</i>	1390. 14
		{ <i>Innocent the VIII.</i>	1405. 2
		{ <i>Gregory the XII.</i>	1407. 2
		{ <i>Alexander the V.</i>	1410. 1
		{ <i>John the XXIII.</i>	1411. 5
		{ <i>Martin the V.</i>	1417. 13



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*Europam luctu & funestis cladibus implens;  
Sævus Amurathes totus in arma ruit.  
Major at Huniades virtute & fortibus ausis,  
Cogis eum trepida vertere terga fuga.  
Consilia Eugenij bellum furialia suadent,  
Sacrorum antistes Martia ad arma ruit:  
(Arma viri trahent, caret sua templa sacerdos)  
Europa exitium res tulit ista grave.*

Fierce *Amurath* doth *Europ* fill with bloud and wofull cries;  
And wholly given to martial deeds, doth whole in arms arise.  
But yet *Huniades* (than he, of greater force and might)  
Inforced him right fearfully to turn his back in flight.  
*Eugenius* his infernall spels stirs up a fatall jar;  
Who having charge of sacred Rites, runs headlong into war.  
(Leave martial deeds to martial men, and let the Priest go pray)  
Such diuelish counsel, worst receiv'd, wroght *Europ*s great decay.



THE LIFE OF AMVRATH, THE  
SECOND OF THAT NAME, SIXT KING OF  
THE TVRKS, AND THE GREAT ESTABLISH-  
MENT OF THEIR KINGDOME.

**A**fter the death of *Mahomet* had bin politiquely concealed one and fortie days, by the three great Bassa's, *Bajazet*, *Eusef*, and *Ibrahim*; *Amurath* (or *Murat*, as the Turks call him) his eldest son, at that time coming to *Prusa*, was by them placed in his fathers seat, and the death of *Mahomet* at the same time published. Whereupon great troubles began on every side to arise.

The Princes of *Smyrna* and *Mentesia* rose up in arms: and at *Thessalonica*, an obscure fellow crept as it were out of a chimney corner, took upon him the name and person of *Mustapha* the son of *Bajazet*, who was slain many years before, in the great battell against *Tamerlane* at mount *Stella*, as is before declared in the life of the unfortunate Sultan *Bajazet*. This counterfeit *Mustapha*, animated by the Grecian princes, and going from *Thessalonica* to *Vardarum*, set so good a countenance upon the matter, with such a grace and Majesty, that not only the country people (apt to beleieve any thing) but men of greater place and calling also, as *Tzuniter Beg* the prince of *Smyrna*'s son, with the sons of old *Eurenius*'s Bassa, persuaded that he was the very son of the great *Bajazet*, repaired unto him, as unto their naturall Prince and Soueraign. From *Vardarum* he went to *Serra*, and from thence to *Hadrianople* (*Amurath* being then at *Prusa*) where he was received as if it had bin that noble prince *Mustapha*, whom he feigned himself to be. So that in short time he was honored as a King, in all parts of the Turkish Kingdom in *Europ*.

*Amurath* to repress this so great and dangerous a rebellion, sent *Bajazet Bassa*, a man of great authority in his Court, with a strong army into *Europ*. This great Bassa passing ouer *Hellepontus*, found all the country revolted unto their new found King *Mustapha*: but marching toward *Hadrianople*, with purpose to have given him battell, hee was first forsaken by the European soldiers which he brought out of *Asia*, and afterwards of all the rest also; and being left post alone, with his brother *Hanxe Beg*, was for safe-gard of his life glad to yeeld himself to *Mustapha*, of whom he was gratioously entertained, and upon promise of his loialtie sworn one of his priuy Councel.

*Mustapha* thus now possessed of the Turkish kingdom in *Europe*, and entertaining great thoughts, the better to maintain his credit, leuied a great army to make war upon *Amurath* in *Asia*. And as he was upon his way, at a place which the Turks call *Sallidere*, or the place of *Willows*; his other counsellors repining at the great honor hee gave to *Bajazet Bassa*, advised him to beware he trusted him not too far, of whose small faith he had sufficient trial already, and was like enough when occasion should serue, to revolt from him to *Amurath*, & to draw after him some great part of his army, to the great peril both of himself & all them his faithful seruants & followers. Upon which jealous conceit, this great Bassa *Bajazet* was there forthwith as a traitor apprehended, and without further trial executed: at which time his brother *Hanxe* was with much ado spared. This done, *Mustapha* proceeded on his journey, and passed

and fear, it to have bin *Mahomet* with his power, raised his siege and speedily departed. Whereat the Turks long time after jested, saying, If the Caramanian King run away from the dead body of the *Orchoman* King, what would he do if he had come against him alive? But the truth was, he feared *Mahomet* and his power.

*Orchanes* the son of *Solyman* (yet a boy) having lived at Constantinople ever since his fathers death, about this time departed thence, because of the league but lately made betweene the Empire and his uncle *Mahomet*, purposing to have gon into Valachia; but by the way as he was travelling, the Turkish voluntary souldiers vnderstanding that he was the son of their late King *Solyman*, resorted vnto him in great numbers, offering in his quarrell to spend their lues. Of which insurrection *Mahomet* hearing, marched thither in all haste with a great power to suppress it. The names of whose comming the souldiers vnderstanding, dispersed themselves and fled. As for *Orchanes*, he was by his vnlawfull tutor *Zaganos* betrayed vnto his vncle *Mahomet*, who presently caused his eyes to be put out, and so sent him to Prusa, allowing him great revenues to live vpon, and ever after vsed him with great honor. The sister of this *Orchanes* he gave in marriage to one of his noblemen with a great dowry. This is that *Orchanes* whom some Historiographers reckon vp among the Turkish Kings, as one of *Bajazets* Successors, and that he was betrayed to his vncle *Moses*: erring, as I suppose, both in succession and the name, mistaking *Moses* for *Mahomet*.

Now *Mahomet* calling to remembrance the injury which the Caramanian King had done to him in his absence, returning to Prusa, assembled a great army to reuenge himselfe of that wrong. At which time he sent to the prince *Isfendiar* for aid, who sent him his son *Cassumes*. He commanded also the Prince *Germean Oglu* to make prouision for the victualling of his camp, as he should passe by his country; which was accordingly don. And so prouided of all things necessary, he with his army entred into the Caramanian country: where he rooke the cities *Afropolis*, *Despotopolis*, *Hierapolis*, and besieged *Iconium*; but by reason of the immoderate rain which at that time fel, hee was glad to make peatew with the Caramanian King, called also *Mahomet*, and so raising his siege departed towards Pontus: where he had not long stayd, but that news was brought him, that the Caramanian King renouncing his league, was again vp in arms: wherfore returning into Caramania, and so to *Iconium*, he there ouerthrew the King in battell, and took both him and his son *Mustapha* prisoners: who redeemed themselves by deliuering many of their strong Cities and Castles into his hands: and afterward concluding a peace, they receiued from him an ensigne (as the Turkish manner is) in token they were now become his vassals.

The Caramanian war thus happily ended, he went over into Europe, and passing ouer Danubius, foraged the country of Valachia Transalpina, making there great spoil: for redresse wherof the Valachian Prince by his Embassadors sent him such tribute as he demanded, and his son also to serue him in his court. About which time hapned a great earthquake in Prusa and other places of Asia, wherby many houses and towns were ouerthrown; after which ensued great troubles in most parts of Asia: howbeit *Mahomet* going thither, by his presence kept all his dominions in peace and quietnesse.

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under (as is aforesaid) vntil it was at length again by this *Mahomet* restored to the former integrity, about 7 years before his death, which the Turks account the whole time of his reign; and the other troublesome 10 years as a vacancie or anarchy of their kingdom, as is aforesaid.

*Mahomet* being dead, the three great Bassa's, *Eiuafes*, *Bajazet*, and *Ibrahim*, to rid themselves of the fear they had of the Janizaries and other soldiers of the court, called a Divano or council for the wars, as if the King had bin aliue. Wherein it was pretended, that *Mahomet* had determined to make war vpon the prince of Smyrna, & that for that seruice it was his pleasure, that the Janizaries should forthwith passe ouer into Asia to the castle of Baga. Whereupon presse mony was presently giuen them, and they sent ouer with letters directed to the viceroy of Anatolia, for the assembling of an army for Baga. In the mean time the great Bassas of the court sat daily in counsel, placing and displacing, promoting & disgracing whom they pleased, as if the King had so commanded. The Kings physicians also, to countenance the matter, were commanded continually to go to and fro with their potions and receits, after their wonted manner, as if they had had the King still in cure: and letters were sent in post to *Eliuan Beg*, for speedy dispatch of the busines for which he was sent into Asia. Yet for all this cunning dissimulation, the pensioners and other soldiers of the court, wont to be neer the kings person, and some of them alwaies of the priuy chamber, began to suspect the matter: and comming to the Bassa's, said, they marvelled the King in so long time did neuer shew himself, as he had alwaies before don. Whereunto the Bassas answered, That he had bin dangerously sick, & was as yet but a little recovered, and that therefore the Physicians would not suffer him to looke abroad or take the air, for fear of casting him down againe. Then will wee our selues (said the pensioners) go and see his Majesty, and with that were ready to force in vpon the Bassa's. *Eiuafes* seeing their importunitie, desired them to hold themselves contented, and not as then to trouble the King, for that he had that day taken physicke; but to morrow (said he) we will request his Majesty, if he so please to shew himselfe, that you may see him. Wherewith they for that time were satisfied. Now among the Kings physicians there was one *Geordiron* a Persian, a man of a quick spirit and subtil deuiice, who found means to deceiue the Pensioners: he deuised, that the dead body of the King beeing apparelled in royal large robes, should bee brought betwixt two, as if hee had bin led, into an high open gallery; and beeing there set, to haue a boy so neatly placed behind him vnder his large robes, as that hee vnperceiued might moue the Kings hand vp to his head, as if he should stroke his face or beard, as his manner was. The next day the dead king being accordingly brought forth by the Bassa's in his rich robes, and wrapped with cloaths about his head, as if it had bin for feare of the aire, or taking cold, and so placed in an high open gallery, as was before deuised, suddenly the physician came running in, fuming and raging as if he had bin halfe mad, ready to teare his cloaths for anger, and in great choler casting his cap against the ground, asked the Bassa's if they meant to kill the King, by bringing him into the open aire? Wee (said hee) haue with great paines, in a long time a little recovered him, and will you thus foolishly cast him down again. Pardon vs good doctor (said *Eiuafes*) for these gentlemen (pointing to the Pensioners) were so importunate to see his Majesty, that to satisfie their desires, he was content to be led forth of his chamber, whereof we hope shall ensue no harm. The pensioners seeing the King many times moue his hand to his face, and as it were stroking his beard, held themselves wel contented, supposing him to haue bin aliue, although but weak, and therefore not willing to speak vnto them. The physicians taking them vp amongst them, carried him into his lodging again, which was but fast by, making as if they had caried an extream sick man. Thus was his death cunningly concealed one and forty daies, vntil the comming of *Amurath* his son.

This *Mahomet* was both wise and valiant, and withall exceeding bountifull, but ambitious about measure; who may of right be accounted the restorer of the Turks kingdom; for he recovered again all those Countries in Asia, which *Tameylane* had taken away and giuen to other Mahometan princes, after the ouerthrow of *Bajazet*. And when as the kingdome of the Turks was rent in pieces, and halfe of it was in the hands of the Christians, he recovered it againe.

Christian Princes of the same time with Mahomet the first.	Emperors	Of the East { <i>Emanuel Palaologus.</i>	1387. 30
		Of the West { <i>Rupertus Duke of Bauaria.</i>	1400. 10
		{ <i>Sigismund King of Hungary</i>	1411. 28
	Kings	Of England { <i>Henry the fourth.</i>	1399. 13
		{ <i>Henry the fifth</i>	1413. 9
		Of France { <i>Charles the sixth, surnamed, The Welbeloued.</i>	1381. 42
		Of Scotland { <i>John Stewart, otherwise called Robert the third.</i>	1390. 16
		{ <i>James the first</i>	1424. 13
	Bishops of Rome	<i>Boniface the IX.</i>	1390. 14
		<i>Innocent the VIII.</i>	1405. 2
		<i>Gregory the XII.</i>	1407. 2
		<i>Alexander the V.</i>	1410. 1
		<i>John the XXIII.</i>	1411. 5
		<i>Martin the V.</i>	1417. 13



ouer with his army at Callipolis into Asia. *Amurath* vnderstanding of the proceedings of *Mustapha* in Europ, and his preparation made for the inuasion of Asia, created three new Bassas, *Gior, Frang,* and *Alis*, all the sons of *Temurtases*; these he joined with his old Bassas, *Ibrahim* and *Eiuafes*. All these five he vied as his Counsellors for the Wars; by whose aduice he sent for *Mahomet Beg*, (synamed *Michael Oglu*), who in the time that *Musa* reigned was Viceroy in Europe, and therefore a man well known to most principall men in *Mustapha's* army, but had bin kept prisoner in the Castle of Amasia, from the time that *Musa* was deposed and put to death by his brother *Mahomet*, vntill now that he was after 8 years imprisonment, for this special purpose enlarged and receiued into fauor.

About the same time that *Mustapha* set footing in Asia, *Amurath* hauing gathered his army, set forward from Pruta; yet with such distrust in his forces (which were thought to bee much inferior to the European soldiers that followed *Mustapha*) that he was glad vpon a superstitious opinion, to prostrat himselfe at the feet of an Emir, one of the false prophet *Mahomets* posteritie, to receiue at his hypocritical hands a graceles blessing for his better speed. By whom he was made to belecue, that after two repulses, hee had with much ado at the third time obtained grant of the prophet *Mahomet*, that he should preuail in that War: and therupon had his sword girt vnto him with the Emirs holy hands, with many other vaine and superstitious ceremonies. Yet for all these charms, he marched on with his army in fear enough, vntill hee came to the riuer of Vlibad, otherwise called Rindacus: where hauing intelligence of the approach of *Mustapha*, he for fear caused the bridge ouer the riuer there to bee broken downe, and incamped himself on that side the riuer. Not long after came *Mustapha*, and finding the bridge broken, incamped at the foot thereof on the other side, so that nothing parted the two Armies but the riuer only. Whilst they lay thus neer incamped together, that the soldiers might on both sides take the full view one of another, and also talk together, *Mahomet Beg* (synamed *Michael Oglu*) but lately deliuered out of his long imprisonment (as is aforesaid) came to the riuer side, and with a loud voice called by name vpon the great Captaines and old souldiers that were in *Mustapha's* Army; asking by name for many of his old friends and acquaintance. Many of them being there present, reioicing to see that honourable man, whom they supposed to haue bin dead in prison many years before, came gladly to the side of the riuer to heare what he could say.

Then with a loud voice he began to persuaide them, that the man whom they followed was not the honourable *Mustapha*, but some base high minded fellow set vp by the Grecians, abusing the obsequie of his birth, as the vail vnder the court whereof he went craftily to intrude himselfe into the honourable descent of *Bajazet*; and so masking in the counterfeit titles of stoln honor, had misled them from their duty to their naturall King and Soueraign, to follow him a meer Deceiuer. And further assured them, That *Mustapha* (*Bajazet* his sonne) was dead and buried in the bed of fame 22 years before, honorably ending his daies in defence of his country, in the great battell of mount Stella against *Scanderbeg*: wherefore they should do well to forsake that supposed *Mustapha*, and again to yeeld their dutifull obedience vnto their vndoubted Soueraign *Amurath*. These words deliuered vnto them by *Mahomet* (whom they generally both reuerenced and trusted) wrought such effect in their minds, that some presently aduentured to swim ouer the riuer, and joined themselves vnto him; and many others that staid stil, began now to doubt lest they had worshipped a wrong Saint. At the same time also, *Eiuafes Bassa* to terrifie *Mustapha*, sent vnto him letters as in great secret, aduertising him, That *Amurath* had the next night purposed with his Army to passe ouer the riuer about the broken bridge; at which time the chief Captains of his army being (as he said) corrupted, had promised to deliuer *Mustapha* into his hands, and with his head to pay the ransom of them all. This he colored with such fair glosses, that *Mustapha* partly beleueed the same. So when the dead time of the night was come, *Eiuafes* with certain troupes of horsemen passed ouer the riuer at the very same place he had in his letters named; and that with such a noise & tumult, as *Amurath* with his whole army had been comming. *Mustapha* seeing things begin to worke thus, according as *Eiuafes Bassa* had before written; and with this, doubting also to be presently betrayed; and carrying about him a guilty conscience (the mother of fear and distrust) took horte (scenderly accompanied but with ten persons of his whole army) and fled in hast, no man pursuing them, vntill he came to the riuer of Boga, and there with a great summe

A of money obtained passage, by corrupting the Captain that dwelt in the Castle vpon the passage of the riuer: and the third day after, passing ouer the streight of Hellefpoint, landed at Callipolis. The flight of *Mustapha* once known in his army, they all yeelded themselves vnto *Eiuafes Bassa*; who taking possession of *Mustapha's* tent, caused the broken bridge to be repaired; whereby *Amurath* passing with his Army, joined himself with *Eiuafes*. The other Bassa counselled *Amurath* to put to the sword all those rebels that had followed *Mustapha*. But by the mediation of *Eiuafes* (to whom they had yeelded themselves) they were all generally pardoned.

*Amurath* departing from Vlibad or Lopadium, came to Boga, and there banged the Captain that had giuen *Mustapha* passage. From thence he held on his way to Lampfacum, intending to pursue *Mustapha* into Europ: but being come to the sea side he could find no passage, for that *Mustapha* had caused all the shipping on that side to bee brought ouer into Europe. Yet at last *Amurath* by good fortune chanced vpon a great Genoa ship, which he hired for 4000 ducats to transport his army, and so with much ado at length landed in Europ. *Mustapha* seeing that *Amurath* was now come ouer, fled to Hadrianople, where hee found such cold entertainment, that fearing to be betrayed, he was glad to speed himselfe thence, thinking all the world too little to hide himself in; and so came to an obscure place in the country of the Turks, called Kiful-Agatzé-Genitzé: where the soldiers sent to pursue him, ouertooke him, and brought him bound to *Amurath*, then being at Hadrianople: by whose commandement he was shamefully hanged from the battlements of one of the highest towers of the city, and

*Mustapha*  
banged.

C there left to the worlds wonder.  
This *Mustapha* of some writers is reported to haue been indeed the son of the great Sultan *Bajazet*, and that he was kept in prison at that long time, & thus at length set vp by the Greeks to trouble the state of the Turkish kingdom. But the Turkish histories report as before, calling him *Dafne* or counterfeit *Mustapha*. And it is very likely, that if he had bin one of the sons of *Bajazet*, he would haue found some meanes to haue made some great stir long before that, as all the rest of the vnquiet brood of *Bajazet* did, which neuer rested vntill they had like the earth born brethren one destroyed another. Besides that, their bloody natures considered, it is very like that *Mahomet* his yonger brother, who reigned in Hadrianople almost 8 years, and was in league all that time with the Emperor of Constantinople, would for his more safety haue got him into his own power, if he had been in prison with the Emperour; or els haue dispatched him if he had bin in prison with himself. All which I am the rather perswaded to think, for that *Orchanes* a child, the son of *Solyman*, could find no safe place of abode at Constantinople in the reign of *Mahomet*, but flying, was apprehended, and his eyes put out, as is before declared in the life of *Mahomet*. Much lesse is it like, that *Mustapha* being a warlike Prince, and his elder brother, could haue been so long preserved and kept in prison from his fury.

It fortuned in these late broiles (as oftentimes it doth with others in like cases) diuers of the rebels *Asapi* or common souldiers, whom he for his greater countenance had apparelled and armed like *Ianizaries*, to fall into the hands of the true *Ianizaries*, *Amurath* his faithfull guard; whose liues indeed they spared, but vsing them with all the despight and indignities possible. Among the rest, one of the *Ianizaries* being hungry, brought two of these *Asapi* his prisoners vnto a cooks shop, offering to sel them vnto him for a little victual: which the cook refused to giue him, hauing no vse for such vnecessary seruants. Whereby the proud *Ianizarie* enraged, swore many a great oath, presently to cut off their heads and to giue them him for nought, if he would not for a thing of nought redeem them. And like enough hee was to haue so don, had not the Cooke, moued with pittie, offered him for them both a sheeps head; which the *Ianizary* tooke, swearing that the Cook had giuen for them more than indeed they were worth. Which disgrace so long since done vnto these *Asapi*, is yet oftentimes by way of reproch in great contempt, by the masterfull and insolent *Ianizaries*, obiected to the whole body of the *Asapi*, the greatest part of the Turks huge armies; of whom for all that, the proud *Ianizaries* make small reckoning, accounting them scarce for men, and in their rage oftentimes telling them, that two of them are not worth a sodden sheeps head.

*Amurath* hauing at length with much ado thus pacified the dangerous rebellion raised by the counterfeit *Mustapha* both in Europe and Asia, was yet not a little grieved to thinke

Constantinople  
in vaine besieged by *Amurath*,  
how

how the same had bin first plotted by the instigation of the Greekes, and afterwards assisted by the Greek emperor, of whom he thought now to be reuenged. And therefore sending before him *Michael Ogh*, his lieutenant general in Europ, with his European souldiers to inuade the country about Constantinople, followed himself after with the Ianizaries and his Asian forces: and so incamping before the city, filled all that neck of land which lieth before it, from sea to sea. And so incamped, began right furiously to batter the wals, in hope so to haue made a breach, and by the same to haue entred the city. But finding the Walls of greater strength than he had before supposed, and the defendants stil repairing whatsoeuer the fury of his Artillery had beaten down or shaken, he ceased his battery, and comming on with all his forces, desperately attempted by assault to haue gained the city: wherein his fortune was not answerable to his desire; for approaching the city, with arrows as shours falling vpon the defendants, and scaling ladders in the mean time clapt vp to the wals, and the Ianizaries with other of his best souldiers valiantly mounting the same, they were by the defendants notably repulsed and beaten down, losing some their hands, some their arms, some their heads, but most their lives, no shot falling in vain from the wals. Which *Amurath* beholding, and grieved to see (though vnwilling) commanded a retreat to be sounded, and the assault giuen ouer: and shortly after seeing no hope to preuaile, in great rage raised his siege and departed. Vnto whom for all that, the Greek Emperor not long after sent his embassadors to intreat with him for peace; whereof he would by no means hear, but proudly threatened to be ere long of all his wrongs reuenged: which caused the Greek Emperor to deuise what he might for the troubling of his estate, so to keep him otherwise busied. As he did shortly after with the Caramanian king, by countenancing another *Mustapha* (surnamed *Cutzug*, or the little) *Amurath*'s yonger brother, against him, to the raising of new stirs, and *Amurath*'s no small trouble.

At *Shomet* the late King had five sons and seven daughters, whereof *Amurath* was the eldest, and succeeded in his fathers kingdom; *Mustapha* the second, surnamed the little; *Achmetes* the third, who died before his father: the other two, *Iosaphus* & *Machmutes*, both died of the plague being but children, after the death of their father. Three of their sisters were married to three sons of the King of Caramania, *Ibrahim*, *Aladin*, and *Isa*: other two were bestowed vpon the sons of the prince *Isfendiar*, *Ibrahim* and *Casimes*: the fixt was giuen in marriage to *Cosza-Beg* Viceroy of Anatolia: and the seuenth to the son of *Ibrahim Bassa*, who died at Mecha, whither shee went vpon superstitious deuotion on pilgrimage.

At such time as *Amurath* was busied in his wars in Europe, against *Mustapha* the supposed son of *Bajazet*, the yonger son of *Mahomet* (called also *Mustapha*) being but 13 years old, and *Amurath*'s brother indeed, was set vp to raise new troubles, by the King of Caramania & other Princes, as wel *Mahometians*, as the Christian princes of Grecia; who thought it good policy by that means to impeach the greatnes of *Amurath*. This yong prince *Mustapha*, strengthened with the forces of his friends, entred into his brothers dominions in Asia, and besieged Nice, which was at length yielded to him. *Amurath* aduertised of this new rebellion, by great gifts and large promises corrupted *Ilhas Beg* the yong princes tutor, to betray the Prince vnto him. Whereupon *Amurath* with great celeritie set forward with his army from Hadrianople, & in nine daies came to Nice, where he entred the City with small resistance, as was to him before promised, where *Mustapha* was by his false tutor presented to him; who because he would not spill one drop of the sacred *Othoman* blood (as the Turks call it) commanded the executioner presently to strangle him with a bow string; which was don accordingly, and his body afterwards buried by his father at Prusa.

*Mustapha* betrayed and strangled.

*Amurath* hauing repressed these two rebellions, and now out of all fear of any competitor, thought his five counsellors too many by three, and therefore remoued the three *Bassa's*, *Omure*, *Frutuz*, and *Alis* (the sons of *Temurtases*) into honorable places, retaining of his Counsel only the two old *Bassa's*, *Ibrahim* and *Eiuases*. But shortly after, *Eiuases* was secretly accused to *Amurath*, that he sought by his fauorites the souldiers of the Court, to aspiere vnto the Kingdom it selfe, and to depose the King; and that intending some such matter, he did usually wear a priuy coat. This suspitious report troubled the jealous Tyrant. Wherefore on a time as he rode accompanied with *Eiuases*, he cast his arm about him as if it had bin in kindeesse: but finding him secretly armed, he would needs know the cause thereof. Whereunto *Eiuases* answered, That it was for fear of some enemies he had in the Court. But this excuse could by

no

A no means serue his turn, but that he was forthwith apprehended by *Amurath*'s commandment, and both his eies burnt out with a hot steel glasse.

*Eiuasa Bassa's eyes put out.*

Whilst *Amurath* was thus busied in subduing rebellions at home, *Muhametes* the Caramanian King besieged Attalia a great city in Pamphilia, by the space of six moneths, which was valiantly defended by *Hamza Beg*, *Amurath*'s lieutenant there. At which siege the vnfortunate King himself, as he was taking view of the City, was slaine with a great shot out of the City. Whereupon *Ibrahim* (who succeeded him in the kingdom) brake vp the siege, and returned home to bury his father. At this time also *Dracula* Prince of Valachia, passing ouer Danubius, did the Turks much harm about Silistra; but was afterwards inforced to submit himselfe to *Amurath*, and become his tributary.

The Caramanian King slain.

B About this time also *Tzunites* prince of Smyrna, which had before aided the rebel *Mustapha*, did by all means he could vex *Iaxia Beg*, *Amurath*'s lieutenant in Aidinia; and hauing by chance taken his brother prisoner, put him to death. This prince of Smyrna was descended of the antient princes of Aidinia, and therefore pretended an interest in that feigniory. Which his claim the people of the country secretly fauored, so far as they durst for fear of the Turks, *Amurath* hearing of the harms which this prince of Smyrna did, commanded *Hamza Beg* viceroy of Anatolia, with all his power to make war vpon him. The viceroy without delay assembled a great army, and inuaded the princes country: and the prince being wel provided for his coming, meeting him vpon the way, gaue him battel; wherein *Hafan* the Princes son leading a great part of his fathers Army, had put one part of the Turkes Army to flight: & pursuing them with too much fury, left his father at the same time so hardly beset by the viceroy, that he was glad to fly to his castle of Hipfily hard by. *Hafan* returning from the chase of the enemy, not knowing what had hapned to his father, was by the Turks in his return overcome and taken prisoner. After which victory the viceroy presently laid siege to the Castle wherein the prince was. The siege continued a great while: at length the prince brought to extremity was content to yeeld himself vnto the Viceroy, vpon condition he should vse no violence against the person of himself or his son, but to send them prisoners to *Amurath*. Which thing the viceroy by solemn oath promised; whereupon the prince came out of the castle, & yeelded himself prisoner to the Viceroy. *Iaxia Beg*, whose brother the prince had before put to death, attended the going of *Hamza* the Viceroy to his tent, where finding *Hafan* the princes son sitting vpon the ground, as the maner of the Turks is, took him by the collar with great fury, and drawing him along to the feet of the Prince his father, there most cruelly struck off his head: and in the same rage laying his hands vpon the aged Prince, strooke off his head also; to the great dishonor of the Viceroy, who had before giuen his faith for their safety. The heads of the prince and his son were set vpon two lances, within the sight of the castle: which the defendants seeing, and now despairing of all rescue, yeelded themselves with the Castle. This vnfortunat *Tzunites* was the last prince of Smyrna; after whose death all his territory was vnto the *Othoman* kingdom. After all these troubles, *Amurath* with great triumph married the daughter of the Prince *Isfendiar*.

*Amurath* hauing laid vp in the depth of his thoughts the remembrance of that the Grecian Princes had don, in giuing aid to the Rebels aforesaid, thought it now high time to take reuenge of that wrong: and for that purpose gathered a great army, wherewith he ranged at his pleasure thorow Macedonia, vntill he came to Thessalonica; surprising by the way diuers cities and castles belonging to the Constantinopolitan empire. This famous city Thessalonica, now called Salonichi, for beauty & wealth somtime not inferior to any of the greatest and most renowned cities of Grecia, is scituate vpon the borders of Macedonia, close by a bay of the Archipelago or the sea *Ægeum*; which bay was in antient time called *Thermaicus*. *Sinus*, and now the bay of Salonichi. To the Christian congregation there dwelling, *S. Paul* wrote two Epistles, in the later whereof he forewarneth them of a great defection to come before the later day. Before this Christian city, then in the Venetians protection, *Amurath* incamped his army of mis-beléeing Turks, and laid hard siege to it with most terrible battery. At which time he by secret means corrupted certain of the wicked citifens to haue betrayed the city by a secret mine, and to haue let him in: which treason was by the Venetian Governours perceined, and the plotters thereof for safeguard of their liues glad to leape ouer the wals, and to fly into the Turks camp.

Thessalonica besieged.

*Amurath*

Amurath having greatly battered the walls of the city, the more to encourage his soldiers, G promised to give them all the spoil thereof if they could by force win it. The greedy desire of this rich prey (wherein every common soldier promised unto himself whatsoever his foolish fancy or unbridled affection could desire, so inflamed the minds of these barbarous soldiers, and especially of the Janizaries, that giving a most terrible assault to the City, they by force entered the same and won it. The Venetian soldiers fled to their galleys lying at anchor in the haven, and so got to sea: but the infinite miseries which the poor Christians endured in the fury of that barbarous nation, no tongue is able to expresse, or pen describe; death was less pain than the ignominious outrages and unspeakable villanies which many good Christians there suffered, heartily wishing to die and could not; and yet the furious enemies sword devoured all the people, without respect of age or sex, except such as for strength of body, or comelines H of person, were referred for painful labor or beastly lust: which poore soules were afterwards dispersed into most miserable servitude and slavery thorow all parts of the Turkish kingdom. The infinite riches of that famous city became a spoil to the barbarous soldiers, and the goodly houses were left desolate void of inhabitants. Thus the beautifull city Thessalonica, sometime one of the most glorious ornaments of Grecia, the late pleasant dwelling place of many rich Christians, was by the tyrant given for an habitation to such base Turks as at their pleasure repaired thither to seat themselves, and so is at this day by them possessed. This calamitie hapned to Thessalonica in the year of our Lord 1432.

Thessalonica being thus taken, Amurath returned to Hadrianople himself, and at the same time sent Caraman with the greatest part of his army into Aetolia. Charles Prince of that country, dying a little before the coming of Amurath to Thessalonica, and having no lawfull issue, had divided the country of Acarnania among his three base sons, Memnon, Turnus, & Hercules; leaving all the rest of his dominions to his brothers son, called also Charles. But shortly after, such discord fell among these brethren, that Amurath sending his Turkes to aid one of them against another, as he was by them requested, in fine brought all that country of Aetolia into subjection to himselfe, leaving nothing for the foolish brethren to strive for, more than the bare titles of imaginatiue honor. The other Grecian Princes, of Athens, Phocis, Boetia, and all the rest of Grecia unto the streit of Corinth, terrified by their neighbours harms, were glad to submit themselves unto the Barbarian yoke, and to become tributaries unto the Turkish tyrant: under which slavery they have of long time most miserably liued, if intolerable K slavery joined with infidelitie may be accounted a life. Thus the Grecians lost their liberty, which their ancestors had many times before, to their immortal praise, worthily defended against the greatest monarchs of the world, and are now so degenerated, by means of the Turkish oppression, that in all Grecia is hardly to be found any final remembrance of the ancient glory thereof: insomuch that whereas they were wont to account all other nations barbarous in comparison of themselves, they are now become no lesse barbarous than those rude Nations whom they before scorned. Which misery with a thousand more they may iustly impute to their own ambition and discord.

At this time, among the distressed princes of Macedonia and Grecia, one John Castriot reigned in Epirus; who seeing how mightily the Turk prevailed against the Princes his Neighbors, and considering that he was not able by any means to withstand so puissant an enemy, to obtain peace, he was glad to deliver unto Amurath his possession his four sons, Stanislaus, Repossius, Constantine, and George, for hostages: whom Amurath faithfully promised, well and honorably to intreat. But as soon as he had got them into his reach, he falsified his oath, and caused them to be circumcised after the Turkish maner, and to be instructed in the Turkish superstition, to the great grief of their Christian parents: and afterwards when hee understood of the death of George Castriot their father, he poisoned all the three elder brethren, and by Sely (one of his chief captains) seized upon Croia his chief city, and all the rest of his territories, as if they had by good right devolved to him. But George, the yongest, whom the Turks named Scanderbeg or lord Alexander, for his excellent feiture and pregnant wit, he alwayes entirely loved, and as some thought, more passionately than he should have loved a boy. Him he caused to be diligently instructed in all kind of activitie and feats of war, wherein he excelled all other his equals in Amuraths court; and rising by many degrees of honor, came at last (being yet but very yong) to be a great Sanhack or governor of a province, and was many times appointed

A appointed by Amurath to be General of his armies; in which service he so behaved himselfe, that he got the loue of all that knew him, and increased his credit with Amurath; untill at last he found opportunity, by his great policie and courage, to deliver both himselfe and his native country from the horrible slavery of the Turkish tyranny, as shal afterward be declared.

Shortly after that Amurath had thus daunted the princes of Grecia, hee turned his forces into Servia: but the prince of Servia, unable to withstand so mighty an enemy, to procure his fauor, sent Embassadors, offering to pay him a yearly tribute, and to do further what he should reasonably demand. Amurath besides the yearly tribute, required to have Mary this princes fair daughter in marriage; and that he should not suffer the Hungarians to passe thorow his country to invade him; and further, not at any time to deny passage unto the Turkish Army, B when he should send forth the same for the invasion of the kingdom of Bolina. All which unreasonable conditions the prince was glad to agree unto, and sent his fair daughter by Saratz, who was afterward married to Amurath.

About this time, Iosephus and Machmites, Amuraths brethren, and Orchanes the son of Solyman, who had his eies put out by his vncle Mahomet, with many other men of great account among the Turks, died of the plague at Prusa. Plague among the Turks.

Whilst Amurath was thus buied in his wars in Europ, the King of Caramania his brother in law invaded his dominions in Asia: for so it was agreed betwixt the Christian princes of Europ, and the Mahometan princes of Asia, to whom the greatnes of the Othoman Kingdome was now become dreadful, that whensoever he invaded the Christians in Europ, the Mahometan princes should invade his countries in Asia: and that whensoever he should turne his forces into Asia, the Christian princes should spoil his countries in Europ. Against this Caramanian king Amurath transported his army into Asia; and as he went, seized vpon the countries of Sarucania, Mentesia, and other provinces, before but tributaries unto him, driving out the poor princes before him; and so entered into Caramania, and enforced the King so far, that he was glad to agree to such conditions of peace as it pleased the King to propound to him, and to send his son to wait at his court. And at the same time picking a quarrel with Isfendar prince of Castamona, caused him to become his tributary, & to send his son to his court also. By which means the name of Amurath became terrible to all the Mahometan princes.

When Amurath had thus quieted all his troubles in Asia, he returned to Hadrianople: and D understanding that the Hungarians passing ouer Danubius, had in his absence made diuers incursions into his dominions, he was therewith greatly offended; and in reuenge thereof, first sent Ali Bassa the son of Eurenoses, with an army to invade Hungary; which he performed accordingly by the space of a moneth, and returned from thence with rich booty. Not long after, he himself in person made another road into Hungary, commanding the prince of Servia his father in law to giue his army free passage through his country; and charging Dracula the Prince of Valachia to aid him with his forces in that expedition. Which his command both the Christian princes, more for fear than of good will, diligently performed. So Amurath hauing enriched his soldiers with the spoil taken in Hungary, returned home and wintered at his court at Hadrianople.

E The secret confederation between the Hungarians and the Mahometan King of Caramania, was not unsuspected of Amurath; which hee was the rather induced to beleue, for that whensoever he invaded the one, he was presently set vpon by the other either in Europe or in Asia: of which plot he doubted not but that George Prince of Servia (his father in law) was the chief author, although in shew he was therein the least actor. Wherefore Amurath intending to spill the play, sent for the prince his father in law to come to the court at Hadrianople: but he doubting some Turkish tragedy, pretended great occasions that he could not come; and fearing that which afterward fel out, fortified and manned all his strong cities and castles by all means he could possibly, especially his chief city Semendre (otherwise called Sponderovia) and left therein his son Gregory (or as some call him George) as Gouvernor: for his other son Stephen was long before in Amurath his Court, with the Queen his sister. The Prince of Servia went himselfe into Hungary, to procure from thence some aid, hauing there also himselfe certain territories, which hee had in exchange of Sigismundus (late Emperour and King of Hungary) for the city of Belgrade. It was not long after, but Amurath forgetting both the assistance and league he had with the Prince his father in law, entered with a great Army into Servia,

Amurath  
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first assault  
and having  
Serbia.

Serbia, destroyed all before him, and hardly besieged Semendre: where after long siege, the young Governor the Princes son, doubting to fall into the enemies hands by sudden assault, yielded himself with the city. Which thing so discouraged the rest of the Servians, that in short time Sophia, Novomont, with all the rest of the cities of Serbia were yielded into the power of Amurath. After which conquest he returned to Hadrianople, and hearing that the Prince of Serbia with the Hungarians were making head against him, and that the two young Servian Princes, Gregory and Stephen his wives brethren, had intelligence with their father, he commanded them both to be cast in prison at Didymoticum, and their eyes cruelly to be burnt out with a brazen basin made red hot, a common vnmmerciful practise among the Turks.

About this time, Albertus duke of Austria having before married Elizabeth the only daughter of Sigismund the Emperor, and succeeding his father in law both in the empire and Kingdom of Hungary: (vnto which type of highest honor nothing more furthered him than the remembrance of Sigismund) in the second year of his reign, before he was well settled in his new atchieued honors, died of the flux, as he was making great preparation against Amurath the Turkish King: who having lately driuen George Prince of Serbia and Rascia out of his dominion, had now extended the Turkish kingdom euen vnto the borders of Hungary. This Albertus dying, left his wife great with child. The Hungarians (in whose minds the remembrance of Sigismund was yet fresh) could haue bin contented to haue liued vnder the government of the Queen his daughter, the widow of Albertus, (then great with child) but that the Turkish King was now grown so great, and come so nigh, that it was thought more than needfull by John Huniades and other of the Hungarian nobility, for defence of that kingdom, not wholly to rest vpon the deuotion of the people toward the Queene, and the expectation of her issue, (whereby they should be nothing strengthened) but to make choice of some great prince, by whose power they might the better defend themselves and the kingdome against their dangerous enemies. Whereupon with consent of the Queen it was resolved vpon, to make choice of Vladislavus the young King of Polonia, then a prince of great power, but of far greater fame and expectation: and by Embassadors to offer vnto him the mariage of the Queene, and with her the kingdom also. This embassage being sent vnto Vladislavus, the matter was to and fro debated in the Polonian court, whether it were to be accepted of or not. Some began to speak of the inequality of the match, considering that the King was but in the prime of his youth, and the Queen well spent in years; vrging further, that nothing was offered in that match but wars, and that the Hungarians therein fought for nothing more, than by the Polonian forces to defend themselves against the Turks. Others of the contrary opinion said, that the uniting of those two mighty kingdoms would be to the great good of them both, and to the great honor of the King, whose very name would thereby become terrible vnto the Turks: and that it were greater policy, by the forces of both the kingdomes, to keepe the Turkish king from entering into Hungary, than to leaue that kingdom to him for a prey, and afterwards be enforced to fight with the same enemy in the heart of Polonia: and as for inequality of years betwixt the King and the Queen, it was not so great a matter, that in regard thereof, so honourable and commodious allyance should be rejected; forasmuch as Princes doe more regard the vertues of their choice, with the increase of their honour, and wealth of their kingdomes, than the summer fruit of youth and beauty, which of it selfe in short time doth rot & perish, although it were neuer so carefully kept and preferred. And that forasmuch as there can be but one King in a kingdome, such choice was to be preferred of Kings, as had not therein the greatest hope of many children. After long deliberation, Vladislavus gaue answer to the embassadors, That he would accept of the offers by them made. Whereupon some of them returned to make relation to the queen, and some of them staid behind to hasten the King forward. But whilst these things were a doing, the Queen was in the mean deliuered of a faire sonne, whom she caused to be baptised and named Ladislavus. After the birth of this child, the queen moued with a motherly affection, began to repent her selfe, that shee had giuen her consent for the calling in of the Polonian King, to the prejudice of her sonne. And being animated by some of the Hungarian Nobility (who presuming of the good grace they were in with the Queene, hoped to grow great themselves, if they might first draw the government of that kingdom to the Queen and her young son) determined now by all means to exclude the Polonian King: but the greater part of the Nobility better considering what was most expedient

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In the midst of these ciuill wars Amurath thought a faire opportunitie presented vnto him, to make an entrance vnto the conquest of Hungary, which kingdom he had in his ambitious mind already deuoured. And therefore gathering a great Army, hee marched along the riuer Danubius, vntil he came to the strong city of Belgrade, called in ancient time Taurunum, and of some Alba Graeca, but now commonly Greis Weisenburg. This city is invironed on the East side with the famous riuer Danubius, and on the South side with the great riuer Saus or Sawa, which there falleth into Danubius; and on the other two sides is defended by strong walls with deep and large ditches, and was then accounted the gate or entrance into Hungary. Vnto this city Amurath at his first coming gaue two terrible assaults, and was in good hope so to haue won the same: but yet was both times valiantly repulsd with great slaughter of his men. Wherefore finding it to be a matter of more difficulty than was by him at first supposed, he began to raise mounts against the City, and high Towers of wood to annoy the defendants, and furiously battered the walls. At this time also hee caused great numbers of gallies and smal pinnaces to be brought into both the riuers of Danubius and Saus, to assault the city on those parts where was least feared, and by that means also to keep them of the city from all succors to be sent that way out of Hungary. Yet for all he could do or devise, the city was still valiantly defended by the Christian soldiers, who vnder the leading and conduct of Ioannes Vranus a Florentine, gouernour thereof, with often fallies and continuall shot slew great numbers of the Turks. At the time of this siege, Vladislavus King of Polonia, & lately elect King of Hungary, was sore troubled by the queen and her faction in Hungary: which thing the Turkish King knew right wel, & therupon continued his siege (although famine began greatly to increase in his camp) hoping nothing more, than that the defendants despairing of the Kings help, would in short time yeeld vp the city. Vladislavus being so intangled in Ciuill wars, as is aforesaid, that he could not possibly prepare such force as might relieue the besieged: yet forasmuch as the Turkish King had not long before by his embassadors required to join with him in league and amity; he thought good now to assay if he could raise the siege by sending vnto him the like embassage. Whereupon hee sent Dobrogosius, Ostrogosius, and Lucas Gorseffis, three of the Polonian nobility, his embassadors to Amurath, declaring vnto him, That forsomuch as he had offered by his Embassadors to join with him in league, before he came out of Polonia; the remembrance thereof had taken such deepe impression in his mind, that he would not take vp arms against him, though it were in his own iust defence, before he had offered him reasonable conditions of peace. Wherefore if he would desist from invading of Hungary (whereof Vladislavus was now by Gods permission, and the consent of the people, chosen King) and so raise his siege, that then they should afterwards easily agree vpon the desired peace; in concluding whereof, he should not find Vladislavus inferior vnto himselfe in any manner of princely courtesie. But if hee had rather proceed in Armes, and to make proofe of his strength, he would then do the best that hee could to make him know that hee was of sufficient power, in so iust a quarrell to withstand his greatest forces, and to reuenge the wrongs

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About this time, *Albertus* duke of Austria having before married *Elizabeth* the only daughter of *Sigismund* the Emperor, and succeeding his father in law both in the empire and Kingdom of Hungary: (vnto which type of highest honor nothing more furthered him than the remembrance of *Sigismund*) in the second year of his reign, before he was well settled in his new achieved honors, died of the flux, as he was making great preparation against *Amurath* the Turkish King: who having lately driven *George* Prince of Servia and Rascia out of his dominion, had now extended the Turkish kingdom euen vnto the borders of Hungary. This *Albertus* dying, left his wife great with child. The Hungarians (in whose minds the remembrance of *Sigismund* was yet fresh) could haue bin contented to haue liued vnder the government of the Queen his daughter, the widow of *Albertus*, (then great with child) but that the Turkish King was now grown so great, and come so nigh, that it was thought more than needfull by *John Huniades* and other of the Hungarian nobility, for defence of that kingdom, not wholly to rest vpon the deuotion of the people toward the Queene, and the expectation of her issue, (whereby they should be nothing strengthened) but to make choice of some great prince, by whose power they might the better defend themselves and the kingdom against their dangerous enemies. Whereupon with consent of the Queen it was resolved vpon, to make choice of *Vladislaus* the young King of Polonia, then a prince of great power, but of far greater fame and expectation: and by Embassadors to offer vnto him the marriage of the Queene, and with her the kingdom also. This embassage being sent vnto *Vladislaus*, the matter was to and fro debated in the Polonian court, whether it were to be accepted of or not. Some began to speak of the inequality of the match, considering that the King was but in the prime of his youth, and the Queen well slept in years; vrging further, that nothing was offered in that match but wars, and that the Hungarians therein fought for nothing more, than by the Polonian forces to defend themselves against the Turks. Others of the contrary opinion said, that the uniting of those two mighty kingdoms would be to the great good of them both, and to the great honor of the King, whose very name would thereby become terrible vnto the Turks: and that it were greater policy, by the forces of both the kingdomes, to keepe the Turkish king from entering into Hungary, than to leaue that kingdom to him for a prey, and afterwards be enforced to fight with the same enemy in the heart of Polonia: and as for inequality of years betwixt the King and the Queen, it was not so great a matter, that in regard thereof, so honourable and commodious allyance should be rejected; forasmuch as Princes doe more regard the vertues of their choice, with the increase of their honour, and wealth of their kingdomes, than the summer fruit of youth and beauty, which of it selfe in short time doth rot & perish, although it were neuer so carefully kept and preferred. And that forasmuch as there can bee but one King in a kingdom, such choice was to be preferred of Kings, as had not therein the greatest hope of many children. After long deliberation, *Vladislaus* gaue answer to the embassadors, That he would accept of the offers by them made. Whereupon some of them returned to make relation to the queen, and some of them staid behind to hasten the King forward. But whilst these things were a doing, the Queen was in the mean deliuered of a faire sonne, whom she caused to be baptised and named *Ladislaus*. After the birth of this child, the queen moued with a motherly affection, began to repent her selfe, that shee had giuen her consent for the calling in of the Polonian King, to the prejudice of her sonne. And being animated by some of the Hungarian Nobility (who presuming of the good grace they were in with the Queene, hoped to grow great themselves, if they might first draw the government of that kingdom to the Queen and her young son) determined now by all means to exclude the Polonian King: but the greater part of the Nobility better considering what was most expedient

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In the midst of these ciuill wars *Amurath* thought a faire opportunitie presented vnto him, to make an entrance vnto the conquest of Hungary, which kingdom he had in his ambitious mind already deuoured. And therefore gathering a great Army, hee marched along the riuer Danubius, vntil he came to the strong city of Belgrade, called in antient time Taurunum, and of some Alba Græca, but now commonly Grecis Weisenburg. This city is inuironed on the East side with the famous riuer Danubius, and on the South side with the great riuer Saus or Save, which there falleth into Danubius; and on the other two sides is defended by strong walls with deep and large ditches, and was then accounted the gate or entrance into Hungary. Vnto this city *Amurath* at his first comming gaue two terrible assaults, and was in good hope so to haue won the same: but yet was both times valiantly repulled with great slaughter of his men. Wherefore finding it to be a matter of more difficulty than was by him at first supposed, he began to raise mounts against the City, and high Towers of wood to annoy the defendants, and furiously battered the walls. At this time also hee caused great numbers of gallies and smal pinnaces to be brought into both the riuers of Danubius and Saus, to assault the city on those parts where was least feared, and by that means also to keep them of the city from all succors to be sent that way out of Hungary. Yet for all he could do or devise, the city was still valiantly defended by the Christian soldiers, who vnder the leading and conduct of *Ioannes Vranus* a Florentine, gouernour thereof, with often sallies and continuall shot slew great numbers of the Turks. At the time of this siege, *Vladislaus* King of Polonia, & lately elected King of Hungary, was sore troubled by the queen and her faction in Hungary: which thing the Turkish King knew right wel, & therupon continued his siege (although famine began greatly to increase in his camp) hoping nothing more, than that the defendants despairing of the Kings help, would in short time yeeld vp the city. *Vladislaus* being so intangled in Ciuill wars, as is aforesaid, that he could not possibly prepare such force as might relieue the besieged: yet forasmuch as the Turkish King had not long before by his embassadors required to join with him in league and amity; he thought good now to assay if he could raise the siege by sending vnto him the like embassage. Whereupon hee sent *Dobrogosius*, *Ostrogosius*, and *Lucas Gorseus*, three of the Polonian nobility, his embassadors to *Amurath*, declaring vnto him, That forsomuch as he had offered by his Embassadors to join with him in league, before he came out of Polonia; the remembrance thereof had taken such deepe impression in his mind, that he would not take vp arms against him, though it were in his own iust defence, before he had offered him reasonable conditions of peace. Wherefore if he would desist from inuading of Hungary (whereof *Vladislaus* was now by Gods permission, and the consent of the people, chosen King) and so raise his siege, that then they should afterwards easily agree vpon the desired peace; in concluding whereof, he should not find *Vladislaus* inferior vnto himselfe in any manner of princely courtesie. But if hee had rather proceed in Armes, and to make proofe of his strength, he would then do the best that hee could to make him know that hee was of sufficient power, in so iust a quarrel to withstand his greatest forces, and to reuenge the wrongs

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wrongs to him done. When *Amurath* had received this embassage, he appointed the ambassadors to withdraw themselves for a while to *Synderovia*, a City of *Servia* not far off, untill he might better consider of their demands; pretending that he did it for their safety: but as appeared afterward, secretly resolving with himself, presently to doe his utter deuoir for the gaining of the city, and vpon successe thereof to shape them answer accordingly. Wherefore to soon as the Ambassadors were departed to *Synderovia*, hee first by his messengers assayed the minds of the citifens and soldiers with magnifical promises of large liberties, and infinit rewards and preferments if they would yeeld vp the city: and many arrows with letters made fast vnto them, full of like promises, were at the same time shot into the city. But seeing no hope to prevail by that means, he called together the captains and commanders of his army, and there in the presence of them all spake vnto them as followeth:

*Amurath's notable speech to his soldiers in assault on Belgrade.*

Although I know it is in myne own power to grant or not to grant the peace wherof our enemies haue made a motion: yet it is my pleasure (worthy soldiers) to know your mindes also: for so much as wee haue that war in hand, wherin with worldly felicity (wherof I hold the chief place amongst you) is also endangered our religion and purity of life; the defence and care wherof equally belongeth vnto vs all. For although we differ much one from another in the manner of our vocation and living here; yet after death we all hope for one and the selfe same felicity. And therefore I would haue you to understand all that I shall say, as proceeding not of any regard of myne own priuat, but vpon the consideration of the common good of you all. For as concerning myne own estate, I possesse so large countries in *Asia*, so great dominions in *Europ*, that either part therof (in good time be it said) might seem a sufficient kingdom. So that perhaps it might better stand with my estate, to take more care for keeping of that I haue, than to trauell for the gaining of more. But you are to consider with your selues, whither you haue enery man sufficient to suffice himselfe or not, and how long you thinke your selues assured of the same: and moreover, that together with these worldly things we shall be drinen at length to forsake our religion and profession, if we shall now lay down arms. For our enemies require that we shall first cease from war; and then afterward they thinke it meet to talk of peace. I will not speak of the indignity, that men besieged, and in enill plight, should propound conditions of peace to them that besiege them, and are well furnished with all things: that feeble and cowardly men should promise peace vnto courageous and expert soldiers. I omit what labor and pains we haue taken, in laying our siege, in raising of mounts, in making of shipping: all which our enemies command vs to forsake, as if they had vs already bound or coup'd vp in hold, as we haue them. All *Bulgaria* and the greater part of *Rascia* is by vs now conquered, and most part of *Servia* is at our command: all which places are by vs either to be kept, or els all the rest of that we possesse in *Europe*, is with them to be lost and forsaken. Whosoever shall haue in their power this city which wee besiege (and that our enemies know right well) shall haue not only a forresse and bulwark of defence for his owne, but also a castle and entrance for the subduing of others. The Kingdom of *Hungary* is now diuided in it self, and full of domesticall sedition. Neither is it so much strengthened by the uniting of the Kingdom of *Polonia*, as it is by ciuill dissention weakened. And in this motion of peace nothing is sought for, but to gain time for the pacifying of their priuat quarrels, that they may afterwards with their double forces set vpon vs. For if we shall break vp the siege before we haue won the city, they will easily find delays so long to protract the conclusion of peace, untill *Vladislaus* his good fortune, or els the *Hungarians* becoring of themselves better aduised, shall make an end of their Ciuill wars. What manner of conditions of peace will they then require of vs, when they are at unity among themselves, and in arms against vs; seeing that now being in danger with mutual discord, and almost by vs vanquished, they thinke it reasonable (as if they had won the field) that we should first raise our siege, and then intreat of peace. Their proud demands for the restitution of *Bulgaria* and *Rascia*, with other Countries and Cities won by our great assault and danger, already sound in our ears. Which if we shall refuse to grant, not onely the *Hungarians* (seeing then at unity among themselves) but also the *Polonians* joynd vnto them, will bring those warres home vnto our owne doores, which we now with great aduantage make vpon them, beeing troubled with discord and ciuill broiles. And if for desire of peace we could be content to yeeld vnto such shamefull and miserable conditions, and restore vnto them all they should or in reason could desire, do you thinke the Prince of *Servia* would rest contented with his own, whose haughty mind (I am sure) being inflamed with the combining of two such mighty kingdoms, thinketh not onely of the recovery of that hee hath lost, but euen now gapeth at all this is ours in *Europ*. He will not thinke himselfe satisfied, before hee hauing

A wing brought the *Hungarian* and *Polonian* forces against vs) shall see the same hauocke and spoile made in our Kingdom with fire and sword, which he hath before scene made by vs in his owne. Where if his fortune should answer his desires (which God forbid, but yet it may chance) beside all the miserable and intolerable outrages, which are to be feared of an angry conqueror, it is accounted with them for a godly and religious worke, to vse all cruell and unspeakable villainies against our nation, except we will forsake the faith and religion deliuered vnto vs and our ancestors, and follow their new incredible ceremonies. Neither doe they thinke they can more easily and effectually procure the fauour of God with any other kinde of sacrifice or seruice, than by ouerthrowing and prophaning our temples, by scoffing at our most sacred and secret rites and ceremonies, by scorning our religion, and priests: and that you may know all the fury wherewith they rage against vs and our religion, they account all them for holy saints which die in fight against vs. There is no cause (valiant souldiers) that vpon the vaine hope of peace, we should expect whilest the enemy doth gather and unite his forces and armes against vs, especially such an enemy as propoundeth not spoile and worldly honours, but immortality it selfe, as a reward of his victory. We haue already taken much more labour than we haue to take, wee haue filled the ditches with restlesse labour, we haue cast vp bulwarke equall with the wals, and part of the wals we haue beaten euen with the ground, so that you see the towne halfe opened: and that towne, by gaigning wherof, all that ours is, may be made safe and quist; and that which our enemy possesseth, subject to our spoile and prey. If you will but a little inforce your selues as men mindfull of our good fortune and forwardnesse, you shall find our temples, our sacrifices, our religion, all worldly and heauenly felicity to be then assured vnto vs, when as you shall to morrow ouerthrow the very foundation of the enemies wall. Then (courageous souldiers) we may cry victory, not for the present, but for euer. If this warre should bring vnto vs nothing else but an assured security of our estate, it were sufficient reward: for which we ought cheerfully to adventure our selues to all dangers, and to challenge in combat euen death it selfe. But as this victory doth defend all our things as with a deepe trench or sure wall, so doth it lay open and expose all our enemies dominions vnto danger and spoile. Hitherto we haue striven with nature her selfe in the rough and abrupt mountaines of *Bulgaria* and *Rascia*, where we were to strine with hunger, thirst, labour, and asperation: all them we haue ouersome, allured with no other reward, but that at length we might attaine vnto the wealth of fruitfull *Hungarie*, from whence we must fetch the gerdon of our victory, and the ground of our glory. We are come to the gates, which being laid open, we are not to passe our inaccessible rocks, or uncouth desarts, but we shall goe through most pleasant places, decked both by nature her selfe, and the industry of man, where the temperatenesse of the aire, and liuely springs, with the fruitfulness of the soile, doth enery where yeeld plenty of all manner of food both for man and beast, not onely to serue for natures necessity, but euen to glat our wanton desires. What thing soeuer curious and hardy bringeth forth in other places, that the fertility of the soyle yeeldeth plentifully of it selfe: so that it is to be thought, that nature adorned *Hungary* with a certaine extraordinary care, when as she would set forth a pastorne of good husbandry, for other countries to imitate. Neither hath she in any place becme more bountifull in bestowing her rich gifts: for gold, which other men most painefully dig vp, and that in few places, the *Hungarians* gather at their ease, as if it were a growing plant. It is in your power (worthy souldiers) whether you will to morrow open a way to all these good things for your selues for euer, or else leaue the way open for your enemies vnto all that you hold. I would that you would remember when you go vnto the breach, that all the store of happy fortune is laid open to you for a prey, without any other defence, without any other garrison, without any other keeper; and that behind you are your wines, children, your houses, your temples, and religion, together with the rewards of all your former victories: ouer whom (except you win the city) the fury and insolencie of the victorious enemy, will most cruelly and shamefully insult. I, according as I shall see you fight at the breach to morrow, shall easily perceiue how you are set downe to command as conquerours, or else as slaues to be commanded; and also what to answer to the most insolent demands of the proud Ambassadors. In the meane time make much of your selues, and together with your armour, haue all things in readinesse, that to morrow with the dawning of the day we may assault the breach.

F The Turkish captains for that time joyfully departed, as if they had bin already assured of the victory, & of all those good things which *Amurath* had so liuely set before their eyes. The next morning very early, *Amurath* commanded the assault to be giuen vnto a great breach which he had made in the wall with continuall battery: the soldiers with great courage assailed the breach, especially the *Tanizaries*, who vnder the leading of *Haly-Bassa* valiantly won the same.

A a

same, and were entering the city with assured hope of victory. The Christians seeing all in danger to be lost, running to the breach from all parts of the city, so forcibly charged the proud Janizaries on every side, that they were glad to retire with more hast than they before entred: in which retreat many of them were slaine, and the rest flying out at the breach, were either slaine or burnt to death in the towne ditch with wild-fire, whereof the defendants had cast great store vpon the Turks at the breach, which hauing taken hold vpon the faggots, hurdles, and other light matter, wherewith the Turks vpon the sudden made their way ouer the towne ditch, did so terribly burne, that the Janizaries which had entred the breach, being againe repulled, were in that fiery lake consumed, or else with smoke strangled. In this assault *Amurath* is reported to haue lost 8000 of his best men, beside 7000 others ouerwhelmed or strangled in the mines, by the countermines of the Christians. The other part of the Turks which at the same time assaulted the city by water, out of their gallies and small ships, had as euill or rather worie successe: many of them were sunke with great shot, and some burnt by the fire cast from the wals, and so fired one another, and diuers of them in that sudden feare, for auoiding of that present danger, ran a ground vpon the shelves in the riuer, and so split. *Amurath* wonderfully discouraged with the slaughter of his men, and shamefully beaten from the assault, returned to his camp with his Turks, much like men which had lately escaped some great shipwracke. And thus partly by famine, and partly by the defendants force, hauing lost the greatest part of his army, he determined now after seven moneths siege to returne home. Yet because he would not encourage his enemies, by shewing his feare, he sent for the Embassadors into the campe, and with sterne countenance answered them in this sort.

*Amurath his answer to the Embassadors.*

We will (said he) then talke of peace, when *Vladislaus* shall deliuer vnto vs all that part of *Rascia* which he yet holdeth, and also this city of *Belgrade*, as a pledge of the league. And for this time I will raise my siege, to giue *Vladislaus* time to aduise himselfe: yet I would wish him, rather to accept of my friendship vpon these conditions, than by denying that little which is demanded, to hazard the state of both his Kingdomes. I aske but that which is mine owne by law of armes, before *Vladislaus* was called into *Hungarie*: and the *Hungarians* cannot transerre vnto him that right which they had not themselves. Wherefore if he will proceed rather to strine for that which is other mens, than quietly to possesse his owne, I will in good time repaire hither againe, with my God the beholder and reuenger of wrong.

With this answer he dismissed the Embassadors, and forthwith rise with his army, sore repenting his comming thither: yet because he would take something in his way, he left his nephew *Isa beg* with certaine troupes of horsemen at *Scopia* in *Seruaia*, who so troubled the King of *Bosnia*, that he was glad to require peace of *Amurath*, and to promise vnto him a yearely tribute of 25000 duckats.

*Vladislaus* newly erected King of *Hungary*, seeing that part of his kingdome which he called *Transilvania*, or *Pannodacia*, to be much subject to the incursion of the Turks, (who hauing got into their possession all the country of *Moldauia*, and growne insolent by continuall victories, ceased not to invade and spoile the country of *Transilvania*) for remedy of that daily mischiefe, created *Iohn Huniades* Vayuod, or his vice-gerent in *Transilvania*. This *Huniades*, as some write, was Earle of *Bistrice*, borne in *Valachia*: other say that he was borne but of meane parents, and called *Huniades* of the village wherein he was borne, and grew to be great by his vertue and prowess. Whatsoeuer his parents were, he himselfe was a most politicke, valiant, fortunat and famous captain, his victories so great, as the like were neuer before by any Christian Prince obtained against the Turks: so that his name became vnto them so dreadfull, that they vsed the same to feare their crying children withall. This worthy captain according to the trust reposed in him, began to keepe the Turks short, by cutting them off, whensoever they presumed to enter into his country; and also by shutting vp the passages whereby they were wont to forrage the country of *Transilvania*; and when he had put his own charge in safety, he returned into *Moldauia*; and neuer rested till he had quite won it out of the Turks hands. And not contented with this, passed many times ouer *Danubius* into the Turks dominion, making haucke of the Turks, and carying away with him great booty, with many captiues.

Now

A Now were two great and worthy captains met together, in places nigh one to another; *Huniades* in *Transilvania* and the next part of *Hungary*, and *Isa* in *Rascia* and the vpper part of *Seruaia*; the one lying at *Temeswar*, and the other at *Sinderouia*; both men of great spirit, and desirous of honour. Of these two, *Isa* in great fauour with *Amurath*, and by him highly preferred, to increase his credit with the Sultan his vncle, and to enlarge the bounds of the Turkish kingdome committed to his charge, continually forraged the country about *Belgrade*, to the intent that hauing wearied the inhabitants with the harms he daily did them, & brought the city into great wants, he might so at length gaine the same, for the most part abandoned then of citizens, which *Amurath* could not by force obtaine, and so to open a way into *Hungary*. Thus was the country by him spoyled, the villages rifled and burnt, and great numbers both of men and cattell dayly carried away: yea sometime not contented to haue spoyled the open country, he assailed the very suburbs of the city, and was thence hardly repulled: and finding *Huniades* the only man that hindred his further proceedings, to requite him, and prouoke him the more, brake sometimes into his country, laying in euery corner as he went, strong ambushes, so to haue circumvented that wary captain, if it had bin possible. But he grieved to see the country thus spoyled, and purposing thereof to be reuenged, secretly raised a strong power both of horse and foot, and with his companion *Nicholas Vilach* a right valiant captain, passing ouer *Danubius*, came and incamped betwixt *Belgrade* and *Sinderouia*, being about 20 miles distant. Of whose comming *Isa beg* vnderstanding, forthwith set forward with a great army against him, lest he should by longer delay seeme to stand in doubt of his enemy, whom he had by many injuries so often prouoked. So marching on with his army ranged in order of battell, he found *Huniades* as ready for battell as himselfe; who in both wings had placed his light horsemen, and behind them his men at armes, with certaine companies of crossbowes on horsebacke: in the midst stood his armed men, with his archers, and other souldiers more lightly armed, ready at all assayes, all strongly garded with men at armes: after whom in the rereward followed also a strong squadron of valiant footmen. The signall of battell being giuen, there began a great and cruel fight, as amongst men desirous either to be overcome, or there honourably to end their daies. At the first incounter, the wings of *Huniades* his battell were by the Turks enforced to retire, but comming to the men at armes, their fury was there staid, and a cruell battell fought, wherein many fell on both sides, but of the Turks more, who trusting to their agility and nimbleness of body, were not able long to endure the shooke and strength of the men at armes, but were there by heaps ouerthrowne, and most miserably slain. Which *Isa beg* beholding, and perceiuing the *Hungarians* couragiously to fight, as men almost in possession of an assured victory, to saue himselfe, turned his backe and fled to *Sinderouia*. The rest beholding the flight of their Generall, betook themselves to flight also; after whom the *Hungarians* fiercely followed, especially *Huniades* himselfe, who by his example to animate the rest left not the chase vntill he was come almost to the suburbs of *Sinderouia*: few of the Turks escaped, the rest being either taken or slain. *Huniades* after so great a victory, with a rich prey and a multitude of prisoners returned to *Belgrade*, hauing now sufficiently reuenged himselfe of the wrongs he had before received. After which time *Isa* the Turk was more quiet, as hauing sufficient proofe of his valor. The fame of this victory increased not a little the fame of *Huniades*, the report whereof comming to *Buda*, filled the city with joy and gladnesse; but most of all King *Vladislaus*, who therupon caused publique prayers, with thanksgiving to be made in euery Church; and by his letters gratulatory, with many rich presents encouraged *Huniades* to the prosecution of the religious war, wherein was propounded vnto him not onely the increase of his wealth (a base regard in the honourable) but the immortality of his name, and hope of eternall blisse.

Not long after this victory, *Huniades* obtained a far greater in *Transilvania*. For *Amurath* much grieved with the losse he had first by himselfe, and after by his lieutenant *Isa*, receiued at *Belgrade*, and in the country therabout; lest he should seeme to yeeld vnto the *Hungarians*, repaired his broken forces with new supplies, with purpose againe to renew his wars in *Valachia*. And so hauing put all things in readines, sent one of his Bassas called *Mesires* (his Vice-roy in *Asia*, a man of great wisdom, experience, and valor) with a puissant army vpon the sudden by the way of *Valachia* *Transilvania*, to invade *Transilvania*. This worthy captain according to his charge departed out of *Seruaia*, and passing from *Danubius*, suddenly entred into

*Transilvania invaded and spoiled by Mesires Bassa.*

*Huniades* his country, burning and spoiling whatsoeuer came in his way, and killing all that he light vpon, man, woman, and child, without respect of age, sex, or condition, filling all the country as he went with tumult and terror. Whereof *Huniades* (but lately come into the country) vnderstanding, and hauing then no sufficient forces to oppose against the fury of so puissant an enemy, either means to raise any in so great a confusion and feare, was wonderfully grieved thereat, and perplexed in mind, as not well knowing which way to turne himselfe. At length he tooke his flight into Alba Iula, vnto his old friend *George Lepe* Bishop of that city, a man of great vertue and grauity: but whilst he there staid with his friend, about the raising of a tumultuary army, the enemy was now come neere vnto him; who hauing ouerrun the greatest part of the country, had scraped together such a booty, and taken such a multitude of prisoners, that furcharged as it were with the spoyle, he was glad to march softlier; yet still burning the country before him. Which *Huniades* and the good Bishop beholding out of the city, so much grieved thereat, that albeit that they both well knew themselves, with an handful of men taken vp in haste hand ouer head, too weake to encounter with their enemies; yet thoughte it better, with such power as they had to go out, and so in defence of their country honorably to die, than longer to behold the most miserable destruction of the same. But whilst they vpon this resolution (carried forth with too hot a desire of reuenge) march vnaduisedly forward, without any scouts or espials sent out before them, they fell before they were aware into such ambushes both of horse & foot, as the crafty enemy had in the secret woods and vallies whereby they were to passe, laid of purpose to intercept them: which now with great force and horrible outcries breaking out vpon them on euery side, dismayed them with a great feare. *Huniades* and the Bishop seeing themselves so intrapped and beset with the multitude of their enemies, as that they must needs perish if they should longer stay, fled incontinently back again; after whom followed all the rest of their army, and at their heeles the eager Turks, who spared none of the flying Christians they could ouertake, but put them al to the sword: neuertheless most part of them escaped backe again to Alba Iula. The Bishop thinking to haue saued himselfe by the swiftnes of his horse, comming to a riuer, in taking the same was ouerthrowne, and there by the enemy slain. With whose death the Bassa encouraged, as also with the present victory, began now more at liberty to range abroad, and at his pleasure with fire and sword to wait that part of the country which yet remained vnspoiled: leauing in the meane time (as a man out of feare) the rich prey he had taken, together with his baggage & carriages, to be carried all together, as a notable testimony of his victory, vnto his great lord & master. *Huniades* in the meane time with wonderfull celerity running about the borders of his country, and out of euery town & village taking such soldiers as he could, perswaded also the Sicilians (or people commonly called Siculi) in defence of their wiues and children to take vp arms: who all in respect of the present necessity, cheerfully did whatsoeuer he commanded. With this tumultuary army he followed the Bassa (who then in great pride was returning, laded with the spoile of the whole country) with purpose to set vpon him as time or place should giue him occasion. In the meane time *Mesites* being told, that *Huniades* with a great power was comming after him, and now euen at hand; is reported to haue made no reckoning thereof, but to haue proudly answered vnto him that brought the newes, *Let him come, and with the spoile of himselfe enrich our victory.* There was present when he thus said, one *Tohn* one of *Huniades* his espials; who discovered vnto him many of the Turks designs concerning the joyning of battell with him; but especially, that the Bassa had commanded thorow his army, That about all things, they should in the beginning of the battell assaile the person of *Huniades* himselfe, for that he being once slain, the rest would easily be put to flight, as all depending on his direction: and that for the performance thereof, he had appointed certaine companies of his best soldiers, giuing them certain tokens wherby they might know both him and his horse. There was then in the army one *Simon Kemene*, a right valiant and couragious gentleman, not much vnlike to *Huniades*, with whom he changed both his horse and armor, appointing vnto him a strong troupe of his choice horsemen to attend vpon him: neither was this counterfeit *Huniades* vnwilling to expose himselfe vnto the danger, accounting it honour enough, if by his death he might saue the life of his friend, and presume so worthily a defender of the common weale. *Huniades* following fast after, the Bassa marching before him, fought by light skirmishes, sometimes on the one side, sometimes on the other, and sometimes in the rereward, to stay him, and at some advantage,

antage, if any such were giuen, to fight with him before he should get out of the country. At length finding such an opportunity as he thought good to lay hold vpon, he with all his forces, as if it had been a violent tempest, came vpon the Turks so suddenly, as that they had not time to put themselves in order of battell, but were glad confusedly to fight as they might, & without order: in which disordered fight many fell on both sides, but far more of the Turks. But whilst both armies with like obstinacy incounter together, certain troupes of the most valiant Turks descrying *Simon* the counterfeit *Huniades*, & by the signes before deliuered vnto them, both of his horse and armor, supposing him to haue bin *Huniades* indeed, with all their power made towards him, to haue slaine him, according as they had in charge: where meeting with right valiant men, of no lesse courage than themselves, there was fought a most terrible and bloody battell, in such sort, as if in that very place should haue bin tried the whole fortune of the day. But the Turks still bending their forces more and more thither, for the killing of him of whom they stood in more dread than of all the rest; at length by plaine force made a way vnto him, and hauing slaine them that were about him, though not without their owne great losse, furiously assailing him, slew him, vainly supposing it to haue bin the very Generall himselfe, who had he there perished (as like enough it was he should, had he not bin before warned of the Bassa's purpose) no doubt but that the whole country had bin with him, or shortly after quire lost. But *Huniades* in the mean time riding to and fro in the army, encouraged his soldiers not to forsake the victory they were now as it were in possession of, nor leaue vnreunged so many slaughters and harms so lately committed by their enemies, but to remember as they were fighting, that they carried in their hands their wiues and children, and were in that one battell to reuenge the wrong by them done both to God and man. Sometime he with new supplies encouraged such as were overcharged, and euen now ready to fly; other some he with cheerfull words staid, that had already turned their backs; performing in euery place all the parts both of a worthy commander, & valiant soldier, as the necessity of the time and place required. In the heat of this battell, fortune yet fauoring neither part, but both fighting with all their power, the Transiluanian prisoners that in great number were kept in the camp, wishing rather to die than to be carried away into captivity, & thinking it now or neuer, time for them to attempt their deliuerance, with one consent brake asunder their bonds, and with such weapons as first came to hand, set vpon their keepers, of whom they slew a great number, and so desperately issuing out of the battell, incouraged their countrymen, and discouraged their enemies. Yet was the battell hardly fought, though not altogether with like courage, or for like cause: for why, the Transiluanians fought for their country, their wiues, their children, their liues, their liberty, their religion, and altars: but the Turks, for the rich prey they had before taken, and that they were by victory in hope of. But at length the Turks by the breaking out of the prisoners (who laid about them like desperate men) out of hope of the victory, began by little and little to retire; and the other on the contrary part by this vnexpected aid encouraged, and quickly finding the enemies fainting, fought more fiercely than before. *Mesites* seeing his army thus in euery part wavering, was therewith exceedingly troubled: but presently after, beholding some of his men retyring as if they had fled, and other some flying out right, and no means to stay them, for safegard of his life turned his horse and fled also: after whom the Hungarians followed with most terrible execution, as men desirous of the blood of them that had done them so great harme. In this chase *Mesites* himself with his son were both slain: the report of whose death in the pursuit, added swiftnesse vnto the Hungarians, to the increasing of the slaughter of the Turks, whom for the desire of reuenge they ceased not for certaine daies to pursue, vnto the top of the Alps. In this battell were slaine of the Turks 20000, and of the Hungarians about 1000. *Huniades* with this victory recovered all the prey the Turks had taken of the spoile of the country, together with their tents and baggage, vnto whom at his returne into the campe, a wonderfull number of poore captiues came, and falling at his feet, and kissing them, gaue God thanks for their deliuerance by him; some called him the father, some the defender of his country; the soldiers, their invincible Generall; the captiues, their deliuerer; the women, their protector; the yong men and children, their most louing father. In all which joyfull exclamations, no honorable addition was heard, which in the judgement of all men, worthily agreed not with his deserts. He againe with teares standing in his eies, courteously embraced them, rejoycing at the publike good; and himselfe giuing most hearty thanks

A great battell  
betweene Mes-  
ites and Hunia-  
des.

Great rejoycing  
for the victory.

thanks vnto God, commanded the like to be done in all churches of that Prouince. Sometime he commended the soldiers valor, and in generall the peoples loyalty. The nobility and worthy capitaines he extolled by name, according as their desert had bin in that notable battell, not detracting any thing from any mans worthy praises: part of the spoile of the Turks he appointed vnto deuout vles, and the other part he diuided amongst his soldiers: and willing as it were with the first fruits thereof to gratifie King *Vladislaw* and the Despot of *Serua*, then present with him, he sent a great waggon, with 10 horses which could scarce draw it, laden with the Turks ensignes and the chief of their heads, where the heads of the Bassa and his son stood foremost, and about them was placed an old Turke, sometime well known vnto the Despot: who in this order presented vnto them, is said to haue thus deliuered his message, as followeth:

The speech of  
an old Turke  
deliuering the  
message vnto  
the King.

Huniades your Majesties most humble seruants, and the most honourable Despot Sonne, sendeth vnto you this part of the spoile gained by this late victory, lest he should seeme to defraud you of the honour of the battell, happily fought vnder your good fortune. These heads of the Asian Nobility he sendeth you for a present, that you should not want the assured testimony of so notable a victory: these are two Princes heads, the one of Melites Bassa the Generall, and the other of his son; the rest are the heads of the other great commanders and Samzacks. All these witness the greatnesse of the slaughter, and exhort you to greater achievements. What your royall Majesty for the naturall instinct of piety and religion ingrafted in you, may hope for; and what an occasion of immortality and glory is offered vnto you, Huniades wisheth you hereby to consider: and humbly requesteth, that generall supplications may be commanded, and a great army provided, for as much as all men suppose, that the Turke will gage his whole forces; and leaue nothing vnattempted, in reuenge of so great a slaughter of his people.

Having ended his speech, he shewed vnto them the grisly mortified heads: which the nobility and others there present, earnestly beheld, and wondered at, especially the King and the Despot, who by letters further understanding the whole proceeding of the war, and fortune of the battell, highly commended the discreet valour of *Huniades*, together with the glorious victory, worthy (as they said) of a Roman triumph: for which, *Vladislaw* commanded publike supplications to be made in all churches thorow Hungary; and by honorable messengers sent of purpose to *Huniades*, gaue him great thanks, according to his deserts, with many rich presents also, commending his faithfull and worthy seruice: and requesting him, with like courage and care, to prosecute the war, so happily begun; promising him, that he should neither want men nor money, or any thing else needfull thereunto. Vpon this victory, the countries of *Moldauia* and *Valachia*, before tributaries vnto the Turke, now rebolted again vnto the Hungarians, to the great griefe of *Amurath*: and the fame of *Huniades* was in short time dispersed thorow all Europe, and a generall hope conceited of him, as of one most like to be one of the greatest champions of the Christian Commonweale, as in his time vndoubtedly he was.

The report of this late overthrow, with the death of the Bassa *Melites*, and the losse of his Army, being brought to *Hadrianople*, much troubled the Turkish Tyrant; but most of all, the revolt of the two Countries, *Moldauia* and *Valachia*. So that full of wrathfull indignation, and desire of reuenge, he commanded a great army to be raised against the next Spring, with intent to haue gone therewith himselfe: but afterward vpon better advice changing his purpose, he committed the leading thereof vnto one *Schech Abidin Bassa* (corruptly called *Scheidin Bassa*) an Eunuch, and yet neuertheless a right valiant and expert capitaine; and his Viceroy in Europe; with charge first to enter into *Valachia*, and there hauing done what harme he could with fire and sword, to doe the like in *Moldauia*; and after that, with all his power to breake into *Transilvania*, there to reuenge vnto the full, the losses before received, and with the slaughter of the Hungarians to sacrifice vnto the ghosts of their dead friends and companions. The Bassa according to his charge, departing out of *Macedonia*, and marching thorow *Myfia*, and so passing ouer *Danubius*, with an Army of fourescore thousand fighting men, whereof foure thousand were of the best Ianizaries, entred into *Valachia*, filling the country with feare and tumult; the *Valachians* now altogether in despair, to be able to defend themselves against the fury of the Turks, and sore repenting them of their reuolt from them, vnto the Hungarians. Whom for all that, *Huniades* comforted with cheerfull words, willing them betime to retire themselves vnto the safest places of the Country, and not to expose them-

Valachia grie-  
uously oppressed  
by the Turks.

A themselves with their too weake forces against the fury of the Barbarians; promising in good time to come himselfe to their reliefe, not doubting by the power of Iesus Christ, to dare them battell in the plaine field, and to haue of them a glorious victory, although they were in number far more than they were reported to be. The Bassa diuiding his army into two parts, foraged the country far and neere, burning the country townes and villages before them, spoiling whatsoever came in their way, and killing whosoever they light vpon, men, women, or children, without respect of age, sex, or condition. But the *Valachians* for the most part retired themselves, some into the mountains, some into the strong townes, and some into places further off, so that few fell into the enemies hands, but such as were not able to fly, or not regarding the danger, had negligently staid the enemies coming, and so perished. *Valachia* thus spoiled, the Turks passing ouer the mountains, descended into *Transilvania*, as *Amurath* had commanded, with purpose there to haue done the like or greater harme, if possible it had been to haue so done: but there was *Huniades* with 15000 chosen soldiers ready to encounter them. A smal power indeed, in comparison of the multitude the Bassa led; but al men of great experience and resolution, in valor countervailing the great number of their enemies, men resolu'd rather to die than to fly. Of whose approach the Bassa (vnto whom the name and fortune of the man was dreadfull) by his espials vnderstanding, staid his intended fury, and as one well aware with whom he had to doe, without farther proceeding, encamped himselfe with his army, to see what power and courage the enemy had. But certainly informed by his scouts, for that purpose sent out, that he was not in number a quarter so many as the Turks, but lay strongly encamped with his waggons and carriages, as in a sure fort, in such order as that he could not without great danger be assailed, and yet might at his pleasure come forth, and so if need were retire againe, as into a strong hold: he wondered at his courage and skilfull manner of encamping; yet presuming of his owne multitude and strength, he doubted not to march forward, and to offer him battell. Being come within halfe a mile the one of the other, although they were on neither side vnwilling to fight, yet hoping both for a great victory, they thought it not best to attempt any thing rashly, but betooke themselves both vnto the highest of their wits, as willing in so great a conflict, as well to shew the utmost of their policy and skill, as of their courage and valor. The Turke thought it not best to joyne battell with his enemies in one front, for feare of confounding so great a multitude, but to diuide his army into certaine battalions, and so to fight by degrees and in good order, whereby to make all his men profitable: or if he could not do so, then with his multitude to inclose the Christians round, and so to ouerwhelme them. On the other side, *Huniades* charged his soldiers, about all things to keep their order, and in no case to suffer themselves to be diuided by their enemies. The next day, being come vnto a place which they call *Vascape*, both the armies by the breake of day began to dislodge, at which time the Bassa spent a good space in the martialling of his great army, as did also *Huniades*, seeking by prouident foresight and policy to match the multitude of his enemies. And so hauing set all things in order, calling vnto him the chiefe captains and commanders of his army, with cheerefull countenance encouraged them as followeth:

E No courage (beleeue me) wort by companions, and fellows in arms, could haue induced me to encounter so great a multitude, did not necessity it selfe inforce me, your approved valour persuade me, and the assured hope I haue in Christ Iesus above all things confirme me: hauing made choice of vs to fight this his sacred battell, and by our right hands to reuenge the dishonor of his holy name. In which his especiall choice we are to consider how much he hath beloued vs: and for the same to praise his infinite goodnesse and mercy. Three such commodities hath God thereby euen this day propounded vnto vs, if we will be the same men wee haue been in times past, as that the least thereof were sufficient to encourage men of worth, for the same to lay downe their liues, held they them neuer so deare. First, you are to fight for the health and welfare of your children, wiues and country, joynd with your whole estate: then, for eternall glory and renoune in this world: and last of all, for immortality and a crowne that shall neuer be taken from you, in the world to come. How many miseries and calamities we haue in former times, and of late receiued from the Turks, would to God you had rather heard thereof by report, than scene the same with your eyes, and indured them in your selues. You had long since bene bereft of your beloued wiues and children, whom most miserable seruitude had ouerwhelmed; you had had neither house nor Church, wherinto dwell or to serue God, had not the diuine power of God, and your rare prouesse bene at hand for present rescue your country.

The most  
Christian  
speech of  
Huniades to en-  
courage his sol-  
diers against  
the Turks.

thanks vnto God, commanded the like to be done in all churches of that Prouince. Sometime he commended the soldiers valor, and in general the peoples loyalty. The nobility and worthy capitaines he extolled by name, according as their desert had bin in that notable battell, not detracting any thing from any mans worthy praises: part of the spoile of the Turks he appointed vnto deuout vses, and the other part he diuided amongst his soldiers: and willing as it were with the first fruits thereof to gratifie King *Vladislav* and the Despot of *Serua*, then present with him, he sent a great waggon, with 10 horses which could scarce draw it, laden with the Turks ensignes and the chief of their heads, where the heads of the Bassa and his son stood foremost, and about them was placed an old Turke, sometime well known vnto the Despot: who in this order presented vnto them, is said to haue thus deliuered his message, as followeth:

The speech of  
Amurath  
deliuered  
vnto  
the King.

Huniades your Majesties most humble seruant, and the most honourable Despot Sonne, sheweth vnto you this part of the spoile gained by this late victory, lest he should seeme to defraud you of the honour of the battell, happily fought vnder your good fortune. These heads of the *Asian Nobility* he sendeth you for a present, that you should not want the assured testimony of so notable a victory: these are two Princes heads, the one of Melites Bassa the Generall, and the other of his son; the rest are the heads of the other great commanders and Sanzacks. All these witness the greatnesse of the slaughter, and exhort you to greater achievements. What your royall Majesty for the naturall instinct of piety and religion ingrafted in you, may hope for; and what an occasion of immortality and glory is offered vnto you, Huniades wisheth you hereby to consider: and humbly requesteth, that generall supplications may be commanded, and a great army provided, forasmuch as all men suppose, that the Turke will gage his whole forces; and leave nothing unattempted, in reuenge of so great a slaughter of his people.

Having ended his speech, he shewed vnto them the grisly mortified heads: which the nobility and others there present, earnestly beheld, and wondered at, especially the King and the Despot, who by letters further understanding the whole proceeding of the war, and fortune of the battell, highly commended the discreet valour of *Huniades*, together with the glorious victory, worthy (as they said) of a Roman triumph: for which, *Vladislav* commanded publike supplications to be made in all churches thorow Hungary; and by honorable messengers sent of purpose to *Huniades*, gaue him great thanks, according to his deserts, with many rich presents also, commending his faithfull and worthy seruice: and requesting him, with like courage and care, to prosecute the war, so happily begun; promising him, That he should neither want men nor money, or any thing else needfull thereunto. Vpon this victory, the countries of Moldavia and Valachia, before tributaries vnto the Turks, now reuolted again vnto the Hungarians, to the great griefe of *Amurath*: and the same of *Huniades* was in short time dispersed thorow all Europe, and a generall hope conceited of him, as of one most like to be one of the greatest champions of the Christian Commonweale, as in his time vndoubtedly he was.

The report of this late overthrow, with the death of the Bassa *Melites*, and the losse of his Army, being brought to Hadrianople, much troubled the Turkish Tyrant; but most of all, the reuolt of the two Countries, Moldavia and Valachia. So that full of wrathfull indignation, and desire of reuenge, he commanded a great army to be raised against the next Spring, with intent to haue gone therewith himselfe: but afterward vpon better advice changing his purpose, he committed the leading thereof vnto one *Schech Abedin Bassa* (corruptly called *Schech d'm Bassa*) an Eunuch, and yet neuertheless a right valiant and expert capitaine; and his Viceroy in Europe; with charge first to enter into Valachia, and there hauing done what harme he could with fire and sword, to doe the like in Moldavia: and after that, with all his power to breake into Transylvania, there to reuenge vnto the full, the losses before received, and with the slaughter of the Hungarians to sacrifice vnto the ghosts of their dead friends and companions. The Bassa according to his charge, departing out of Macedonia, and marching thorow Mysia, and so passing ouer Danubius, with an Army of fourescore thousand fighting men, whereof foure thousand were of the best Ianizaries, entred into Valachia, filling the country with feare and tumult; the Valachians now altogether in despaire to be able to defend themselves against the fury of the Turks, and sore repenting them of their reuolt from them, vnto the Hungarians. Whom for all that, *Huniades* comforted with cheerefull words, willing them betime to retire themselves vnto the safest places of the Country, and not to expose them-

Valachia grie-  
uously oppressed  
by the Turke.

A themselves with their too weake forces against the fury of the Barbarians, promising in good time to come himselfe to their reliefe, not doubting by the power of Iesus Christ, to dare them battell in the plaine field, and to haue of them a glorious victory, although they were in number far more than they were reported to be. The Bassa diuiding his army into two parts, foraged the country far and neere, burning the country townes and villages before them, spoiling whatsoever came in their way, and killing whosoever they light vpon, men, women, or children, without respect of age, sex, or condition. But the Valachians for the most part retired themselves, some into the mountains, some into the strong townes, and some into places further off, so that few fell into the enemies hands, but such as were not able to fly, or not regarding the danger, had negligently staid the enemies comming, and so perished. Valachia thus spoiled, the Turks passing ouer the mountains, descended into Transilvania, as *Amurath* had commanded, with purpose there to haue done the like or greater harme, if possible it had been to haue so done: but there was *Huniades* with 15000 chosen soldiers ready to encounter them. A smal power indeed, in comparison of the multitude the Bassa led: but al men of great experience and resolution, in valor countervailing the great number of their enemies, men resolved rather to die than to fly. Of whose approach the Bassa (vnto whom the name and fortune of the man was dreadfull) by his espials vnderstanding, staid his intended fury, and as one well aware with whom he had to doe, without farther proceeding, encamped himselfe with his army, to see what power and courage the enemy had. But certainly informed by his scouts, for that purpose sent out, That he was not in number a quarter so many as the Turks, but lay strongly encamped with his waggons and cariages, as in a sure fort, in such order as that he could not without great danger be assailed, and yet might at his pleasure come forth, and so if need were retire againe, as into a strong hold: he wondered at his courage and skilfull manner of encamping; yet presuming of his owne multitude and strength, he doubted not to march forward, and to offer him battell. Being come within halfe a mile the one of the other, although they were on neither side vnwilling to fight, yet hoping both for a great victory, they thought it not best to attempt any thing rashly, but betooke themselves both vnto the highest of their wits, as willing in so great a conflict, as well to shew the utmost of their policy and skill, as of their courage and valor. The Turke thought it not best to joyne battell with his enemies in one front, for feare of confounding so great a multitude, but to diuide his army into certaine battalions, and so to fight by degrees and in good order, wherby to make all his men profitable: or if he could not do so, then with his multitude to inclose the Christians round, and so to ouerwhelme them. On the other side, *Huniades* charged his soldiers, about all things to keep their order, and in no case to suffer themselves to be diuided by their enemies. The next day, being come vnto a place which they call *Vascape*, both the armies by the breake of day began to dislodge, at which time the Bassa spent a good space in the martialling of his great army, as did also *Huniades*, seeking by provident foresight and policy to march the multitude of his enemies. And so hauing set all things in order, calling vnto him the chiefe captains and commanders of his army, with cheerefull countenance encouraged them as followeth:

E No courage (beleeue me) worthy companions, and fellowes in arms, could haue induced me to encounter so great a multitude, did not necessity it selfe inforce me, your approved valour persuaide me, and the assured hope I haue in Christ Iesus above all things confirme me: hauing made choice of vs to fight this his sacred battell, and by our right hands to reuenge the dishonor of his holy name. In which his speciall choice we are to consider how much he hath beloued vs: and for the same to praise his infinite goodnesse and mercy. Three such commodities hath God thereby euen this day propounded vnto vs, if we will be the same men we haue been in times past, as that the least thereof were sufficient to encourage men of worth, for the same to lay downe their liues, held they them neuer so deare. First, you are to fight for the health and welfare of your children, wiues and country, joyned with your whole estate: then, for eternall glory and renoune in this world: and last of all, for immortality and a crowne that shall neuer be taken from you, in the world to come. How many miseries and calamities we haue in former times, and of late received from the Turks, would to God you had rather heard thereof by report, than scene the same with your eyes, and endured them in your selues. You had long since bene bereft of your beloued wiues and children, whom most miserable seruitude had ouerwhelmed: you had had neither house nor Church, wherein to dwell or to serue God, had not the diuine power of God, and your rare prowesse bene at hand for present rescue: your country,

The most Christian  
speech of  
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diers against  
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country, your goods, your honour, your liberty, you could not have kept, had not your valour, confirmed by an assured confidence in the highest, preserved all these things unto your selves: The horrible fury of the Turke had now brought all these things into the power of it selfe, had they not bene by your armes defended, and be by so many bloody overthrowes repressed. He could not before be stayed; the Grecians, the Macedonians (both sometimes the greatest commanders) the old Thracians, the strong Bulgarians, the valiant Epirots, and Dalmatians, could not abide their force: the Athenians, the Thebans, the Lacedemonians, authors and masters of the ancient discipline of war, willingly gave place unto these. Vnto vs, is the praise & great glory of the victory by God assigned, who oftentimes with a small power, yea, and that sometime against all hope, haue with a notable slaughter overthrowen them, vanquished them, and put them to flight. Neither is there any men in the World whom they more feare and stand in dread of, than you, whom though in number but few, they haue by their dayly slaughter and losses, learned no lesse to feare, than if you were many. And now to try the vitermost of their power, they are come with their innumerable legions: but are not for that of you any whit the more to be feared than before, seeing that we all beare armes vnder the conduct of the most mighty God, and are by dayly victory, long experience, and approved valour taught, what we are to dare: besides that, the greatest part of their army is of common souldiers, slues or rude country peasants, or men by force by them compelled; more than the Ianizaries are no good souldier among them, the rest as men enforced, serue them for feare, and against their wils, and they by their cowardise brought into that bondage and slavery. What Greeks, Macedonians, or Solaupnians neuer are sent to their aid, forasmuch as they are not yet reuolted from the Christian faith, deeme them not to stand for them, but for vs: they long for vs the reuengers of their wrongs, and for you as victorious conquerors: in this war they haue giuen vnto the Turks their names, but vnto vs their hearts and power, and pray heartily for our victory: wherefore you ought so much the more valiantly and courageously to fight, by how much greater you see the victory, the honor, the prey before your eyes. We are not to fight for other mens houses and altars, but for our owne; so our present necessity requireth, in such sort, that if wee our selves, deliuer not our selves, and beare our selves vpon our wonted hope and valour, we shall this day be enforced to endure the greatest misery that men may possibly. First, the losse of our goods and substance, the captivity of our children, the deflowering of our daughters, the rauishing of our wives, the slaughter of our parents, the burning of our houses and churches, and that which worse is than all this, the scorn of our Saviour Christ Iesus, and his Saints; whose images you shall see in despite broken, or dragged in the dirt, or moulten and conuered vnto other prophane uses; all Religion trodden downe, and God himselfe (if it were possible) with violence and despaire driuen out of our hearts, if we stand not manfully vnto it as becometh worthy champions. God is able with his little finger, if he so will, forthwith to destroy all the Turks in the world; but seeing he hath committed vnto our right hands the defence of his name, he first maketh prooffe of our courage and valour, that finding the same faithfull and ready, he may strengthen and defend it with his owne right hand. He neuer yet forsooke any faithfull or deuout man, neither will our Saviour Christ be wanting vnto you, if you be not wanting to your selves: in the power of his name which is aboue all names, he shall tread downe his rebellious enemies, and exalt the righteous that put their trust in him. Moreover, the causes that they and we combat for, are diuers, and our hopes much stronger: They fight for their Prophet, a most prophane man, author of all impiety, for spoile and prey, for the destruction of nations and countries, for other mens kingdomes, for the enlarging of their dominions, and territories, for worldly praise and glory: But we contrariwise beare armes for the Saviour of the world, for our faith and religion, for the Christian common-wealth, for our native country, for our wiues and children, for our fortune and state; than which nothing can be more excellent, more commendable, or honourable. What reward is laid up for them in heauen which haue worthily protected or deliuered their country, or laid downe their liues in defence of their faith and religion? Neither, hauing often proued, are we ignorant, that God will neuer forsake them that honor, feare, and serue him. Whereby (fellow souldiers) you may plainly perceiue, how far your hopes are beyond theirs. Beleeue our Saviour, promising vnto you an eternall reward: and shew your fidelity and valor vnto God and your country together. Wherefore seeing without the power of God we can do nothing, before the signall of battell be giuen, I beseech you colonels, captains, and lieutenants, by your effectfull and Christian exhortations in your regiments and companies, to encourage your souldiers, valiantly to fight the Lords battell, and for the present, euery man by taking a little earth in his mouth, to prepare himselfe according to the necessity of the time, as it were to the receiving of the Lords Supper: so hauing cleansed your soules, embrace you one another, plight your mutuall faith with your right hand and a kisse; and make a perpetuall covenant among your selves, none of you to forsake one another in this holy battell, but for your religion and country valiantly to fight it out, euen to the

A the last man. And a little refreshing your selues with a short repast as you stand, vpon the signall giuen, thrice calling aloud vpon the mighty name of Christ Iesus, fight with the like valour and courage so neer as you can, that he in the agony of death fought for your redemption and liberty: which that you will willingly do, I request and charge you thus for our Saviours sake, for the loue of our country, and for the faith you owe both to God and man. I also pray and beseech you, so to fight, as men resolved either to gaine a most glorious victory, (whereof I doubt not for else if it should otherwise chance, this day to purchase vnto your selves a blessed life in the kingdome of heauen: not to sup in hell with the Turks, but with the blessed might in heauen: for Christ Iesus our Saviour will be alwaies present with vs, who (beleeue me, and so hope) will this day not onely deliuer vs out of the hands of the Turks, but to our immortall glory lode vs with the rich spoiles of our enemies, and so in safety bring all home againe with much joy and triumph.

B The Bassa on the other side likewise encouraged his souldiers, putting them in remembrance of their former victories, exhorting them not to degenerate from their worthy ancestors and themselves, by whose great valor the glory and Empire of the Turks had bin so mightily increased, and vnto whom their great prophet Mahomet, the interpreter of the gods, had foretold the Empire of the whole world to be by all the gods allotted; and had by diuine inspiration prophesied, that ancient and stately nation in time to become the terror of the world, the scourge of the wicked, and commander of all nations. He farther declared vnto them, what an increase of kingdomes they had got in that short time, since which they first passed ouer into Europe: and filled them with the hope of a great spoile; promising vnto them that should in the battell valiantly behaue themselves, not onely the spoile and prey, but whole villages, towns, and cities, and other great preferments, according as they should deserue. As for the victory, considering the weak power of their enemies, and the great number of themselves, he assured them thereof, if they would but a while valiantly fight it out like men. In conclusion, he told them, that hauing overcome Huniades (whom only, as he confessed, he had found to be the most valiant and skillfull captain of the Christians) nothing should afterward be able to stand in their way, or to hinder their further conquest: and that if this day they should utterly overthrow him, they should gain the most honorable victory that was euer yet got in Europe. Wherefore he willed them about all things, in the battell to seeke after him, promising vnto him that should kill him, a great reward, with most honorable preferments. Hauing thus sufficiently, as he thought, encouraged his Turks, he set forward with his army in order of battell. His horsemen and footmen he diuided into two great wings, betwixt which marched the Ianizaries in a square battell, all men of approved valour: after whom followed the reuerward: vnto the wings he had also joynd certaine loose companies of light horsemen to begin the battell, and to fly about the enemies, and so as occasion should serue, either to charge or retire. Huniades likewise had placed in both wings two square battalions of men at armes, and with them certaine horsemen with crosse-bowes: before these wings he had also placed certaine troupes of light horsemen, to encounter the enemies: in the midst stood two square battels of men at armes: and betwixt them a strong squadron of armed men, guarded behind with a conuenient number of pikemen and archers: both the wings he had compassed about with

E a multitude of carts and waggons, and they also well manned. So marching forward, and both armies being come within a quarter of a mile together, the signall of battell was on both sides giuen, and the battell begun. Huniades seeing the multitude of his enemies, cast his first battell into the forme of a wedge, the more easily to diuide them: and they on the othe side in forme of a paire of sheeres were ready to receiue them: where on both sides they encountered together with such fury and outcry, as neuer was thing more terrible to be heard or scene. The Turks trusting vnto the multitude of their nimble light horsemen, first with their light staves, and afterward with their crooked Scimitars fiercely assailed the Christians light horsemen, in which first encounter many fell on both sides. But the wedge battell of the Christians could not of the Turks be broken, as consisting all of valiant expert souldiers, and they also strongly armed; who, do the Turks what they could, with a great slaughter cut their army in sunder, but not without a great fight, and some losse also vnto themselves. In the wings also the light horsemen for a while fought courageously and with like hope: but the Turks with that kind of fight better acquainted than the Christians, and better appointed for that purpose, and exceeding in number also, put the Christian light horsemen to the worst, and entor-

A cruell battell  
betwixt Huniades  
and Amurath  
Bassa.

ced them to retire to the main at armes. Here began the fortune of the Turks to stay, where both parties desperately assailing the one the other, was made a most terrible fight, wherein most part of the Turks light horsemen were slaine: for why, they were not able to abide the force of the men at armes, although in comparison of them but few; but were with their lances and arming swords overthrown and slaine, no otherwise than if they had bin naked men: so that in both wings the Turks began now to faint. But the battell in both the wings yet wauering, and the victory doubtfull, in the maine battell was fought a most cruell fight: the Ianizaries with a strong power of men at armes, and certain troupes of light horsemen, compassed about the men at armes that stood (as we said) in the maine battell of the Christians, where the old Ianizaries with their crooked Scimitaries, with great courage cut in sunder the legs of the horses of the men at armes, of whom many fell down, and lying along vpon the ground, were made shorter by the head: as likewise on the other side, the Ianizaries whilest they seek the destruction of the men at armes, were themselves overborn & troden vnder foot. Whereupon such a slaughter was made, that the blood run like riuers, whilest they desperately fight with furious rage both on the one side & the other. In this cruell fight most part of the Ianizaries were slaine, and many of the Christian men at armes also. The Bassa now perceiuing the Hungarians to haue the better, both in the wings and in the main battell, & yet in hope that with long fight they would faint (although he saw great slaughter of his men in euery place) came on with the rereward, and a number of other fresh foldiers which he had left for the garding of his baggage, all yet found men, in good hope so to ouerwhelme the wearied Hungarians. It was now foure houres that this cruell fight had endured, when as the Bassa began it afresh: neither was this by him done without reason; for why, he was affraid lest if his men should turne their backs and fly, the whole army should follow after: and therefore to make vse of all the men he had, he brought on his rereward, in hope that his enemies now spent with long fight, would not longer endure a fresh charge. And the more to encourage his men, he commanded them to compasse in the Hungarians round, and to dispatch their wearied enemies; vainly boasting, That it would be the last battell that euer the Hungarians would fight. On the other side Huniades perceiuing the enemies purpose, suffered his men to be in part inuironed, and by and by caused the waggons with the armed carts & waggons to thrust in behind them, and so to compasse them in, diuided in part from the rest, & afterward with fresh supplies renewed the battell with the enemy. The fight was great, and in euery place right terrible: and albeit that the slaughter of the Turks was in many places great, yet by reason of their multitude they felt it not much, but fought yet still most desperately: vntill that they in the right wing seeing themselves compassed in behind with the waggons, & so from them charged with shot, darts, and other such misse weapons, standing in doubt which way to turn themselves, & beset with danger on euery side, began to faint, and fearing the danger behind them, shrunke from the fight. On the other side, the Hungarians, now in good hope of victory, with great and cheerful outcries, as men inspired with fresh spirits, more furiously assailed their fainting enemies afront, than before, encouraging them also that assailed them behind in the waggons, to approach them neerer: with which double danger the Turks hardly beset, fought disorderly, & doubting to be all inclosed round, first retired, & presently after betook themselves to plaine flight. But they which were already shut in betwixt the waggons & them that fought before them, perished euery mothers son. They which fought in the left wing also, discouraged by the flight of their fellows, fled likewise: after whom the Hungarians fiercely followed. The Bassa himselfe seeing both the wings of the battell put to flight, & his own battell fore broken also, stricken with despair, fled, with certain companies of the Ianizaries, which he had still kept about him against all euents, for the safeguard of his person: after whom followed also so many other of the Turks as could; the rest desperately flying thorow the woods, Forrests, & mountains, either there perished with hunger, or falling into the hands of the Valachians were by them slaine. Of so great an army as the Bassa brought into Transilvania, scarce the one halfe returned again ouer Danubius. It is reported by some that were in that battell, that if Huniades hauing them in chase, had pursued them to Danubius, scarcely one of them had escaped ouer the riuier. But he contented with so great a victory, & to haue driuen the enemies out of the field, pursued them not far: but entring into their camp, with the spoile therof greatly inriched both himself & his soldiers. Beside the great multitude of the Turks here slaine, 5000 more were taken prisoners, and 100 of their ensignes.

A furniture, both of men and horses, beside the rich pavillions and tents there standing. In briefe, the wealth there found, was so great, as that there was no man in Huniades army, which was not thereby for euer enriched. Huniades for this so great victory, and for his country, deliuered from so great a feare, caused generall praier, with thanksgiving, for the space of three daies, to be made in all churches of those three prouinces, vnto whom that danger was threatned; and at Valscape, where the battell was fought, hanged vp certaine of the Turks ensignes, as trophies of the victory there gotten. This was the famous battell of Valscape, wherein Huniades got the greatest victory that euer any Christian Prince before that time obtained against the Turkish Kings. The fields thereabout lay couered with the dead bodies of the slaine Turks, whose carrion carcases so infected the aire, that many of the better sort of the inhabitants of the country were glad for a season to leaue their dwellings, and to get them further off, for feare of infection. Afterwards he in great triumph came to Buda, and there presented vnto King Vladislaus the enemies ensignes, with such a part of the spoile, as might both well declare the greatnesse of the victory, and beleeue the greatnesse of so great a Prince, which the King thankfully receiued, highly commending his great valour, the same whereof had in short time filled euery corner of Europe.

Amurath a little before this great overthrow of his army in Transilvania, assuring himselfe of the victory, had sent a proud embassage vnto King Vladislaus into Hungary, offering him peace, vpon condition, That he should deliuer vnto him the strong city of Belgrade, or else yeeld to pay him a yearly tribute: vnto which, vpon the first report of the victory, answere was giuen by the King, answerable to the proud demand, That according to the issue of matters in Transilvania, he would shortly in person himselfe come and giue him further answere. With which short answere the proud Embassadors were dismissed and gone, a little before the coming of Huniades to Buda.

How much this late overthrow grieved the great King Amurath, Vladislaus was not ignorant; either of his power or desire of reuenge, as sufficiently warned thereof by the worthy Huniades: for the withstanding whereof, he thought it good not to be vnprovided. Wherefore calling together the states of his Kingdome, and with them Italian the Cardinall of S. Angell, the Popes Legat, at such time as they were all assembled, he propounded vnto them the greatnesse of the danger threatned by the angry Turke, leauing it vnto their graue consideration to determine how the same were by strong hand and plaine force, or otherwise to be auerted. In which most honourable assembly, Italian the Cardinall, of purpose sent thither by Pope Urban to stir vp the Hungarians against the Turks, being requested by the King to deliuer his opinion first, spake vnto them as followeth:

Since the time that the Turkish pestilence began to rage in Europe, no newes was euer more welcome vnto the great Bishop, vnto the Apostolicall Senate, and other Princes of Italy (most mighty King, and you other most worthy Princes) than when it was told them, That Vladislaus, King of Polonia, was by you also chosen King of Hungary. For a fitter gouernour of the Hungarian state, and leader of their power, could not the Hungarians any where haue found: as he in whom justice, religion, wisdom, valour, and martiall skill, doth so abound, that he seemeth rather for the good of this kingdome by God sent from heauen, than here in earth chosen by men. By this happy and fortunat choice, the minds also of all the Italians, which before lay heavy and discouraged, were lightened and renewed: and therefore, that this choice might be vnto the Christian common-weale both glorious and fortunate, they made their solenne vomes and prayers. At such time as the most holy Senate vnderstood of the civile discord of this Kingdome, and the danger of the Turks fast by, it sent me hither to deale with you for the appeasing of those troubles, and repressing of that mischiefe (as you haue oftentimes heard me say.) The Kingdome is by your force and valor, by my mediation, and the death of the Queene, well pacified: but yet the other remaineth full of honour, full of profit, full of safety, glory and immortality, best fitting Vladislaus conduct and fortune, and the valour of the Hungarians. The Turkish tyranny and their proud command (worthy Princes) is to be repressed: yea their seruile yoke, hanging euen now ouer our neckes, is to be shaken off, and to be driuen away. What you are to dare to do, the valour and fortune of Huniades foretelleth you: the fortune said I, of Huniades: may the fortune of the Christian common-weale, and present mercy of our blessed Sauriour, which suffereth his people to be up and downe tossed, but not quite drowned. If so great an army of the enemies

enemies was vanquished and put to flight by the power of one of thy capitaines, and that but small what is to be hoped of thee (most mighty King) if thou shalt lead forth thine armies thy selfe in person, vnder thine own conduct, and the protection of Christ Iesus. The eies of all Christian Princes are cast vpon thee, vpon the Hungarian and Polonian forces, vpon thee haue they reposed all their hopes, they all expect that thou shouldst be the reuenger of the Barbarian cruelty, the defendor of the faith, and protector of Europe: and that it is for which the Pope doth with his letters daily sollicite and importune you. And albeit that the common cause and quarrell of the Christian religion require it, yet doth the necessity of Hungary and Polonia no lesse enforce it, of which, the one is most miserably and daily vexed with the Turks forces, and fery out of Seruia and Dalmatia; and the other out of Moldauiia and Valachia. Now if any there be, whom neither the Zeale of religion, the necessity of the cause, the hope of immortal fame and glory, can moue, let their owne safety, the prison seruitude of their wiues and children, the safegard of their wealth and substance, the lawfull reuenge of the wrongs done them, stir them vp to take in hand this sacred expedition. So fit an opportunity is now giuen vnto you, that at one and the selfe same time you may set your labors in perpetuall safety and happinesse, your soules in quietnesse and rest, and vnto both giue eternall glory and happinesse. You lacke not (worthy capitaine) money, the sinewes of the war, which shall be brought vnto you from all parts of the Christian common wealth, not lusty and couragious souldiers, nor policy, nor fortune, nor the propitious beaueuty powers, which haue made choice of you for the defence of the true faith and religion: you want nothing (worthy Princes) but will. It is an expedition necessary, religious, profitable, and honourable: wherein are propounded most ample rewards both in this life, and in the life to come. Wherefore (most mighty Prince, and you right worthy Princes all) I pray and beseech you by the faith of Christ Iesus, by the loue of your children, by the health of your kingdome, and deliuerance from your present destruction, with valiant courage and one consent to take this sacred war in hand, and so thereby to enioy your names in the eternall booke of fame. And sith that you are to go, not so much to a worldly as a spiritual war, against the enemies of Christ and his truth, take up your armes with such zeale, courage, and cheerefulness, as the expectation and hope of men, as your valour, the present danger, and the mercies of God toward you, seeme of right to require.

The Legat hauing made an end, forthwith ensued the miserable supplication and tears of the Despot perswading them, of the necessity of that expedition to be taken in hand, declaring vnto them the cruelty of the Turks, their torments & strange tortures, his sons deprived of their sight, and spoiled of their genetioires, many halfe mangled, and moe cut in sunder with sawes, some slain quick, & other buried aliue, with many other strange kinds of death, such as would abhorre any Christian eare to heare. And warning the Hungarians, by his example to beware how much they had need to looke to themselves, told them, That they were but by the riuer Sauius, diuided from the Turks, which in summer was oftentimes to be waded ouer, and in winter hard frozen, and so to be passed: that the country beyond Danubius lay all open vpon them; and that he, sometime the rich King of Seruia, was now driuen into exile by the power of the Turks, deprived of his kingdome, of his children, shamefully disgraced, spoiled of his wealth and fortune, glad to fly from place to place, and yet not able to find any safe place to rest in. First he fled (as he said) to Ragusium, where by and by he was sought after, and endangered by the Turks: then into Hungary, which was also forthwith by them on euery side inuested; and whereof the Barbarian king now asked tribute, to haue some colour for the inuasion thereof: which dreadfull enemy was not far off from it, but still hovered euen ouer it: as well witnessed Valachia and Transilvania, two of the greatest and richest prouinces of the Hungarian kingdome, which had not the valour of Huniades, the fortune of the common weale, and aboue all, the mercy of God, deliuered out of the hands of this filthy nation, the state of Hungary had now bin vtterly forlorne. The euents of war (he said) were diuers, fortune vncertaine, and that God would not euery day be tempted. Wherefore with many tears abundantly running down his aged face, he besought King Vladislavus and the rest, not to let slip this faire occasion, neither by cowardice or negligence to break off the course of their good fortune and victory, but to make choice rather to become reuengers of other mens harmes than of their own, and to satisfie the good opinion the world had conceiued of them. He was (as he said) a sufficient example to all men. Besides that, he offered a great sum of money himself towards the defraying of the charge of the war, assuring them also of great supplies both of men & money from diuers other

Christi-

- A Christian Princes. Which opinion of the Legat and Despots being generally liked & approved, a decree was made by a whole court of Parliament there assembled, That the king should himselfe in person, with all speed possible entertain that honorable war: So that though it were now vpon the approach of Winter, yet were men taken vp in euery place, and ambassadors sent vnto the Emperor and the other neighbour Princes, to pray of them aid against the common enemy. Who for the most part excused themselves by their own particular affaires, but sent no aid at all. Neuertheless many deuout Christians both out of France and Germany, for the zeale they bare vnto Christ and the Christian religion, forsaking wife and children, and whatsoever they had else, came and worthily serued vpon their owne charge. The Spring being come, and supplication made in all places, for the prosperous successe of this religious war,
- B King Vladislavus the first of May set forward from Buda, where passing the riuer Danubius, and marching faire and softly, & comming to the riuer Tibiscus, he there staid three days for the comming of his army. Departing thence, and marching on alongst the side of Danubius, vntil he came within the sight of Bulgaria, he there at a place called Cobis, ouer against Sinderouia, passed ouer Danubius with his army, which was now grown very great: & so marched directly to Sophia, (scituate about six daies march from Danubius, in the frontiers of Bulgaria, so called of a most sumptuous and magnificent temple there built by Iustinian the great emperor. Which city being then old and ruinous, & but badly fortified, was easily taken; and afterward for that it was not well to be holden, was by the Kings commandement burnt, as were all the other country towns and villages thereabouts, to the terror of the rest. Marching thence, he came vnto the riuer Morana, and there incamped: where the plain country easily rifeth & falleth in manner of the sea, when it is moued with a little wind. Here 500 horsemen being sent ouer the riuer, not so much to seeke after prey, as to view the country, which way the army might most safely and easily passe, hapned vpon the Turks scouts, of whom they tooke foure: and vnderstanding by them, that 2000 of the Turks were comming at hand; knowing themselves too weake to encounter them, they retired backe again with all speed they could, vnto the riuer; where many of them for feare leapt headlong from the high and broken banks, and so perished in the deepe; the rest terrified with the misfortune of their fellows, stood still, doubtfully expecting what should become of themselves. Beyond the riuer was another hill vpon the top whereof the King with a great number of horsemen were hunting: whom the
- D Turks a far off descrying, and doubtful to fall into some ambush, of purpose laid for them betwixt them and the riuer, without comming on further, retired. Which they that before fearefully staid on the further side of the riuer, perceiuing, and now encouraged by the comming of the King downe to the riuer, followed a while after, so to increase their feare; and so hauing well feared one another, retired on both sides worse affraid than hurt. The next day the King passed ouer the riuer, sending out his scouts to see if all were cleare before him: by whom he was aduertised, That the Turks were at hand, hauing placed certaine ambushes fast by, expecting but a fit time to set vpon him. Whereupon entring into counsell with his best and most expert capitaine, what were best to be done, it was resolued vpon, That Huniades the next night with 10000 choice horsemen, should vpon the sudden set vpon the enemy, then fearing nothing lesse. Who conducted by the espials, was in the first watch of the night brought very neere vnto them. The Moone by chance, as fauouring his great attempt, did then shine out, so that he might very well discern how the enemy lay incamped, and which way to charge them for his best aduantage; which was by the same way they were most like to fly, if they should be put to the worst: vnto which place he led his men, and there with a most hidious outcry entred the campe, as then for the most part buried in sleepe and security: when as the Turks awaked with the sudden noyse, as it were out of a dead sleepe, and dismayed with the horror of the cry, began to betake them some to their weapons, some to their heeles. Of whom such as fled lighting vpon the enemies troops standing in their way, ran as fast backe againe: the other scarce yet well awake, and overcome with feare, and now scarcely themselves, had much ado to make themselves ready to fight. Huniades in the meane time riding vp and downe amongst his men, cheered them vp, still crying out and calling vpon them, courageously to assaile their sleepe, naked, and fearefull enemies, and not to let slip so faire an occasion, and so notable a victory now already in their hands. At the first encounter the Turks rather made a stirre, than fought; but after that they heard that Huniades was there, as men dis-

Bb

maied

Sophia taken

Huniades with  
sen about  
horsemen assailed  
the Turks  
by night.

mailed with his name, they turned their backs and fled, finding, which way soever they took, their fellows halfe dead or wounded: yea, such a confusion was raised amongst them with the greatnesse of the sudden feare, that thrusting together, with an inconsiderate desire of flight, they trod one another vnder foot, and thrust themselves one vpon anothers weapons: the greatest part of them driuen headlong into the thickets and other streits, & not able in time to get out thence, were there by the victorious enemy, fiercely pursuing of them, slain. All that night the fearefull Turks were with great slaughter held in chace: but at soone as it was day, the rest that remained of them, ran also to the same fortune with their followes. A far greater slaughter was their made, than a man would thinke that so few men could haue made, when as but with 10000 horse, 30000 Turks were in one night slain, and 4000 taken, with a number of their ensignes. Of *Huniades* his men were not many lost, for the greatnesse of the slaughter: most part not above 500, for few of them found any enemy to resist them. There was taken all the spoile of a most rich campe, the enemy hauing carried with them nothing out of it. *Huniades* hauing in so short time gained so notable a victory, and enriched his army, returned to the king in great triumph: neither was that day more joyfull vnto these victorious souldiers, than vnto the rest of the army, who most joyfully expected their returne. The King and the Despot hearing of the approach of *Huniades* from the slaughter of the Turks, with the great applause and joyfull acclamation of the other legions, went to meet him three miles: and at such time as at their first meeting *Huniades* was about to haue lighted to haue done him honour, he would in no case suffer him so to do, but taking him by the right hand, joyed with him for the victory, thanking God in the hearing of the whole army, that be of his mercy had giuen him such a Captaine, as, without enuy, in all mens judgements was worthy to rule the Roman Empire. In briefe, he shewed how much his country, his kingdom, yea the Christian commonweale, was bound and indebted vnto him, gaue him his due praises, exhorting all others to imitate his glory: the like honour did also all the rest of the nobility vnto him. As for the common souldiers, they could not be satisfied with beholding of him, but embracing one another, as if they would haue died one in anothers arms, welcommed their victorious friends. So with joy joining their forces together, & sending the rich spoile of the enemy, with the prisoners chained together in long ranks before them, the King and *Huniades* in great triumph returned into the campe, where they caused generall prayers, with thanksgiuing vnto almighty God for so great a victory, to be made thorowout the army.

The Legat *Iulian*, General of the voluntary Christians, which for deuotions sake serued of their own charge, after so great a victory most earnestly perswaded the King and the rest of the great commanders of the army, to prosecute their good fortune, and in God his so great fauor not to loiter, but daily to march forward, and to take in the rest of Bulgaria. Now had *Huniades* by his espials learned, that from *Sophia* it was but three daies journey to *Philippopolis*, a great city of Thracia; and the like distance from thence to *Hadrianople*, the chiefe seat of the Turkish tyrant; and as much more to *Constantinople*. The onely difficulty was, how to passe the great and rough mountaine *Hemus*, which running a maruellous way in length, euen vnto the *Euxine* sea, and mating almost the skie, diuideth the countries of Bulgaria and Serbia, from Macedonia and Thrace: and for the great height and roughnesse therof, is not to be passed ouer but in two places, the one made by the great Emperor *Trajan* and the Romans, where as yet is to be seene a mighty strong gate built of great square stone, whereby the passage that way was opened or shut at the pleasure of them that had the keeping thereof: the other neere vnto a little riuer, which the Bulgarians now call *Saltiza*. By either of these waies, if he should find them open, *Huniades* vnto whom the King had committed both the leading and the conduct of the army, purposed to enter. Wherefore marching forward, they tooke all such towns of Bulgaria as stood in their way; some by force, some by composition: wherein was no small helpe, the conformity of the Christian religion, the horrible cruelty of the Turks, the great affinity of language, the most effectuell means to win the loue of strangers: for the *Polonians* and the Bulgarians both descended of the *Sclauonians*, and vsing the same language, the *Polonian* horsemen came to no town, but it presently yeelded. But being come vnto the mountaine *Hemus*, to haue entred into Thracia, the Winter weather being now very cold, they learned by their espials, that the foresaid passages, were both fast shut vp with great stones, timber, and such other light matter, so strongly, as that they were very hardly to be forced. Wherefore *Huniades*

The meeting of  
Iulian Bassa and  
Huniades after  
the victory.

*Adiades* leaving the straiter way made by the hand of man (which beside the former fortification at the great gate, the Turks had in many places, with abundance of water poured downe the steep hill in the night, and hard frozen with the coldnes of the weather, made so slippery, as that it was not possible either for man or beast there to stand, or to get vp that way) on *Christmas* euen came to the other, by which the riuer *Saltiza* runs, the which he found likewise shut. Here they met with many inconueniences: first the difficulty of the passage (which old *Amurath* had (not without great reason) shut vp, and there placed strong garrisons, so at ease, and without danger of battell (so often by the *Bassa's* vntowardly produced) to defend his kingdom in Macedonia and Thracia, from the inuasion of the Hungarians, who now of all nations he most dreaded. Besides that, in the army was such want of all things, as that the souldiers were ready to forsake their ensignes, and to rise vp in a generall mutiny: for the country neer the mountaine *Hemus*, rising high, with broken rocks and inaccessible places, was altogether barren; & victuals failing in the camp, they were glad to liue with a little wheat & flesh boiled together, and that so sparingly, as that the souldiers began now generally to grow weak and faint. Besides that, the winter was exceeding cold, & the frost so great, that many times they could not go out of their tents to seek for forrage or water. So the army inforced with hunger and cold, and the difficulty of the passage, began to retyre, and had vndoubtedly bin dissolved, had it not bin for the often and earnest persuations of *Huniades*: for he daily told them that the greatest difficulties were past, that that which remained was with their wonted valor and courage to be endured, wherunto nothing was high or difficult: That they should forthwith come into the borders of Thracia, where they should find plenty of all things: that they were now come so far, that if they would go back again, they should in those wast Countries through which they were to passe, find greater difficulties and dangers than in going forward: that these streits once opened, remained no more trauel, but cheerfully to fall to the spoil of a most rich and pleasant country. They were not (as he said) to stay in the midst of their fortunes, for that it was not alwaies permanent, and for that the contempt of Gods fauors caused them oftentimes to be taken from vs. All that was yet don (he said) was nothing, if they proceeded no further, for that whatsoever they had already won, was easily by the enemy to be recovered, except that those which yet remained (for the most part of them, as he said, were slain, with their houses burnt ouer their heads) were driuen out of Thracia and Macedonia; and so quite out of Europ. So whilst the souldiers heard *Huniades* speak, euery man was wel in-couraged; but when they remembered the miseries wherwith they were inuironed, they cursed all the rash attempts of ambitious princes. In the mean time news was brought by the scouts that the Turks were coming after them: but then began they to reioice, as deeming it much more honour, manfully to die in battell, than to starue with hunger and cold. Against these Turks was *Huniades* sent with certain troupes of horsemen; who incounting with them, easily inforced them with losse to retyre. Eight times he incountred them (as the souldiers there present reported) and as often put them to flight. In retyring backe from the impregnable mountaine, the King with the greatest part of the army went before, after whom followed *Huniades* and the Despot, a good days march: When the Turks that kept the passage vpon the mountaine, understanding of their return, followed them down the hill, in good hope to be well reuenged of them before they should get out of Bulgaria. *Carambey* *Bassa* of Romania, and his brother in law, as hauing married his sister) was General of this army, & by him appointed to keep these streits, with expresse charge, vpon no occasion whatsoeuer, although it made shew of neuer so assured a victory, to fight with the enemy: for he thought it victory enough, without any losse to haue kept his enemies out of Thracia. Which the old Kings command *Carambey* for all that neglected, in good hope by a notable victory easily to answer the contempt of that hee was commanded. The Christian army descending down the broken mountains, was come to a great mountaine which the Bulgarians call *Cunobiza*, and part of the mountaine *Hemus*. At whose heels followed *Carambey* with his Turks, till hauing ouer their heads to take them at some aduantage, whom the Christians beholding, could not by their Captains be stayd, but that they would many times by Companies fly forth vpon them, and desperately fight with them in places of great disadvantage, saying, That they had rather die in fight like men, than starue with hunger and cold. Here *Carambey*, being himself a man of great courage, and desi-

The Hungarians inforced by the difficulty of the passage of the Mountain *Hemus*, retyre.

rous of honor, and by the rashnes of his enemies allured to fight; and withal, beside the advantage of the ground, perceiuing himselfe to exceed his enemies both in strength and number of men, could not be staide, but would needs giue battell, with such a desire as if hee had already bin assured of the victory. *Huniades* & the Despot had before perceiued, that the Turks, prouoked with the brauing of their men, would assuredly fall vpon them, and were therefore much troubled with the absence of the King, who (as is before said) was gon a days march before they saw they could neither shun battell, neither could they haue to don, would their desperat soldiers be staide, for the desire they had to fight. Yet seeing *Carambey* comming down vpon them, they put themselves (though vnwillingly) in best order they could to receiue him; perswading their soldiers not rashly in fury to run vpon their enemies, as desperat men prodigall of their liues, but to keep their ranks, and orderly to fight, and so like valiant men to carry away the victory, or to leaue vnto their enemies a bloody remembrance thereof. Now had *Carambey* sent his horsemen down the hill, and the battell was begun; where both the armies met together with great fury, and a cruel fight was made both at the foot of the hill, & among the hills and vallies also: in which hard encounter many were slaine, as well on the one side as the other. The Polonian men at arms (whom the King but a litle before had left with *Huniades* against all euents) with the Hungarian light horsemen (of whom the Despot had the leading) fought so that day, as if they had fought for nothing more than how honorably to die: and the Turks for a space stood hard to it, so that many were there slain: yet at length finding themselves hardly laid to, as by desperat men, resolved to sell their liues dear, they began to faint and to giue ground: when as *Carambey* comming in behind them with fresh supplies, rated the cowardly, staide them that were flying, and sometimes with rough speeches, sometimes with fair persuation, encouraged the wauering, and restored the battell, before almost quite lost. Neither did *Huniades* and the Despot lesse bestir them: but as soone as they perceiued the enemy a litle to faint, by and by cried out, Victory; with cheerfull speech encouraging their men, stil calling vpon them to keep their ranks strong, & to vrge their present good fortune, assuring themselves that they fought against those infidels vnder the fauor and protection of the Almighty: who forthwith sent certain companies of footmen, who climbing vp the hill among the bushes, with their half pikes and boar-spears, panned the Turks horses, as they passed by them. These loose companies did the Turks horsemen great harm, and here began their battell to decline; they which were comming downe, for fear of the danger retyring back again vnto them that were left aboue for the keeping of the streit; and the bolder sort of them which were come down into the vallies, compassed about with the men at arms, hardly recovered the rising of the hill. *Carambey* in the mean time crying out behind them, one while called back them that fled, another while relieued them that fainted, and to the utmost of his power restoring the battell, performed all the parts both of a valiant soldier and worthy Captain, courageously fighting himself in the thickest of his enemies, and by his own valor staide for a time the lost battell. At length performing his last indeauour, deceived by the snow, hee fell into a bog, where sticking fast with his horse, and not able to help himselfe, hee was taken prisoner by a common soldier. The rest that escaped out of this bloody battell, retyred themselves vnto them that were left aboue vpon the mountain for the defence of the passage. After whom the Christians followed, through the vntraie & rough places, vntil that hindred from their further pursuit by the approach of the night, and the abruptnes of the way, they were glad to found a retraits, and so retyred vnto the camp. Many other great men were taken beside *Carambey*, but many more slaine in the battell, and most of all in the flight; few escaped but such as fled back again vp into the mountains. In the retraits, *Huniades* seeing so gallant a man as was *Carambey* (though to him altogether vnknowne) vnworthily bound and led prisoner by a common souldier, asked him if he would sell his prisoner? Who said hee would; and asked for him ten ducats, a poor price for so great a man. Vnto whom *Huniades* commaunded to be given four hundred, and so sent him vnto his Tent, comforting of him vp with cheerfull words, and willing that he should be well vsed. The Despot the same night comming vnto *Huniades* his Tent, to confer with him about the remainder of the war, and seeing so braue a man standing amongst the rest by the fire side, began to talk with him in the Turkish Language, wherof he had some knowledge, by reason of the neernesse of the Nation, and such matters as he had sometimes to do with them. And hauing some guesse by his talks, what hee

A great battell  
betweene *Huniades*  
and the  
Bassa *Carambey*,  
wherein he  
is taken prisoner.

A he was, and pittying his estate, asked *Huniades* how he would ransom him? who said, That he cost him 400 ducats, but that he valued him at forty thousand: which the Despot offered to pay him. Thus by the strange change of fortune, was *Carambey*, of late so great a commander, and so neer allied to the great Turk, valued and prized twice in one day by his enemies, as a mirror of the vncertainie of worldly blis and felicity. The Polonians report fomewhat otherwise of this battell; as that *Vladislaus* should himselfe therein be present, and the chief that therein commanded. Howbeit the Hungarian Writers, whose credit we herein follow, report it as before, not to haue bin fought vnder the good fortune of the King, then absent, but vnder the leading of *Huniades* and the Despot.

B Out of this battell (or as some others report, a litle before, out of the battell of Morava) fled the great captain *George Castriot*, otherwise of the Turks called *Scanderbeg*, now seeking to deliuer both himself and his native country of Epirus out of the thraldom of the Turks, as presently after he did. Whose vnwonted flight not a litle terrified the rest of the Turks Army, and much furthered the Christians victory, whose proceedings he alwaies secretly fauoured, hauing (as it was thought) secret intelligence with the great Captain *Huniades*, who not without instructions from him (as some say) gaue that great ouerthrow vnto the Turks at Morava. But of him and his worthy acts don for the deliuerance and defence of his country, more shall be said hereafter.

*Scanderbeg* retreats from the  
Turks.

C Shortly after this great ouerthrow and discomfiture of the Turks, the two great Captains, *Huniades* and the Despot, together with the King, consulted for the remouing of the Turkes garrisons left aboue for the keeping of the streit passages of the mountaine, and the prosecution of the war. Which *Vladislaus* (considering the difficulty of the matter, and his souldiers necessity) thought it not good further to prosecute, but forthwith to return. But *Huniades* and the Despot, the one thirsting after honor, and the other in no lesse hope, by the good success of this war to recouer again his lost kingdom, said, That the Turks were in any case to be remoued, the passage opened, and the sparks which yet remained, for feare of raising a greater fire, extinguished. Opposing against the difficultie by the King alledged, the invincible courage of his soldiers, wherunto (they said) nothing was impossible or difficult. To which opinion the King also (lest he should seem to distrust the valor of his captains and soldiers) easily yeelded, and so commanded on Gods name to set forward. The first that mounted the hill was the

*Vladislaus* seeks  
in vain to  
open the passage  
of the mountain  
towards Hemus.

D Kings battell, which by the roughnes and abruptnes of the mountain hindred, oft times staide. But *Huniades* still caried with an earnest desire to prosecute the victory, and leauing nothing vnattempted, in searching about found a crooked turning way, wherby he and his men more easily and readily got vp to the top of the mountain, euen with their enemies, vnderfired or molested, by reason of the broken couert of the place: from whence they were in good hope easily to haue come to their enemies. But being come vp to the place they desired, they found such a deep and wide gaping of the rocke betwixt them and the enemy, as was neither to bee stooped nor filled vp: yet being come very neer, they attempted by crooked bow shot & great stones cast out of slings, and other such engines, to haue remoued the Turks from their places. Who were therewith, and with their vnexpected approach, at the first so greatly both annoyed & discomfited, that they were almost at the point to haue forsaken the passage, had not *Ali-Beg* (but the night before chosen their General in stead of *Carambey*) encouraged them, and taught them how by shrouding themselves vnder the broken rockes, and parapets with tumultuary labor cast vp, to saue themselves from the shot of their enemies. In the mean time also *Huniades*, by another more high and steep way wherby the enemy was also to be approached, had sent vp other companies of soldiers, who fighting at too much disadvantage, were easily by the Turks rejected. So at length, seeing the vain attempt giuen by himselfe vpon the top of the hill, and the desperat danger of others in climbing the inaccessible mountain, where one might keep down a hundred, despairing to enforce the enemy, he by the Kings command caused a retraits to be founded, and so again retyred down the mountain, to the great reioicing of the Turks. The next day, the winter cold raging, and wants in the army daily more and more increasing, the King with the great commanders entred into consultation for the hastening of their return out of that rough and barren country, into places of greater plenty, before the army were brought into any greater extremity. Wherunto *Huniades* (giuing place to necessity which always suffreth not to be regarded what is seemly) now easily yeelded: only the despot

spake against it, blaming them, that hauing taken the General, and put the enemies to flight, and victory now as it were in their hands, they would not prosecute the small remainder of the war, but cowardly turn their backs to their vanquished enemies; promising that he himself would find money enough for the providing of all things needfull for relief of the Army. So said the Popes Legat also. But forasmuch as the wants of the army were great, and the soldiers presently pinched with hunger and cold, they could with no hope of any profit, were it neuer so great, be persuaded to stay; openly crying out, that it was not their captains & lieutenants that wanted any thing, but them the poor soldiers that starued for hunger. As for the Despot, That he in hope of recouering his kingdom perswaded things impossible, and no way to be performed, neither to be any thing moued with the death of their men and cattel. Need (they said) could not be vanquished; but that when winter was past, they would willingly return again vnto the sacred war. In the mean time, Winter raging, and hunger commanding, let vs giueouer (said they) and depart into more fruitfull places, there to refresh our bodies, spent with labor, cold, and hunger. For which reasons, the King sending his baggage before, retyned again the same way he came. Which the Turks from aboue beholding, and strengthened with new supplies, followed after them as after men that had fled, oftentimes assailing them in the rereward, & setting vpon them sometimes on the one side, sometimes on the other, with often skirmishes both did and receiued much harm. Whose manner of fight was, to retyre when they were themselves charged, and presently by great troups to charge again their enemies, their backs once turned to them; and so troubled the army, that it was constrained oftentimes to stay: besides that, loded with the rich spoil of the enemy, and much baggage, it could not of it self make any great hast. Now was it by the way come into a great thicke wood, full of deep bogs and water-courses hard to be passed thorow: where the rest of the Army going before, in the rereward at the entrance of the wood were left certain strong companies of men at arms, as a wall against the pursuing enemy: whom the Turks with their ready light horsemen fiercely charged; where betwixt them, in the wood was fought a great fight, and a great tumult raised: vnto the noise whereof they which marched before hastily returning, in skirmishing, many of them fel into those deep bogs and queachy places, out of which they could hardly rid themselves again. Besides that, there were many crooked and troublesome turnings and windings, with sudden descents so steep, as that going down the same, their horses came tumbling heels ouer head, and there lay ouerthrown together with their riders: in such sort, as that to auoid these difficulties, they were oftentimes inforced to fight on foot. In which troublesome skirmish about fourscore of the men at arms were lost; but of the Turks, beside them that were slain, were taken an hundred and seuentie, all whom *Huniades* caused presently to be slain. In this wood the Christians were more troubled with the difficulties of the place, than the enemies assaults. Wherefore wants daily more and more increasing in the army, which by reason of the multitude of their cariages, abundance of their baggage, and often assaults of the Turks, was able to make no way; the King for fear his Army should in so long and slow a march thorow those troublesome and barren countries, bee consumed with hunger and such other wants, caused all the cariages and baggage to be brought into the midst of the army, & of it, all such things as serued rather for burthen than vse, to be there burnt; and the arms as wel of such souldiers as he had there lost, as of the enemy, to be buried in the ground, and all the weak beasts that serued for burthen, to be killed. So the army well discharged of such vnprofitable burdens, marched much more speedily, neither was so much subiect vnto the assaults of the Turks as before. And so at length by long iournies *Vladislaus*, arriued with his army at Belgrade, where he was of his subiects honorably receiued. And hauing there staid certain daies, and wel refreshed his army, departing thence, and passing the river *Sauus*, came to the royal city *Buda*, where he was of al his subiects joyfully receiued also: the Legat and *Huniades* going on his right hand, and the Despot on the left: after whom followed other colonels, captains and lieutenants with their companies; who at the first meeting with the citizens, more than a mile from the city, in token of their mutual joy, gaue together such joyfull acclamations and outcries, as that the heauens seemed to resound, and the earth to shake with the noise thereof. Before the King, at his comming to the city, went a long company of the notable Turks Captiues; and next before him *Carambey* bound in chaines, vpon whom all mens eyes were fixed. With them were also caried the enemies ensignes, and such spoils

The Hungarians much troubled in passing a thicke wood.

*Vladislaus* honorably receiued at Buda.

A spoils as had bin saued. Behind the King came *Huniades* in a triumphant robe, in the midst betwixt the Legat on the right hand, and the Despot on the left, as he that next vnto the King had best deserued the honor of the triumph. Next vnto them followed the deuout Christians, that for the zeal of religion had most honorably of their owne charges voluntarily serued in those wars: and on both sides of them the ciuill magistrates and best of the citizens. Behind them came the rest of the legions, and about them both vpon the right hand and the left, the promiscuous common people, doubling and redoubling the praises of the king and *Huniades*. Before all these went the Prelats and Priests in solemn procession, singing hymns and psalms of thanksgiving vnto almighty God. *Vladislaus* comming to the gate of the city, acknowledging God to haue bin the author of so great a victory, alighting from his horse, on foot went first to the Cathedral church of our Lady, and there giuing most hearty thanks vnto almighty God, hanged vp the enemies ensignes, and part of the spoile, in perpetuall remembrance of so notable a victory; which he afterwards caused to be most liuely depainted in a faire table of most curious work, and there in a fair church to be hanged vp; as were also the Arms of all the notable Christians that serued in that most famous expedition, which remained there a long time after. These solemnities ended, he went to his palace in his castle, and there hauing giuen to euery man, but especially to *Huniades*, his due commendation, gaue them leaue to depart. Thus the Hungarians, with whom the Polonians in most part agree, report of this notable expedition of their King *Vladislaus*. Howbeit the Turks (notable dissemblers of their own losses) confessing the great ouerthrow, call the Bassa so ouerthrown, not by the name of *Carambey*, but of *Cassimes*; and the noble prisoner that was taken, by the name of *Mechmet Beg*, Sanzack of Ancyra, *Amuraths* son in-law, and brother to *Caly Bassa*, *Amuraths* great counsellor, of some called *Carambey*, after the name of his father.

Out of this late slaughter of the Turks, where *Carambey* was taken, scaped that valiant Prince and famous warrior *George Castriot* (of the Turks called *Scanderbeg*) as is before declared: whose noble mind had long desired to break out of the golden fetters of the Turkish thraldom, and to be reuenged of the intolerable injury by *Amurath* don to his Countrey, his parents, his brethren and himself. Although he had always most warily dissembled the same, for fear of the old tyrant: being oftentimes solicited and animated thereto by secret letters and messengers from his friends in Epirus, knowing right wel that the least fortune thereof had bin vnto him present death. But finding no fit means for the accomplishment thereof, wisely dissembled the same, with all the shews of loue and loyaltie to *Amurath* that might be; vntill that now in this great ouerthrow of the Turks army vnder the leading of *Carambey*, and in so great a confusion, he took occasion to put in practise what he had long before in his deep conceit plotted, for the deliuey both of himself and his countrey from the Turkish bondage and slavery. At which time *Scanderbeg* (for so we will henceforth call him) hauing a little before imparted the matter vnto some of his trusty friends and countrymen, no lesse desirous of liberty than himself, but especially to his cousin *Amela* the son of his brother *Reposui*, a yong man of great courage; in great confusion of the Turkish army, when euery man was glad to hift for himself, had euer in his flight a vigilant eye vpon the Bassa's principal secretary; whom accompanied with a few Turkes, hee with *Amela* and other his faithfull friends closely followed as he fled from the slaughter: but when he had got the Secretary and his followers in place most conuenient for his purpose, he set vpon the Turks and slew them euery one, & carrying the secretary away with him fast bound, when he had brought him whither he thought good, with great threats compelled him (fore against his wil) to write counterfeit letters as from the Bassa his master, vnto the gouernor of Croia, commanding him in *Amuraths* name, forthwith to deliuey vnto *Scanderbeg* the new chosen gouernor, the charge of the city with the garrison there: cunningly interlacing many other things in the said letters, whereby the matter might seem more probable. Which letters so extorted, he presently slew the Secretary, with as many more of the Turks as came in his way, of purpose that his doings might the longer be kept from *Amuraths* knowledge, who nor hearing what was become of him, might easily coniecture that he was slain by the Hangarians among the rest of the Turks.

Whilst the same of this great ouerthrow is going to Hadrianople, and there filleth the Turks court with sorrow and heauinesse; in the mean time *Scanderbeg* hauing with him three thousand Epirot souldiers which followed him out of the battell, as men desirous rather to fight

*Scanderbeg* wisely dissembled his desire for the deliuey of himself and his countrey.

fight for the liberty of themselves and of their country, than in the quarrell of the Turk, was G with incredible celeritie come into the vpper country of Dibra, in the borders of Epirus, about 70 miles from Croia: where was most joyfully received, and staying there but a day, he chose a few of those 300 he brought with him, to wait vpon him when he went to Croia, as if they had bin his domestick seruants: the rest, with other 300 souldiers which were then come vnto him out of Dibra, he appointed to be led by secret by-ways thorow the Woods and mountains by perfect guides, vntill they came so nigh Croia as was possible for them to come vnperceiued; and there to stay vntill hee might find opportunity to conuey them into the city to oppresse the Turks garrison. So he with a small company of followers, as if they had bin his priuat retinue, took the way towards Croia. But when he began to draw neer to the city, he sent *Amesa* before with two seruitors attending vpon him, as if he had bin his Secretary, to certifie the gouernor of his coming. This yong gentleman, as he was of a sharpe wit and well spoken, so had he framed his speech and attyre, that hee seemed to bee a naturall Turke. Who as soon as he was come into the city, went vnto the Gouernor, whom after hee had saluted according the Turkish manner, he deliuered his message as from *Scanderbeg* his master, with so good grace, and words so well placed, that all he said was verily beleueed for truth. But when *Scanderbeg* himself came, and had deliuered the great Commanders Letters, the Gouernor made no further question of the matter, but presently deliuered vnto him the government of the City, and the next day departed out of Croia with all his household toward Hadrianople. *Scanderbeg* hauing by this policie got the government of the chief city of Epirus, the next night following found means in the dead time of the night, to conuey I to the city the souldiers of Dibra, who were by this time come according as he had before appointed. Most part of them he placed in most conuenient places of the city, and for the speedy suppression of the Turks garrison, he with the rest first set vpon the Turks which kept the watch vpon the wall, and slew them; and afterwards breaking into their priuat houses, slew many of them in their beds: the Christian citisens also taking vp arms at the same time, helped to increase the slaughter of the Turks, so that in the space of a few hours there was none of the Turkish garrison left aliue, except some few, which were content to forsake their Mahometan superstition, and to become Christians. Many of the Turks might haue saued their liues and would not, chusing rather to die, and (as it is reported) also to kill themselves, than to forsake that their damnable superstition; so small is the regard of life to resolute mindes, K in what quarrel soeuer.

The city of Croia being thus happily by *Scanderbeg* recovered (wherin appeared both the greatest difficulty, and hope of his good or bad success in so great an attempt) hee presently sent *Amesa* back again into Dibra, and other speedy messengers also into all the parts of Epirus, to disperse the news, and to stir vp the people to take vp arms for recovery of their lost liberty. But flying fame, the speediest post, had preuented the messengers by him sent, and already filled euery corner of Epirus with report of *Scanderbegs* coming, and of all that was done at Croia: and the oppressed Epirots who had long wished to see that happy day, were now vp in arms in euery place, wanting nothing but leaders; whose coming although they greatly desired, they staid not therupon, but running together by heaps (as the manner of the common people is in all great tumults) they set vpon the Turks garrisons which lay abroad in the country, and slew most part of them: wherby it came to passe, that no Turke could stir in the country, but that he was snatched vp and slain; so that in few days there was not a Turk to be found in Epirus, but such as lay in garrison in strong towns. In this common fury, the Gouernor of Croia with all his retinue was by the country people by the way as he went set vpon and slain, and all his goods taken as a prey.

When *Scanderbeg* had thus recovered Croia, and scoured the Countrey, yet to remove the garrisons which *Amurath* had put in euery strong city, was thought to be a matter of greatest importance, and most difficulty. For which purpose he commanded those whom he had appointed for Captains, speedily to repair vnto Croia with all the power they could make. At M which time also diuers Noblemen his nigh kinsmen resorted to him with their followers: so that within a few daies he had together at Croia 12000 souldiers well appointed. With this army he marched from Croia to Petrella, a strong City five and twenty miles distant from Croia, and incamped before it. This City is strongly scituated vpon the top of a steepe rocky mountain,

*Scanderbeg*  
commeth with  
his Army to  
Petrella.

A mountain, as all the rest of the cities of Epirus be, and was by the Turks well furnished with men, munition, and other things needfull; yet *Scanderbeg* was in hope that the Turkish garrison there, terrified with the fortune of the garrison of Croia, and the slaughter of the Turks in the country round about, would be glad to hearken vnto reasonable conditions. Which to make proof of, as soon as he was incamped, he sent one of those souldiers which had followed him out of Hungary (a faithfull and wise fellow) vnto Petrella, to offer vnto the souldiers, that if they would yeeld vp the city, it should be at their choice, either to continue in seruice with *Scanderbeg* (with whom they should find most bountifull entertainment) or els to depart with bag and baggage at their pleasure, with an honorable reward to be diuided among them. The B subtil messenger coming thither, and framing his tale according to the present occasion, and necessitie of the time, first declared vnto them, how that *Amurath* of late ouercome by the Hungarians in a great battel, and looking euery day to be set vpon by diuers other Christian Princes, was so busy that he had not leisure to looke into Epirus, or to send them any reliefe. After that, he in the name of *Scanderbeg* offered them the conditions before rehearsed, setting the same forth with many great words; willing them oftentimes by the way, to consider the dreadful misery that but the other day befel to the garrison at Croia, and others their fellows abroad in the country, whose dead bodies as then lay in euery corner of Epirus, as a prey to the hungry dogs and greedy wolues. Which thing was easily beleueed of them of the garrison, for that diuers of the Turks lately fled out of the country into the City, had themselves seen the same to be true. The gouernor hauing a little considered of the matter, was content C to giue vp the city, vpon condition, that he with the souldiers might in safety depart with such things as they had; not covenanting vpon any further reward, because it should not bee sayd that he had sold the city. Which when *Scanderbeg* had faithfully promised to performe, the Turkish gouernour coming forth with all his garrison, yeelded vp the city, and *Scanderbeg* mindful of his promise, gaue vnto them both meat and money, and sent them with a sufficient convoy of horsemen in safety out of Epirus.

*Petrella* yeelded to *Scanderbeg*.

When *Scanderbeg* had thus gained Petrella, he placed therein a conuenient garrison, and set all things in order as he thought good: but suffered none to enter into the City but the appointed garrison, although it was then very cold and frosty weather. This done, he presently raised his camp, and following his good fortune marched toward Petra-Alba in such hast, as if the city had bin running away from him. Well knowing, that though time be euermore precious, yet neuer more than in martiall affaires, wherein the least moment is oftentimes of such power, as to effect or frustrat mens greatest designes. Petra-Alba is a City in the country of Emathia, distant from Petrella three miles, strongly scituated vpon the top of a mountain, neer vnto the riuer Emathus: *Scanderbeg* had scarcely well incamped himselfe before this City, but that the Gouernor thereof, terrified with the fortune of Croia and Petrella, offered to deliuer vp the city on the same conditions that were granted at Petrella. Which beeing agreed vpon, the city was forthwith deliuered, and the conditions by *Scanderbeg* faithfully performed.

*Petra-Alba* yeelded.

Petra-Alba being thus taken, and all things set in order, *Scanderbeg* carried with the course of his victory, without delay came to Stellusa, which is also a strong city in Emathia, fifty miles distant from Croia, pleasantly (as it were of purpose) built vpon the top of an high hill, standing in the midst of a pleasant and fruitful vally, with great plains round about it. There *Scanderbeg* incamped a little before the going down of the Sun, and rested that night. In the morning he sent a messenger to the city, with like conditions as were accepted at Petrella & Petra-Alba: which most part of the garrison souldiers of the Turks would gladly haue accepted, but that *Desdrot* the Gouernor of the city, with some few others, earnestly withstood the rest: wherupon a great contention arose amongst the garrison souldiers. But the greater part desirous to yeeld vp the city; when they could by no means persuaade the gouernor and those few which took his part, to yeeld to their desires, they violently set vpon him, and deliuered F him with the rest, to *Scanderbeg* fast bound, and so yeelded vp the city. For which fact, fearing to return vnto *Amurath*, some of them remained with *Scanderbeg*, and afterward became Christians. The rest were either honestly provided for, or elswell rewarded, and suffered to depart whither they would. All the other weaker places of Epirus, wherin any of the Turkish garrisons lay, hearing that the strongest Cities were already deliuered to *Scanderbeg*, in short time

*Stellusa* yeelded by the garrison.

time yeelded themelues vpon like conditions: only Sfetigrade (otherwise called the Holy City) remained in the possession of the Turks: which city is placed in the vpper Countrey of Dibra, in the frontiers of Epirus, vpon the top of a high steep hill, as if it were an Eagles nest. Vnto this city came Scanderbeg with all his army; and hauing placed his tents, he began first to assay if he could gain it by composition, as he had don the rest: and the rather to moue them by the examples of others, he caused his Embassadors to declare vnto them all that had happened at Croia, Petrella, Petra-Alba, & Stellusa, specially how he had vsed the garison of Stellusa which yeelded vnto him, with all bounty and curtesie; and how that on the contrary hee had the gouernor in bands, with all his wilful partakers, whom they should presently see executed before their faces, if they forthwith deliuered not the city. This message troubled the minds of all the garison, but especially of the gouernour, seeing before his eies in the wofull example of another man, what might by and by happen vnto himself. Wherefore fearing to deliuer his own opinion, and giue answer to the Embassadors, for offending the inconstant multitude and vknown minds of the people, he first entertained the Embassadors honourably, and afterwards turning himself vnto the citisens and soldiers, said vnto them, *Worthy men and most faithfull soldiers, what is your pleasure, or what shall we answer to these our enemies demands?* Then one of the souldiers that stood by, a rough bold spirited fellow, vnwilling for his owne part to giue vp the city, and deeming the gouernor to be of the same mind, in that he termed them worthy and faithfull, and Scanderbeg by the name of an enemy, drawing out his sword, and with his right hand shaking it on high, answered:

A notable speech of a Common souldier to the rest of his fellows, for the holding out of the city against Scanderbeg.

*Most valiant Gouernor, this same and the like shall make answer for vs. Nothing was to lesse purpose, than with premeditated words to seek to terrifie valiant minds, first with the diuers fortune of Croia, and then of Stellusa: for as the faces and countenances of men are diuers, so also are their manners and dispositions. Every man wisely directeth his own actions according to his own proper humour, and by the same playes the fool or bedlam. We prescribe no lawes to them of Petrella, nor to them of Stellusa, neither let them prescribe any vnto vs. Let neuer so base examples of cowardly slauers enter into the thoughts of courageous men. Brave minds disdain to imitate other men in their honest actions, much lesse in their cowardise. And why? for every man liueth after his own fashion. Wherefore let Scanderbeg proceed, let him kill the gouernor of Stellusa before our faces, let him sacrifice our fellow souldiers; do you therefore thinke that we shall die in their bodies? Shall our liuing spirits be there extinguished? Shall our blood there be spilt? But O happy bodies, O ghosts of me euer to be reuerenced, which in worthy defence of your liberty and faith haue indifferently concerned gold, siluer, death, and torture, and what soeuer els miserable worldlings hold dear or dismall! Wherefore carry thou back again vnto thy master this answer from a common soldier, if he seek to impose those conditions vpon vs, let him once more bare that arm of his, which men of courage fear not so much as he thinketh. He may peradventure inforce vs to these conditions of his, if God forsake vs; but assuredly, persuade vs vnto them shall he neuer. And yet for all that, your Master Scanderbeg is not the man we haue long since heard him reported to be, of an honourable minde, easie to forgive, and one that will indifferently iudge betwixt the enemy and himself: for why then doth he hold in bonds the gouernor of Stellusa, for that he freely iustly, and honorably stood in defence of his King, his faith and liberty? Why doth he threaten him with death, whereas he hath not deserued the same, although he hath resolutely offered himselfe therunto for defence of his liberty.*

Scanderbeg his first answer to the souldiers speech.

All they which were present listned with great attention to the souldiers speech, neither was he interrupted by any vntill he had said what he would. Then the souldiers thronging about him, and beating their swords and targets together, withall gaue a great shout, in token that they all approued his speech for answer. So the Gouernour encouraged with the cheerfulness of his souldiers, returned the Embassadour without other answer than that of the common souldiers, and presently appointed euery man to his charge, and with great cheerfulness ordered all things for the better defence of the City. But when Scanderbeg had heard the answer that was sent him from the City, deliuered by the mouth of a common Souldier, hee smiled therat, and said, *He is undoubtedly a valiant souldier, if his deeds be answerable to his words: but if my force faile me not, I will also make him happy amongst the happy ghosts of them of Stellusa.* And by and by after, he commaunded the Gouernour of Stellusa with the other Captiues to be brought before him, and there caused some of them which were content voluntarily to forsake

A forsake their Mahometan superstition, to be presently baptised, to the great griefe of the other Turks. *Desdros gouernor of Stellusa, executed.*

Scanderbeg considering the strength of the city, with the time of the yeate, vsnit for souldiers to keep the field, for Winter was now grown on, left *Moses Coleman*, a most valiant captain, with a garison of three thousand souldiers, to keepe in the Turks garison at Sfetigrade, and to defend the borders of Epirus, vntill he might at more conuenient time himselfe returne againe to the siege: and so with the rest of his army repaired to Croia, when he had in the space of little more than one month, to his immortall praise, reacquered his kingdome, and driuen the Turks out of euery corner of Epirus; excepting only Sfetigrade: which city also not long after was by composition deliuered vnto him. During all this time, from his first coming into Epirus, he neuer slept above two houres in a night, but with restless labor prosecuted his affairs. He quencht against the Turks with his arme bare, and that with such fiercenesse, that the blood did oftentimes burst out of his lips. It is written, that he with his owne hand slew three thousand Turks in the time of his warres against them. But of his great and worthy victories obtained against the two mighty Turkish Kings, *Amurath*, and *Mahomet* his sonne, more shall be said hereafter in due time and place.

After that Scanderbeg had thus by great force and policy wrung his inheritance out of *Amuraths* hands, and secured the Turks out of euery corner of Epirus; he proceeded further, and C ouerran parts of Macedonia, making sundry incursions into the heart of that Countrey, being then in the Turks possession, whereby he so enriched his souldiers, that they desired of him no better pay. Which was so vntill asking with this restless Prince, as that it began to grow into a proverb in most Princes courts, That the spoile of *Amurath* his dominion, was Scanderbegs requiescent. Complaints hereof came dayly to *Amuraths* court, which the crafty aged sire (being then troubled with the Hungarian warres) seemed at the first to make no great account of, but as of that he could easily, and at his pleasure remedy; although he was therewith inwardly grieved at the heart. But when the certaine report of one mischief as it were in the necke of another, continually sounded in his eares, and that he saw no end to be expected of these miseries, he sent *Alia Bassa*, one of his greatest men of war, with an army of forty thousand select souldiers; and once to subdue the Countrey of Epirus, and to bring it againe vnder his obeisance.

*Alia Bassa with an army of forty thousand sent against Scanderbeg.*

The setting forth of this great army, vnder the conduct of so famous a capitaine, replenished the minds of the Turks with such an assured hope of victory, that a man would haue thought Scanderbeg had bin already taken, and now brought to execution: yea the common souldiers before their setting forth, were oftentimes at vain contention for the diuision of the spoile they were neuer like to haue: So ready are men to promise wonders to themselves, whilst they conferre but with their own desires. And on the other side, Fame, the forerunner of great attempts, had filled all the small Countrey of Epirus, with great terror and feare of *Alia Bassas* coming. The Countymen with their families fled into the strong cities, and the citisens within their walls fell to fortifying the same, and kept continual watch and ward, as if the enemy had euen then lien fast by them: the aged men & women commended themelues and al theirs, first to God by prayers and then to the courage of the lusty souldiers with tears, as in case of extreme peril and danger. Only Scanderbeg was nothing moued either with the terrible report of the Bassas coming, or the vain feare of his subjects; but alwaies kept the same cheerfulness both of countenance & speech, as he was wont, being well acquainted with the tumult of the Turkish wars, and hauing (as was supposed) certain intelligence before from his secret friends in the Turks court, of all *Amuraths* designs. So that hauing set all things in order for the safety of his Countrey, he began to leaue an army at Croia: at which time most part of his subjects of Epirus, which were able to beare arms, repaired vnto him: the confederat Christian Princes also, his neighbors, and for most part his kinsmen, sent to him great supplies: beside other deuout and warlike minded Christians, which voluntarily resorted vnto him from far, in great numbers. Out of which multitude of people he chose only 8000 horsemen and seuen thousand foot, when as he might haue raised a far greater army: and placing some few in garisons in the frontier cities where he thought most conuenient, all the rest he sent home againe to their dwellings. At which his confidencie, his friends, yea and his enemies also much maruelled, that when he might

might haue had so many, he would take the field with so few; with which small army of fifteen thousand, he marched from Croia, fourescore miles to Dybra: where hearing by his espials, of the approch of his enemies, after he had with cheerfull speech encouraged his souldiers, he encamped with his army in the lower country of Dybra, neere vnto a wood side, right in the way where the Bassa must needs passe. In which wood he placed *Gnee Musachee*, and *Amesa* in ambush with three thousand men: commanding them to stand close, vntill they saw he had thoroughly joynd battell with the Bassa, and then with all their force to breake forth vpon his rereward. The Bassa marching forward, came and encamped neere vnto *Scanderbeg*, a little before the going downe of the Sun, and there rested that night, making great shew of mirth and joy, with great fires in euery corner of the campe, as the Turkish manner of encamping is. Whereas in *Scanderbegs* campe, all things were silent, and no shew of any fire at all; for so *Scanderbeg* had commanded: which made the Turks the more carelesse, deeming thereby the Christians as good as already discouraged. The next morning *Scanderbeg* ranged his army in order of battell, placing *Tamusius* in the left wing, with fifteen hundred horsemen, and as many foot; and *Moses* in the right with like number: and leading the maine battell himselfe, the rereward was committed to *Pranacomes*, a man renowned in those daies, both for his grauity in counsell, and for his valour in armes fit to command or to be commanded; but afterwards, amongst the rest, most famous for the worthy defending of Croia against *Amurath*, being then there himselfe in person. *Alis Bassa* contemning the small number of *Scanderbegs* army, seeing nothing therein to be feared more than the good order therof, gaue the first charge with a small troupe of horsemen: who at the first incounter retired, as if they had fled, of purpose that the Christians hastily pursuing their vntimely hope, might disorder their battell, & so giue occasion to their owne ouerthrow. But by the commandement of *Scanderbeg* (who easily perceiued the Bassas meaning) their dangerous forwardnes was warily waied, and all with safety kept in good order. So both armies comming on, the wings began the battell afresh, and *Scanderbeg* with great courage bringing on his maine battell in the face of the Bassa, valiantly charged him. But by that time that the battells were thoroughly joynd, *Musachee* and *Amesa* suddenly issued out of the wood, and fiercely set vpon the rereward of the Turks army, where they made great slaughter, and forced many of the Turks for feare to fly. Thus was the Bassas great army drision to fight both before and behind, being hardly beset and laid vnto with a small number. The Bassa had placed his best soldiers neere vnto himselfe in the maine battell, as his most assured strength and last refuge: these valiant men stood fast, and renewed the battell, before almost lost. And here *Scanderbegs* fortune was euen at a stand: vntill that the well aduised and valiant capitaine *Pranacomes* hauing receiued the wearied soldiers into the rereward, and setting al things there in safety, accompanied with certain troupes of fresh soldiers which he brought out of the rereward, brake through the Bassas army with such slaughter of the Turks, that he made way for *Scanderbeg* & all the rest of his army. The Turks discomforted with the invincible courage of these old soldiers, and the slaughter of their fellows, which lay by heaps wallowing in their own blood, betooke themselves to flight; whom the Christians fiercely pursued and slew of them two and twenty thousand: at which time were also two thousand others taken prisoners, with foure and twenty of the Turks ensignes: whereas of the Christians were slain not past an hundred and twenty. The enemies tents with all their carriages, were at the same time taken also. After this great victory, when *Scanderbeg* had made all his seven thousand footmen, horsemen, by giuing vnto them the bodies of the slain Turks, he brake into the enemies country, and entred farre into Macedonia, where he filled the desires of his souldiers with the wealth and spoile thereof, sparing nothing that fire and sword could deuoure: and so with victory returned to Croia, where he was of his subjects joyfully receiued. *Alis Bassa* with the remainder of his discomforted army, returned to Hadrianople, and thereby *Amurath* was hardly charged of cowardise and want of discretion, for that he had lost so puissant an army to so weak an enemy. Whereof when he had cleared himselfe by the modest rehearsal of his former victories, and the testimony of all the other captains present with him in that battell, he was pardoned, and so againe receiued into fauour, and that great ouerthrow imputed to the chance of war.

*Amurath* hauing receiued two so great ouerthrows, first from *Huniades* and the Hungarians, and now from *Scanderbeg*, and seeing himselfe elsewhere beset with so many mischiefs, as that he could not tell which way to turne himselfe; tormented with despair, and desire of reuenge,

A uenge, whereof he saw small possibility, fell into such a melancholy passion, that ouercome with the darke conceits thereof, hee was about to haue become the bloody executioner of himselfe, had not *Caly Bassa* by his grate aduice comforted vp his dying spirits: by whose persuasion (contrary to his haughty nature) he yielded by his Embassadors sent for the same purpose, to desire peace of *Vladislaus* King of Hungary, vsing the exiled Despot of Seruia (his father in law) then present with the King, as a meane therein. Who at the first gaue small credit vnto the Embassadors, or vnto such things as they told him, vntill that at length better persuasion of the true meaning of the Tutke, he so wrought the matter both with the King and the rest of the nobility, and especially with *Huniades*, that there was an honourable peace concluded. The capitulations whereof were, first, That *Amurath* withdrawing all his forces and garisons, should clearely depart out of Seruia, and restore the same vnto the possession of *George* the Despot, the right lord and owner thereof; deliuering also freely vnto him his two sonnes, *Stephen* and *George*, who bereft of their sight, he had long time kept in streit prison. Also, That from thenceforth he should make no claime vnto the kingdome of Moldavia; nor to that part of Bulgaria, which he had in the last wars lost. And finally, That he should not inuade or molest the Hungarians, or any part of their kingdome, during the whole time of that peace: and to pay 40000 duckats for the ranfome of *Carambey*. Vnto which hard conditions, when the Turkish tyrant had full sore against his will condescended, a peace for ten yeres was forthwith on both parts concluded, and the same by solemne oath confirmed: King *Vladislaus* taking his oath vpon the holy Euangelists; and *Amurath* (by his Embassadors) vpon their Turkish *Alcoran*. This was the most honorable peace that euer Christian Prince had before that time made with any of the Turkish Kings, and most profitable also, had it bene with like sincerity kept; as it was with solemnity confirmed.

*Amurath* with this peace deliuered of his greatest feare, conuerted all his forces against the *Caramanian* king, in reuenge of the injuries by him don whilest he was occupied in the Hungarian wars. This King of *Caramania* knowing himselfe vnable to withstand so great an enemy, durst neither meet him in the field, nor trust himselfe to the strength of any his cities or strong castles, but fled into the mountaines, there fortifying himselfe more sure than in any other his strong holds. *Amurath* entering into *Caramania*, made great spoyle in the country as he went, and tooke great booties. At last comming to Iconium, he laid hard siege to the same. D The poore King seeing his Kingdome thus spoyled, and his chiefe city in danger to be lost, sent Embassadors, and with them his wife also, which was *Amuraths* sister, to intreat for peace, offering to pay vnto him yearly the double tribute which he before payd, and for the performance thereof to giue his sonne in hostage. Vpon which conditions *Amurath* granted him peace, and so returned. In this warre, *Aladin*, *Amuraths* eldest sonne died, to the great griefe of his aged father, being slaine with a fall from his horse as he was hunting.

Old *Amurath* thorowly wearied with continuall warres and other troubles incident vnto restless roome, resolved now to retire himselfe to a more priuat and quiet kind of life: and therefore sent for his son *Mahomet*, being then but fiftene yeares old, to whom he voluntarily resigned his kingdome, appointing *Caly Bassa* his tutor, with one *Chesroe* a learned Doctor of their law, to be his trusty counsellors and chiefe directors. And so taking with him *Hunze-Beg* one of his noblemen in whom he tooke greatest pleasure, departed to Magnesia, and there as a man weary of the world, gaue himselfe to a solitary and monasticall kind of life, in the company of certaine religious Turkish Monks, as they accounted of them.

Many great Kings and Princes, as well Mahometans as Christians, glad before of the Hungarian victory, were now no lesse sorry to heare of the late concluded peace betwix King *Vladislaus* and the old Sultan *Amurath*: as being of opinion, that the prosecution of this war so happily begun, would haue bin the vtter ruin & destruction of the Turkish kingdome. Wherefore they sought by all possible meanes to induce the young King *Vladislaus* to breake the league he had so lately and so solemnly made with the Turke: especially *Iohn Palaeologus* the Emperor of Constantinople, did by letters importune the King to remember the confederation he had made with the other Christian Princes, for the maintenance of the wars against the common enemy of Christianity: which Princes were now prest, and ready (as he said) to assist him with their promised aid: adding moreover, That whereas *Amurath* had diuers times fought to joyne with him in amity and friendship, he had vtterly rejected that offer of peace,

preferring the vniuersal profit (like to ensue to al Christendome by that religious war) before his own proper security and profit, being for his part in readinesse to iohne his forces with the Kings, if he would presently enter into armes: which he could neuer doe, in better time than now, whilst *Amurath* terrified with his late ouerthrow, and still beset with doubtfull war, had drawn his greatest forces out of Europe into Asia, in such disordred haile, as that it should seem he rather fled for feare of his enemies in Europe, than marched to encounter his enemies in Asia, and now being weary of all, had betaken himselfe to a priuat kind of life. To conclude, he requested the King, not to leaue him and the other Christian Princes of small power, as a prey to the Turke, who would assuredly with all hostility inuade them, so soone as he thought himselfe safe from the danger of the Hungarians. At the same time also, and vpon the departure of the Turks Embassadors, for the performance of such things as they had promised, letters came from *Francis* the Cardinall of Florence, Generall of the Christian fleet, declaring how that *Amurath* hauing left almost none in Europe, was with all the power he could make, gone ouer into Asia against the Caramanian King, leauing a most faire occasion for the Christians, easily to recouer whatsoeuer they had before lost in Europe, and that he was in good time come with his fleet to the streits of Hellespontus, according to promise, and there lay ready to imbarke the Turks passage backe againe out of Asia. Both these letters being read in the councill, so much moued the King, with all the rest of the Nobility of Hungary there present, as that they were neuer more sorry or ashamed for any thing they had done in their liues, than for the league so lately with *Amurath* concluded: for why, they saw that all the plot they had laid for their immortall glory, was now by this hasty peace that they had made with the Turke, without the good liking and knowledge of the confederats, brought to nought; and that they had thereby most shamefully deceiued the generall expectation that the Christian common-weale had conceiued of them; and that they, of long time called the protectors of the Christian faith, the defenders of true religion, the reuengers of Christs name, and deliuerers of the faithfull nations, should now be accounted the breakers of the Christian league, men forgetfull of their confederation both with the Latines and the Greekes, contemners of immortality, and louers of their own profit only. In this doubtfulnesse of minds whilst they stood yet thus waivering, *Iulian* the Cardinall and Legat, alwaies an enemy to the peace, and by reason of his place, a man in greatest authority next to the King, took occasion to dissuade the same as followeth:

If any of you right Worthy (said he) shall haply maruell that I should speake of breaking the league, and violating our faith, let him first vnderstand, That I at this present am so perswade you to nothing else but the faithfull obseruing both of the one and the other: led with like repentance with you; repentance, I say, not sorrow, when as I, as from a watch tower foreseeing all these things which were decreed against my well, to sort also contrary to your expectation, am not for the duty of my legation, and the Zeale vnto the Christian religion, enforced with you to doubt: and so much the rather, for that at this present the question is of the losse and hazard of all our honors and credit in common: which except we by common consent, and wanted valor, endeavour to amend, how much is it to be feared, lest for shame neither may you go out of Hungary, or I return to Rome, where all things are with most deepe judgement censured. Consider I pray you, into what miseries this hasty resolution hath cast vs. We have entred into league with the Turke, an Infidell, to violate our faith with the Christians, and to breake the holy league before made with the great Bishop and the other Christian Princes our confederats. And that for what, for what profit I say? Forsooth, that some might againe reconer *Serua*, long before destroyed. Verily a small and wofull profit, which may againe in short time be cut off, and depriveth vs of others far greater, and of much longer continuance. For what can be more fond and inconsiderat, than in our consultations to haue regard to our priuat profit only, and not to the publike, without respect of religion, honesty, or conscience? It is not demanded of you at this present, (right Honourable) what you owe vnto the perjured Turke; but you are by me *Iulian*, the great Bishop and the confederat Christian Princes Legat, and Agent, before the tribunall seat of your owne consciences, accused of breach of faith, breach of league, and breach of promise; and therefore you by your owne judgement, rather then by the judgement of God, or other men, I will condemne you. Answer me you noble Worthies: After you had happily six moneths made wars against the Turks in Bulgaria and the borders of Thracia; and after that, triumphantly returning into Hungary, receiued you not honourable embassages from almost all Italy, and from the great Emperor, with common rejoycing for your so glo-

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A rious a victory, and exhortations to continue the war? We receiued them. Didnot you in my presence, and I the author thereof, willingly make a most holy league with the Italians and Greeks; That the one should with their aid and power meet you out of Thracia; and the other with a great fleet should come into the Hellespontus? We made it. If you made it, why breaking this, made you another with the Turks? or by what right can you keepe the same, being made? Wherefore if the last yeare you made a league with the great Bishop, (God his Vicar here on earth) if you be men, if you be in your wits, if you be Christians, this second league is to be broken, lest you should violate the first, and that a most Christian league: which except you do, I feare least as *Iudas* betraied Christ, so you may seeme to betray his Vicar; or that God, whom hitherto you haue alwaies found present, propitious, and fauourable, you shall hereafter finde him angry, and an enemy to your proceedings. And now I pray you tell me, What will you answer vnto the Constantino-politan Emperour, who according to your appointment, hath now with the first taken the field, and in so great an opportunity expecteth but your coming? What will you answer the great Bishop? What the Venetians and Genouates, who haue their great fleet ready, as was appointed? What the Burgundians, who for their Zeale vnto the Christian faith and religion, haue long since passed the Ocean, and so by many dangers of the sea now fote in the Hellespont? Denise (I pray you) if you can, some excuse and colour, that we may not seeme altogether vnlike our selues: if out of your hidden skill you can cōuey any thing, shew it. You promised with the first of the Spring, that you would be in the field: and now your souldiers both the Spring and Summer, play so great and so wholesome occasion passing away, thorow your wofull sloth and negligence. O the great blindness of mens minds! O grosse cowardise! O detestable League, made to the destruction of the Commonweale! Some man happily will blame me, and aske, why I suffered it with the rest? I was present, I must confesse, but as much as in me was, I intreated it might not be. I disliked it, and (as many of you here present can testifie) I utterly comdemned it. I was overcome by the wisdom and authority of *Huniades*, and the compassion of the Despot, (vnhappy man) he should by my intercession seeme longer to want his Kingdome: and lest any man should call me a contemner or impugner of your good; I, full of sorrow, and unwillingly, gaue way: not ignorant, the health of the Christian Commonweale to be therein weakened, the hope of your immortall glory extinguished, and vs all (by your leaue may I say it) accounted breakers both of diuine and humane Leagues, forsworne men, and traitors vnto all good Christians. Wherefore except before the report of our perfidiousnesse be further bruted, we deliuer our selues from this infamy, nothing can be greater, or more miserable, than our shame or villany. If we will so do, we may not so easily, as justly and religiously do it: Having made restitution of *Serua* and the captiues, what remaineth else for you to do, (Noble Worthies) but to reparaire your Army, to prepare what so is needfull for war, and to keepe your first League with the Christian Princes? And io say, That King *Vladislaus*, after his league made with the Greeke and Latine Princes, could not without the consent of these his Confederates and Allies (vnder whose good fortune that common warre was undertaken) conclude any thing, especially with the enemies of the Christian Religion? And that therefore if any thing were agreed vpon betwixt him and the Turke, it was frustrate, and the league to be stood vpon. Who is so partiall an esleemer of mens actions, that would not easily iudge, That in case, faith were giuen to both, it were rather to be kept with a Christian, than with a Turke; with a Beleuer, than with an Infidell? Against a perfidious enemy it is lawfull (as they say) for a man to vse all cunning, force, and deceit, deluding craft with craft, and fraud with fraud. By craft the Turke first passed ouer into Europe, by little and little he crept into that kingdome, he neuer kept faith with any, he grew to this height rather by cunning than by strength: and are you become so blinde, as to thinke it better to keepe your promise with the Turke, demand of all faith and humanity, rather than with the faithfull Christians, and especially the most holy Bishop. All great things are done by aduice and policy: the Romans our ancestors vprightly and religiously alwaies kept the leagues with their confederates, but deluded the deceitfull with their cunning. Caesar was of opinion, that for souerainty the Law was sometime to be broken. And *Philip* (the father and master of him that conquered Asia) oftentimes used cunning and deceit for the desire of rule: yet were not these men called traitors. It is sometime lawfull for the common weale like, neither to stand to our leagues, neither to keepe our faith with them that be themselves faithlesse. Lawfull it is to breake vnlawfull oathes, and especially such as are thought to be against right, reason, and equity. Was it lawfull for *Diomedes*, vowing for to sacrifice vnto the gods whomsoeuer he first met at his returne into his country, to kill his son by that his vow and oath? Verily it was a great impiety. Wherefore a just and lawfull oath is in the judgement of all men to be religiously kept; but such an oath as tendeth not onely vnto priuate, but publike destruction, that ought not to be vaine and frustrate. Wherefore before your faithlesse dealing be further spread abroad, I beseech you wot by men, and thee especially, most glorious King, not in any point to violate

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your faith, for the good of the Christian common weale, given unto the most holy father and the other Christian Princes. The league you haue made with the Greeks and the Latines, faithfully and religiously keeping the expedition by common consent taken in hand, by the example of your confederates, prosecute the furtherance of immortal glory by you laid build up. Deliver the Christian Provinces, oppressed with the Turkish servitude; satisfie the hope conceived of you, and deceiue not the expectation the world hath now conceived of you, than which, nothing can be more dishonourable: make no conscience of the league you haue made with the Infidell but thinke it a great impiety and wickednesse, to violate the holy league made with the great Bishop and the other Christian Princes: thinking, that if you should doe otherwise, God (which he of his mercy forbid) would become of that your falsified faith a most seuer and sharpe reuenger: and that you can do nothing more acceptable vnto our Saviour Christ, or more glorious to your selues, than to deliver the oppressed Christian countries from the cruell slavery and bondage of the Turke. Suffer not this to sit an occasion to slip away, than which, a fitter can neuer be giuen. Europe is unfurnished of the Turke, busied in the Caramanian war; their returne is imbarred by the Christian fleet, now in the sea of Hellespontus; you need but to goe see, and as it were to take a view of Thracia, Macedonia, Grecia, and Epirus, there is no enemy there left to oppose himselfe against you. Wherefore for God his cause, I request you at one all things to continue the Christian league, and with your happy and victorious forces, to march forward into Macedonia and Thracia, as is before by you with the other Christian Princes your confederates agreed.

In conclusion, hauing much spoken of the authority and power of the great Bishop, he in his name disannulled the league whatsoeuer, by the King made with the Turke; and absolved him, with the rest whom it might concerne, from the oath they had giuen, and the promise they had made. Which so well contented both the King and the rest, that there was now no more question of the oath, or of the lawfulness of the war, but a decree made for the continu-  
ation of the league with the other Christian Princes their confederates, and for the prosecution of the wars against the Turks, as was with them before agreed: whom, they could now say, they were not to forsake, and to leaue them as a prey vnto the Turke their greedy enemy; now for nothing more in danger, than for that, at their request they had taken vp arms in their quarrell. Vnto which vniuersal Decree, both the Despot and Huniades (the chiefe authors of the late peace betweene the King and Amurath) easily consented: the Despot, induced with the great hope he had conceiued of the good successe of the war; and Huniades, with the desire of the Kingdome of Bulgaria, promised vnto him by Vladislaus, and by faire Charter also (as some said) assured vnto him.

Of this the Kings resolution for the breach of the peace with the Turks, notice was with all speed giuen vnto the Constantinopolitan Emperour, and Francis the Florentine Cardinall, then lying with a fleet of seuentie gallies at the streits of Hellespontus: for feare least they hearing of the former concluded peace, should alter also, or else quite desist from their former purposes. In the mean time, whilst these things were yet in plotting, the Turke ignorant hereof, according to his promise had withdrawne all his garrisons out of Seruia, and other places before agreed vpon in the late concluded peace, restoring the same vnto the Despot and others the lawfull owners, although it was not done at the very prefixed day at which it should haue beene done. In which time also he set at liberty great numbers of captiues, and amongst the rest, the two blind sons of the Prince of Seruia; faithfully performing whatsoeuer he had before vpon his religion promised in the league with the Christians before concluded, so desirous he was of peace with the Hungarians. Howbeit Vladislaus, by the counsell of Huniades, detained to his own vse certain of the strong holds in Seruia: for which cause, George the Despot ever afterwards bore a secret grudge against Huniades.

Now as King Vladislaus (hauing by the persuation of Iulian the Cardinall, renounced the league betwixt him and Amurath) was preparing his forces, the fame of the Epirot Prince Scanderbeg was also (by the recovery of his fathers kingdome of Epirus out of the Turks hands, and by the late ouerthrow of Alis Bassa) growne great, euery one speaking of him honour and praise. Wherewith Vladislaus moued, and reasonably perswaded what a furtherance it would be vnto his haughty designs (aiming at no lesse than the vtter ouerthrow of the Turks kingdome in Europe) if he might vnto his owne great preparations ioine also the strength of that so fortunate a Prince, by the consent of his Nobility, with all speed dispatched away his Embassa-  
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A dors with letters vnto him, certifying him of his honourable purpose for the rooting out of the Turks; and in that common cause praying his aid against such a dangerous and dreadfull enemy. The purport whereof here followeth:

Vladislaus King of Hungary and Polonia, vnto the noble Scanderbeg Prince of Epirus, greeting.

It may be that some good hap hath deferred this our late congratulation vntill this present, to the intent we might at this time, together with you, reioyce in the double successe of your prosperity: first, for the happy recovery of your estate; and then, for that the same hath by your wisdom and valour, of late bene so notably defended. Wherefore in this we reioyce, not onely in your behalfe, but in the behalfe of all good Christians, that it hath pleased God of his goodnesse, by your valour to haue giuen so great an increase and comfort vnto the Christian commonweale: for as much as amongst others our great evils, the losse of the Albanian people hath not bene to be accounted the least, at such time as Iohn Castriot, a worthy Prince, your father, oppressed by Amurath, and by the vngreatfull Destinies taken out of this world, had neither the means to leaue vnto you his kingdome and scepter, (as vnto his sonne, then lining in his enemies power) either was able yet otherwise to provide for his affaires. And would to God this your father, most happy in such a sonne, might haue till now lived: whose felicity had in that surmounted all others, if he might haue seene you before his death. For as you seeme vnto me above all other Princes in the world (without offence be it said) most accomplished with all the good graces and perfections both of body and mind; so are you indowed also with a certaine diuine and wonderfull fortune: vnder the good conduct whereof, not onely the whole Kingdome of Epirus may thinke it selfe in security, but all the rest of the other nations also, lately by the detestable fraud and violence of the Othoman Kings dismembred from the realme of Macedon, may also recover the former beauty of their ancient lawes and liberties. For (to say nothing of those things which euen from your childhood hauing continually made you enured, haue heretofore purchased vnto you an immortal fame and glory euen amongst the Barbarians themselves) what can be more glorious than this victory, which (as we haue heard, and beleue) you, to your singular admiration, haue obtained, by the ouerthrow and vtter discomfiture of Alis Bassa, with his so great and mighty a power? but now, O Scanderbeg (God so appointing it, who in his deepe and secret wisdom hath reserved you vnto these so dangerous times, for the publike good, and comfort of the Christian Commonweale) there offers it selfe vnto you an object of far greater glory, with a faire and fit occasion for you to reuenge your selfe of all the wrongs and injuries both new and old, by Amurath the Turkish Sultan done, not in private to the person of your selfe onely, but vnto the whole state and Kingdome of Epirus also; and not the domestical and civile miseries of your owne Countrey onely, but the publike calamities also, and those opprobrious disgraces done against the Christian Faith and Religion in generall, now oppressed (I will not say extinguished:) and that is, if you with your victorious Forces, will succour vs in this extremity of our affaires, not yet altogether desperate. Herewith do all the Princes of Hungary and Polonia, and all other men of courage inuite you, Iulian the Cardinall of S. Angell intreateth you; with all those denout and courageous Christians, which long since here with vs, and ready in armes, wish for nothing more than the presence of your victorious ensignes. Which so faire an occasion (by God himselfe now offered) if you refuse not, will in all mens judgement be a sure meane to vanquish and ouerthrow our common enemy the Turke, and to drive him quite out of Europe, wrongfully by him of so long time possessed. I need not therefore (as I suppose) to vse any kinde of persuation vnto you in this cause and quarrell, the defence whereof both purchase vnto vs health, light, and liberty: but being neglected, I feare and abhorre to forbode what may ensue thereof. We Christians haue bene too too slacke and backward in helping one another: the flame hath now well nere consumed vs all, whilst no man thought it would haue come nere himselfe. What do we see of the Greeke Empire? What of the Bulgarians and Seruians? yea, mine owne losses, and many calamities already, and yet also to be endured, who is able to recount? The brave and most valiant Princes, the surest Bulwarke and defences of the Kingdome of Hungary, from time to time lost; and the puissant Armies with one and the same fatal chance of war consumed and brought to nothing, who is able to reckon vp? In so much that there is no house, wife, nor matron, in all Hungary, which is not in some measure partaker of this beauiresse. All this do the Christian Princes beare of, and yet the miserable estate and condition of their allies can nothing moue any one of them, but suffer vs thus as a sacrifice for the rest, to be on all parts exposed to the rage and fury of the common and mercilesse enemy.

Only Eugenius the most holy Bishop of Rome, and Philip Duke of Burgundy, haue not refused to beare a part of the burthen of this our afflicted fortune: the one hath sent hither his Legat Iulian the Cardinall, with notable and puissant succors, and the other with his fleet at sea, and come as far as Helleſpontus, so much as in him lieth, doth notably hinder the Turks passage into Europe. And one other hope there is, not now far from vs, and that is your helpe, whercof we are so desirous: which we require of you, moued therunto partly by your valour so well knowne, and partly in regard of the imminent perill and common danger of vs all. And albeit we are not ignorant, how euill you be at leisure to take such an expedition in hand, for the late troubled estate of your affaires, and your new recovered Kingdome, as yet scarcely well established: yet notwithstanding let it not with-hold you, or keepe you backe, assuring you, that as this expedition cannot be but vnto you most honourable, euen so to his your present desert shall not be bestowed vpon an ingratefull and thanklesse man; but that which you shall now first begin and undertake for our preservation and dignity, we will from henceforth and euer continue for your glory, and for the increase of your greatnesse. Fare you well. From our regall city of Buda the fourth of Iuly, 1444.

Of this the Kings motion Scanderbeg liking well, and thinking it farre better now in so fit a time, with his own forces joyned vnto the Hungarians his friends, thorowly to busie Amurath, than in thort time after, himselfe alone to sustaine his whole power, by the generall consent of the Albanian Princes his confederates and allies, yeelded vnto his request, in liberall termes promising him by his letters, in good time to be present with him with thirty thousand good soldiers. The copy of which Letters I thought it not amisse here to set downe also.

Scanderbeg Prince of the Epirots, vnto Vladislavus King of Hungary and Polonia, greeting.

Scanderbeg, who  
delivered by letters  
into King  
Vladislavus.

Your Letters, most inuincible King, I haue with like joy and contentment receiued: which I in the generall assembly of my Chiefestaires hauing caused publickly to be read, there was not any one of them which was not of one opinion, but that so just an occasion of war by you offered, was forthwith to be joyfully on our behalfe also embraced. And so euery man doth both publickly and privately affirme, That nothing could haue hapned vnto them more acceptable from God, than that they might by some notable seruicewe esteeme their gratefull minds, and bind vnto them so excellent a Prince; as also to giue so fit succors vnto the Christian Common-wealth. In which forwardnesse of my people I my selfe tooke great contentment and pleasure, both in regard of your selfe, and in the behalfe of the publike and common cause: seeing my men of warre, and all other my subjects, of what estate or degree seuer (without any perswasion vied on my part) to be so cheerefully and courageously minded in defence of the faith, and of the Christian Religion; and so well affectioned toward your most royall Majesty. And to say the truth, Who is he (if he be not hatefull both to God and man) albeit there were no question of Religion, or of the Common danger, that would refuse so just and lawfull a warre? for such a King, as vnto whom alone we may and ought to attribute, that we Christians do not onely reigne, but euen live, breathe, and enjoy the liberty of our speech. Who would not willingly take vpon armes, and aduenture himselfe into most manifest and certaine danger for the people of Hungary; by whom in all ages the Christian Common-wealth hath with their so many trauels, and so much of their blood, bene so mightily supported and defended? Who euen from the very cradle haue bene continuall enemies vnto our enemies, and haue as it were euen vowed themselves for the honour of the Christian Religion and name. Would God (most mighty and redoubted Vladislavus) it had bene in my power to haue brought vnto you such forces to this honourable warre, as were answerable vnto my courage and desire: then happily Europe should not longer lie in this ignominious estate, oppressed by Amurath; neither should the fields of Varna or Bastia so often smooke with the blood of the Hungarians; nor euery corner of Macedonia with the blood of the Epirots: both nations being as it were become the expiatory sacrifice of others finnes and offences; we all now by turnes perishe, whilst euery man thinketh himselfe borne but for himselfe alone. But why doe I vnto my selfe poure forth these vaine complaints. Truly, it neither repenteth me of my Forces, neither, as I suppose (if it shall please God that our Forces may once meet and joyne together in so happy a warre) shall the Christian Common-wealth haue any cause to sorrow or be grieued with the issue and event of our fortune. For vnto those sincere thousand good soldiers which lately discomfited Alis Bassa on the borders of Macedonia, my purpose is to ioyne as many more vnto them: with all which strength as soone as conveniently they may, I will begin

A begin to set forward, ready to follow your ensignes to all euents whatsoeuer. And so fare you well. From Croia the third of August 1444.

These letters being dispatched away vnto the king, Scanderbeg forthwith began to leuy his forces. And first of all he caused with new supplies to be made strong, all those companies wherewith hee had ouerthrown Alis Bassa; not suffering any one of them to absent himselfe from this expedition. Vnto whom being in number fiftene thousand, all men of approved valor, he joyned other fiftene thousand more, no lesse valiant than they: such a power as he neuer either before or after raised for the recovery, or defence of his Kingdome. And so turnished with all things necessary for so honourable a war, cheerefully set forward, accompanied with the vowes and hope of all his most faithfull and louing subjects. But being come to the borders of Seruia, he found the strait and difficult passages of that rough country shut vp by George the Despot, (Lord thereof, a man adorned with all the graces of nature, but otherwise a wicked damned Atheist, and a Christian but in name only) who but lately before restored vnto his kingdome by the helpe of King Vladislavus, hauing changed his mind, did now mightily cleaue vnto the Turke his son in law (by whom he had bin before himselfe exiled) and in fauour of his quarrell, and despite of the Hungarians, but specially of Huniades, had stopped vp the waies and passages whereby Scanderbeg was with his army to passe: who by his Embassador sent of purpose vnto the Despot, complained to him of that wrong, putting him in minde of the perurious dealing of Amurath with him, notwithstanding he had married his daughter: and of the great pleasures the Hungarians had done him; of both which he had good prooffe: requesting him if it were but in regard of the common cause of Christianity, to giue vnto him (as vnto his friend by whom he was neuer in any thing wronged) passage; and not to staine himselfe with the perpetuall note of infamy, That he being a Christian Prince, and of late so mightily oppressed by the Turke, should now to the great hinderance of the Christian common-wealth take part with him against his friends and deliuerers. But what auaieth praier or requests, be they neuer so reasonable, with a man set downe to mischief? Scanderbeg out of hope by any other meanes to open his way, but by plaine force, resolved so to do: although it much grieued him to spend those forces vpon a Christian Prince, which he had prepared against the capitall enemy both of himselfe and all good Christians, old Amurath the Turkish Sultan.

But whilst he thus discontented, spendeth his time with his army vpon the borders of Seruia, beset with many difficulties, Vladislavus prickt forward by the continuall sollicitation of Iulian the Cardinall, or else drawne on by his owne ineuitable destiny, hauing assembled a great army of valiant and courageous souldiers out of Hungary and Polonia (yet in number farre inferior to that he had in the yeare before, for that most of the voluntary souldiers were returned home) set forward from Segedinum, and in the beginning of Nouember (a time vnsit for warres) passed ouer Danubius, and entring into Bulgaria, came to Nicopolis, the Metropolitall City of that Kingdome (but then in possession of the Turkes) where he burnt the suburbs thereof, and in that fruitfull countrey thereabouts refreshed his people three or foure daies, where hee also mustered his Army, and tooke a view thereof: At which time Dracula Vayuod of Valachia, a man of great experience in martiall affaires, being then present, and considering the small number of the Kings Army, began to perswade him to retire; saying, He had sufficiently learned by his owne harmes, to deeme a right of the power of the Turkish Sultan: who (as he said) was wont many times to carry more men with him into the fields for his disport of hawking and hunting, than was there in the Kings campe: wherefore hee should doe well, not to expose those his small forces vnto so manifest perill, in such vnseasonable time of the yeare, but to referue them vnto a more fit opportunity, when hee might with greater power encounter his puissant enemy. This his counsell most men of greatest experience, and not carried away with other priuate respects, thought wholesome: but the Cardinall author of this fatal warre, extolling with great words the last yeares victory obtained against the Turke, with glorious promises of great aid, as well by sea from the Pope, and the Venetians, as by land from the Emperour of Constantinople and other Christian Princes; augmenting also the great troubles in Asia, and promising an easie and hap-  
successe

King Vladislavus set forth forward against the Turke.

heerly vnto these warres in Europe: persuaded the King that *Dracla* his speech proceeded G  
 out of ignorance, vpon a superficiall judgement which he made of the Kings power there  
 present without regard of further strength from his friends, or else of the priuat respect of his  
 owne security, in regard of a commodious league made a little before betwixt him and the  
 Turke. So that the poore Prince seeing his counsell mightily impugned by the Cardinall, and  
 not so well taken, as it was meant by him, stood in a doubt whether to leaue him to his owne  
 fortune, and himselfe to his quiet peace, or casting off the Turkish league, to joyne with the  
 King in this chance of war: but at length resolved as a martiall minded man, preferring the  
 vncertaine glory of the field before his owne assured rest, said vnto the King:

*Seeing that either your Princely fortune, which hath euer hitherto fauoured your high attempts, or  
 else the hope of friends helpe, which I pray God faile you not at your need; or the secret disengement of H  
 your destiny, unable to be annoyed, doth draw your majesty into a different opinion from me: that your re-  
 solution, which I cannot by reasonable perswasion alter, I will as the suddenesse of time, and my small abi-  
 lity will permit, wyl gladly further.*

And therewith presented vnto the king his son, with foure thousand horsemen well appoin-  
 ted, to serue him in those wars; wishing vnto him such good successe as he himselfe desired.  
 Afterward when he was about to take his leaue of the King, he preferred vnto him two lusty  
 young men, perfect guides for that country, with two horses of incredible swiftnesse, and with  
 reares standing in his cies said vnto him:

*Take this small gift in good part, as a poore refuge to fly vnto, if your fortune hap to faile you, which  
 I tremble to thinke vpon: I pray God they be giuen in vaine, and so they shall, if my prayers may preuaile. I  
 at if necessity shall inforce you to use them, you shall find them seruiceable at your need.*

And to taking his last farewell of the King, returned into *Valachia*. *Vladislaus* marching on  
 from *Nicopolis* toward *Thracia*, tooke many townes and forts by the way, which the Turks  
 for feare yeilded vnto him: at last he came to *Sumium* and *Pezechium*, where the Turkish  
 garriſons trusting as much to the strength of the places, as to their owne valour, stood vpon  
 their guard: but the King layed siege to both the said places, and took them by assault; where  
 he put to sword five thousand of the Turks.

The Turks Bassaes terrified with those vnexpected troubles, aduertised *Amurath* thereof,  
 requesting him to leaue his obscure life, and to leany the greatest power he could in *Asia*, for  
 the defence of the Turkish kingdome in Europe, which otherwise was in short time like to be K  
 lost: blaming also his discretion, for committing the gouernment of so great a kingdom to so  
 young a Prince as was *Mahomet* his sonne, vnto whom many of the great capitaines did halfe  
 come to yeeld their due obedience. *Amurath* herewith awaked, as it had bene out of a dead  
 sleepe, left his cloister, and with great speed gathered a strong army in *Asia*, and came to the  
 streits of *Helleſpontus*, where he found the passage stopp'd by the Venetians and Popes *Gal-  
 lies*, and was therefore at his wits end. But marching alongſt the Sea side vnto the streits of  
*Bosphorus*, he there found meanes to conuey ouer his whole army: vsing therein (as some  
 write) the helpe of the Genoway marchants ships, paying vnto the Genowayes for the pas-  
 sage of euery Turke a ducat, which amounted to the summe of an hundred thousand duckats: L  
 or as some others affirme, corrupting with great bribes them that were left for the defence of  
 this passage. And being now got ouer, joyned his Asian army with such other forces as his  
 Bassaes had in readinesse in Europe: and so marching on feuen daies, encamped within foure  
 miles of *Varna*, a City pleasantly standing vpon the *Euxine* Sea side in *Bulgaria*, where the  
 Christian army lay: for *Vladislaus* hearing of *Amurath* his comming with so great an army,  
 had retired thither, hauing but a little before taken the same City of *Varna* from the Turks,  
 with *Calachirum*, *Galata*, *Macropolis*, and others vpon the sea coast.

Vpon the first report that *Amurath* was with such a mighty army come ouer the streit of  
*Bosphorus*, *Vladislaus* who before was in good hope that he could not possibly haue found any  
 passage, entered into counsell with the commanders of his army, what course was now best to  
 take: where many which before had been most forward in that action (presuming that *Amu-  
 rath* could by no meanes haue transported his army) was now so discouraged with the fame of  
 his comming, that they aduised the King in time to retire home, and not to oppose so small an  
 army against such a world of people as was reported to follow the Turke. But other capitaines of

A of greater courage, and especially *Huniades*, said, It was not for the Kings honor first to inuade  
 his enemies dominions, and presently to turn his back vpon the first report of their comming;  
 wishing him rather to remember the good fortune of his former warres, and that he was to  
 fight against the same enemy whom he had victoriously ouerthrowne the yere before: as for  
 the multitude of his enemies, he had learned by experience (as he said) not to be moued there-  
 with, for that it was the manner of the Turkish Kings, more to terrifie their enemies with the  
 shew of a huge army, than with the valour of their soldiers, which were nothing to be accoun-  
 of, but as effeminate, in comparison of the Hungarians. Whereupon the King resolved to try  
 the fortune of the field.

*Vladislaus* vnderstanding by his espials, that *Amurath* the night before incamped within  
 B foure miles, was now putting his army in order of battell; committed the ordering of all his  
 forces vnto the valiant capitaine *Huniades*: who with great care and industry disposed the same,  
 guarding the one side of the battell with a fen or marish, and the other side with cariages, and the  
 rereward of his army with a steepe hill. Therein politickly providing, that the Christian army  
 being far lesse than the Turks in number, could not be compassed about with the multitude of  
 their enemies, neither any way charged but afront. The Turks army approaching, began to  
 skirmish with the Christians, which manner of fight was long time with great courage main-  
 tained, and that with diuers fortune, sometime one party preuailling, and sometime the other;  
 but with such slaughter on both sides, that the ground was covered and stained with the dead  
 bodies and blood of the slaine. At length the battell being more closely joynd, the victory

*The great bat-  
 tle of Varna,  
 fought between  
 King Vladislaus  
 and Amurath.*

C began to incline to the Christians, for *Huniades* had most valiantly with his Transiluanian and  
 Valachian horsemen, put to flight both the wings of the Turkish army, and made great slaugh-  
 ter whereſoeuer he came. Infomuch that *Amurath* dismayed with the flight of his souldiers,  
 was about to haue fled himselfe out of the maine battell, had he not bin staied by a common  
 souldier, who laying hands vpon the raines of his bridle, staied him by force, and sharply re-  
 proved him of cowardise. The capitaines and prelates about the King (whom it had better  
 befecomed to haue bin at deuour prayers in their oratories, than in armes at that bloody battell)  
 encouraged by the prosperous successe of *Huniades*, and desirous to be partakers of that victo-  
 ry, foolishly left their safe stations, where they were appointed by him to stand fast, and disor-  
 deredly pursued the chase, leauing that side of the battell where they stood, open vnto the  
 D Turks, but they were not gone far, before they were hardly encountered by a great part of the  
 Turks army, for such purpose placed in a vally fast by. In which fight *Lesco* one of the most  
 valiant capitaines of the Hungarians was slaine; and the Bishop of *Veradium*, a better church-  
 man than souldier, and the first man that disordered the battell, seeking to saue himselfe by  
 flight thorow the fenne, was there strangled in the deepe mud, after he had with his horse ther-  
 in struggled a great while. The Bishop of *Agria*, a man of greatest authority with the King,  
 was at the same time also lost, with many other churchmen more. The Cardinall, with some  
 other of the expert capitaines retiring toward their former standings, were hardly assailed by  
 the Turks, who by the comming in of the King and *Huniades*, were with great slaughter forced  
 to retire, and euen ready to fly. *Amurath* seeing the great slaughter of his men, and all brought  
 E into extreme danger, beholding the picture of the crucifix in the displayed ensignes of the vo-  
 luntary Christians, pluckt the writing out of his bosome, wherein the late league was com-  
 prised, and holding it vp in his hand with his eyes cast vp to heaven, said:

*Behold thou crucified Christ, this is the league thy Christians in thy name made with me: which they  
 haue without any cause violated. Now if thou be a God, as they say thou art, and as we dreame, reuenge the  
 wrong now done vnto thy name, and me, and shew thy power vpon thy perjurious people, who in their deeds  
 deny thee their God.*

*Amurath prais-  
 eth vnto Christ.*

The King with *Huniades* furiously pursued the chased Turks, with bloody execution a great  
 space: when as the King in his heat hardly persuaded by *Huniades* to returne againe into his  
 campe, at his comming thither found the Cardinall *Iulian*, with *Franko*, one of his chiefe ca-  
 pitaines, and others, overcharged with the Turks, which had againe made head against that part  
 F of the Christian army: and there yet fought courageously, by reason of their multitude, being  
 also backt by the *Tanizaries*, which all this while had stood fast with their old King, as his last  
 and most assured refuge, but were now come in. There began a most cruell and fierce fight: in  
 the successe whereof, the Turks well saw the whole state of their kingdom in Europ to consist,  
 many

*A cruell fight.*

many were there slaine of both sides: the Turks feeling their losse lesse than indeed it was, by reason of their multitude; and the Christians, by reason of their courage. A great while the victory stood doubtfull, in so much, that at length the Turks began to shrinke backe, in that part of the battell where the King and *Huniades* fought. But in the left side they prevailed so vpon the Christians that they were euen ready to haue fled. Which when *Huniades* (hauing a vigilant eye vnto every part of the army) perceiued, he with speed made thither, and there againe with his presence restored the battell, almost before lost. Which done, he returned againe towards the King, who in the meane time had most valiantly repulsed a great number of the Turks; and now was come vnto the Ianizaries, *Amurath* his last hope. There was to be seene a thousand manners of death, whilst both the armies fought more like wild beasts in their rage and fury, than wary & politick soldiers. In this confused medly, the yong king *Vladislaus* with greater courage than care of himselfe, brake into the battell of the Ianizaries: at which time, *Amurath* himselfe was by a valiant Frenchman a Knight of the Roads, first wounded with a pike, and after assailed with his sword, and had there ended his daies, but that he was speedily rescued by his guard, by whom this worthy Knight after great proofe of his valour was there slaine in the midst of his enemies, *Vladislaus* being got also in among them, valiantly performed all the parts of a worthy soldier, till such time as his horse being slaine vnder him, he was forthwith oppressed by the multitude of his enemies and slaine: his head being stricke off by *Feriz*, one of the old Ianizaries, was by him presented vnto *Amurath*, who commanded it presently to be put vpon the point of a lance, and proclamation to be made, that it was the head of the Christian King; which was afterwards so caried thorow the principal cities of Macedonia, and Grecia, as a trophy of the Turks victory. *Huniades* after he had in vaine giuen diuers braue attempts to haue rescued the Kings body retired with a few Valachian horsemen, and seeing no hope of better hap (for all the Christians being discouraged with the death of the king, had now taken themselves to flight) gaue place to necessity, and refering himself to his future fortune, fled ouer the mountains, into the thicke woods, from whence with much difficulty, he got ouer Danubius into Valachia, and was there (as some write) by *Dracula* Prince of that country taken prisoner: In reuenge whereof, after he was enlarged by the Hungarians, he so aided *Damus* against *Dracula*, that in fine, *Dracula* and his son were both slaine, and *Damus* placed in his roome. *Iulian* the Cardinall flying out of the battell, was found by that worthy man *Gregory Sanso*, lying in the desert Forrest by the way side, mortally wounded, and halfe stripped, by whom he was in few words sharply reproued, as the wicked author of that perfidious war, and there left giuing vp the ghost. Many of the Christians which fled out of that battell, fell into the enemies hands; & so were slaine; but greater was the number of them which were drowned in the fens, or that by hunger and cold perished in the woods, or else after long and miserable trauel, finding no passage ouer Danubius, fel at length into the Turkish slavery.

This great and mortall battell, as it was with diuers fortune fought, so was also the present report thereof most vncertain: for the Turks that were at the first put to flight, reported in the towns there by as they fled, that the battell was lost: & they which had all the day endured the fight, not altogether assured of the victory, & not knowing whether the Hungarians had retired themselves, whilst they suspected some deceit in the Kings campe, by reason of the silence therein, staid two daies before they durst aduenture to take the spoile therof. The number of them that were slaine in this battell, as well on the one side as the other was great; as the mounts and little hills, raised of the bones & bodies of them that were there buried, do yet at this day declare. Howbeit, the certaine number was not knowne, some reporting moe, some fewer. Yet in this most agree, that of the Christian army, being not great, scarce the third part escaped: and that the Turks bought this victory with a farre greater losse, although it was of them lesse felt, by reason of their multitude; made lesse by that slaughter, as they that report least thereof ascribe, by thirty thousand. Which may well seeme rather to be so, for that *Amurath* after this victory, neither farther prosecuted the same, nor shewed any token of joy at all, but became very melancholy and sad, and being of them about him demanded, Why after so great a victory he was no merrier; answered, that he wished not at so great price, to gaine many such victories. Yet in memorie thereof he erected a great pillar, in the same place where the King was slaine, with an inscription of all that was then done: which, as they say, is there yet to be seen at this day. This bloody battell was fought neer vnto Varna (in ancient time called

Dionisio-

A Dionisiopolis (a place fatal vnto many great warriors, and therefore of them euen yet abhorred) the tenth day of Nouember, in the yeare of our Lord Christ 1444.

Some maliciously impute the losse of the battell of Varna, and the death of the King, to *Huniades*, who (as they said) fled out of the battell with ten thousand horsemen: but this report agreeth not with the noble disposition of that courageous and valiant capitaine, but seemeth rather to haue bene deuised, to excuse the foule dealing of the clergy; who as most histories beare witnesse, were the chiefe authors both of the war, and of the lamentable calamity ensuing thereof.

From the battell of Varna *Amurath* returned to Hadrianople, hauing lost the greatest part of his best souldiers, and there with great solemnity buried the body of *Carazia*, viceroi of Europe, slaine in that battell: and then calling together all his nobility, againe resigned vp his kingdom vnto his son *Mahomet*, retiring himselfe vnto Magnesia, where he liued a solitary and priuate life, hauing before vowed so to doe, in the great feare he was in, in the battell against *Vladislaus*: but after he had a short time performed these his vovs in that obscure and melancholy life, he weary therof, as some suppose, as not a little reuiued with the late victory, or else solicited by *Cali Bassa* and other great counsellors, returned againe to Hadrianople, resuming vnto himselfe the government of the kingdom, to the great discontentment of his ambitious sonne *Mahomet*.

*Scanderbeg* yet sticking in the borders of Seruia, and hearing what had happened vnto king *Vladislaus* with the Hungarians, was therewith exceedingly grieved: and hauing now lost the hope whereupon hee had vndertaken that so great an expedition, resolved to returne home againe into Epirus. Neuerthelesse, to be in some part reuenged of the wicked Despot, he with his army forcibly brake into his country, and there did exceeding great harme. In his returning homewards, great numbers of Hungarians and Polonians, lately escaped from the slaughter at Varna, repaired vnto him, whom he (according to the extremity of their fortune) courteously relieved: and furnished them with such things as they wanted, provided them shipping to Ragusa, from whence they might in safety returne into their own countries. Thus by the disloyalty and trechery of the faithlesse Despot of Seruia, was *Scanderbeg* staid from being present at the bloody battell of Varna, to the vspeakable losse of the Christian common-weale: for it could not be, but that so many thousands of most resolute and expert souldiers, vnder the leading of so worthy a chieftaine, must needs haue done much for the gaining of the victory. And what more glorious sight could a man haue wished for, than to haue seene so puissant an army in the field against the sworne enemy of Christendome, directed by two such valiant and renowned chieftaines, as neuer, either before or since their time, was seene the like in one battell against the enemy of Christ and the Christian religion? They were both men of inuincible courage, of exceeding strength and agility of body, wise, prudent, and subtil; both of long time exercised in the Turks warres, the greatest terror of that nation, and most worthy champions of the Christian Religion, being therein both very zealous. Of the two, *Huniades* was at that time accounted the better commander, and the more politicke, as a man of greater experience in martiall affaires, by reason of his greater yeares: which was well counteruailed by *Scanderbeg* his perpetuall good fortune, still as it were attending vpon him, and by his experience afterwards gotten, as in the course of his History well appeareth.

*Amurath* aduertised of these proceedings of *Scanderbeg*, as also of the great harmes by him done in Macedonia, and that the frontiers of his dominions bordering vpon Epirus, were by his fury utterly wasted and spoiled, and his people there for most part slaine, and that the rest had for feare forsaken their dwellings, and left the country desolate and vnpeopled: was therewith exceedingly moued. Yet for so much as he still stood in dread of the Hungarians, and was now himselfe clogged with yeares, and therefore more desirous of rest; considering also the young yeares of his eldest son *Mahomet*, as yet vnfit for the gouernement of so great and trouble some a kingdom; with the perpetuall good fortune of *Scanderbeg*, and malice of *Huniades*: he thought it not best to conuert all his forces vpon him, but to proue if he could cunningly draw him into some dishonourable peace for a time, that so he might afterwards at leisure be the better reuenged of him. For which cause he writ vnto him letters, mixt with grievous threats, and some feigned courtesies, as followeth:

Amurath

*Amurath* to performe his vow, resigneth his kingdom to his son *Mahomet*, which he in short time after taketh againe vpon him.

The comparison betwixt *Huniades* and *Scanderbeg*.

**Amurath Othoman, King of the Turks, and Emperour  
of the East, to the most ingratefull Scanderbeg, witheth  
neither health nor welfare.**

The Letter sent  
to the Emperour  
of the East, by  
Scanderbeg.

I neuer wanted honourable preferments to bestow upon thee: all the while thou diddest liue in my court of all others, most unkinde Scanderbeg, but now I want words wherewith to speake vnto thee, thou hast so highly offended my minde, and touched mine honour, that I know not in discretion what words to vse vnto thee, but of late come of my domestick seruants. For neither will hard speech mollifie the naturall fiercenesse of thy proud disposition, neither art thou worthy of better, which hath far exceeded all hospitality. And because thou wouldst admit no occasion to prouoke me, hast of late proceeded to that point of folly, that thou hast had thine owne affaires, and the welfare of thine owne subjects; in small regard, by confederating thy selfe in armes with the Hungarians against me. It grieueth me to rehearse (other thy unkindenesse, and as it were to touch those sores, if my minde would euer suffer me to forget the same, or that thine so manifold and horrible treasons, and strange examples of a most unthankfull minde, were to be covered with silence. Yet I thought good to aduertise thee (although perhaps too late) lest that thy enflamed heat do vntimely ouerthrow thee, with thy unlucky kingdome: and then thou wouldst make humble confession of thy long transgression, when thou hast lost thy selfe, and left no hope of refuge in thy desperate estate. We haue hitherto sufficiently suffered thy manifold injuries: thou hast sufficiently prouoked the majesty of the Othoman Empire, with wrong and contumelious despite; and I with patience haue borne all these contempts. Thinkest thou that my army by thee betrayed vnto the Hungarians shall be encouraged? I thinkest thou that so many cities and townes in Epirus, by thee rent from the body of my Empire, with my garrisons there slaine, shall be forgotten? Or thinkest thou with thy late committed outrages to escape my reuenging hands? Remember the destruction of mine army vnder Alis Bassa, the wasting and burning of my dominions; and lately, the Hungarian warres, by thee so farre as in this way, countenanced; with the territories of George, the Despot of Serbia my father in law, by thee spoiled. At length amend, thou gracelesse man, and expect not further, whether my indignation will breake out. Let not these trifling allurements of thy good fortune, so puffed up thy foolish desires, and sharpen thy conceits, that thy misurable fortune afterwards may moue, even thy greatest enemies, or my selfe to compassion. I would thou shouldst, at length remember my courtesies (if any sparke of humanity remaine in thy savage nature) and wake me not longer sorry, that I haue so euill bestowed the same. And although it is not the part of an honourable minde, to rehearse those things which we haue in bounty bestowed vpon any man; yet is it the token of a most unthankfull nature, so easily to forget all kindnesse past, as to need to be put in remembrance thereof: wherefore Scanderbeg, I cannot but bewaile thy hap, and lament thine state: For to let passe the health of thy soule (which thou a very reprobate, esteeme as nothing) not to speake of the lawes of Mahomet by thee despised, and the holy Prophet by thee contemned, for the zeale thou hast vnto the Christian superstition: what hast thou (which now holdest thy poore and base kingdome in such price) euer wanted at my hands of all those things which most delight the desire of man? Diddest thou euer want armour, horse, a great traine of followers and seruants, money, or other superfluities, the allurements of all ages? or diddest thou want matter to exercise thy valor, for increase of thine honour? Wast thou euer denied preferments, dignities, and honours of all sorts fit for thine age, both at home & abroad? Was any man in my court dearer vnto me, than thy selfe? what growing wit, not of strangers only, but of them that were nearest vnto my selfe, was better welcome vnto me than thine? With what carefull instructions did I cause thee to be brought up? When thou wast deliuered vnto me almost a child, I dayly cherished and increased thy hoped towardlinesse, with learning and nurture: I haue at all times honoured thee with rich rewards, magnificall praises, and honours of the field (which of all worthy things is most glorious) so that in all feats of armes no souldier was to me better knowne, or captain of me more honoured. For all these great benefits, Scanderbeg, thou now shewest thy selfe such an one, that I may be thought not to haue brought up such a man as I hoped for, but a very serpent in mine owne bosome. But the lone of thy country did moue thee; which if thou hadst asked of me, would I haue denied the same vnto thee which (if thou dost well remember) I so oftentimes voluntarily proffered vnto thee? But thou hadst rather to gaine the same by treachery, than to receiue it of my hands of courtesie. So thine be it therefore on God this name, and that with my very good will. And verily, according to my accustomed clemency towards all them whom I haue once well knowne, and become familiarly acquainted with,

**A** wish, I now pardon thee all thou hast offended me; not for any thy present deserts, which are none, but because in this publike enmisse it pleaseth me to remember my former kindnes in priuat towards thee, and thy faithfulness sometimes in my affairs: especially for that the time was much longer wherein thou seruedst me, than the time wherein thou hast offended me. Croia and thy fathers kingdome (although thou hast gained the same by foul treachery) I giue vnto thee, vpon condition thou willingly restore vnto mee the other townes of Epirus which by no right belong vnto thee, but are myne by law of Arms, by myself honourably won. Whatsoeuer thou hast taken from my father in law the Prince of Serbia, thou shalt presently restore, and make him an honorable recompence for the other harms thou hast don vnto him; and for euer hereafter thou shalt as well forbear to offer violence to any our friends, as to aid any our Enemies. So shalt thou for euer auoid the displeasure of the Turks, and stand in my good grace and fauor, as thou hast don before.

**B** Except thou hadst rather (being taught by thine own harms) then in vain cry for mercy, when thy furious outrage shall haue me in person an implacable reuenger. Thou knowest thy forces, thou knowest the strength of myne arms; thou hast before thine eyes the fresh example of the Hungarian fortune, so that thou needest no further admonition: yet I would thou shouldst write at large what thou intendest to do. Thou mayst alre confer with Ayraadin our seruant, our trusty and faithfull messenger, of whom thou shalt vnderstand more than are in these letters comprised. Farewell if thou be wise.

From Hadrianople.

To these letters Scanderbeg gaue small credit, and lesse to the messenger, but least of all to the old fox himselte, whom he well knew to haue written nothing simply of good meaning, but only to gain a cessation from wars, vntill hee might at better leisure set vpon him with all his forces. Wherefore calling Ayraadin the messenger vnto him (whom he rather held for a crafty spy, than an honorable Ambassador) after he had many times both publicly and priuately discoursed with him, so far forth as was possible to sound the depth of his comming, & had also further entertained him with all honorable curtesies, he shewed him all his campe, with the strength therof; which he did, because the crafty messenger should not think that he was any thing afraid of his masters greatnes. And at last greatly complaining of Amuraths cruel and perfidious dealing against his father, his brethren, and himselte; hee sent him away with such answer in writing as followeth:

**The Soldier of CHRIST IESVS, George Castriot, surnamed Scanderbeg, Prince of Epirus, to Amurath Othoman King of the Turks sends greeting.**

**T**hou hast in times past (as thou writest) exceeded me in many kinds of courtesies; and at this present I will exceed thee in modest and temperat speech: for I think there is no greater token of a base mind, than not to be able to forbear to giue railing and opprobrious words euen vnto our most mortall enemies. Wherefore we haue with patience receiued and seene both thy letters and messenger; and to confesse a truth, they haue ministred vnto me greater occasion of smile than of choler: whilst at the first thou shamest not to accuse me of much ingratitude and treason; and presently following a milder passion, seemest carefull of my soules health, being ignorant of thine own estate, as a studious defender of a most damnable error. And at last, keeping neither law of arms, nor orderly course answering to our affaires, dost most insolently and vnadvisedly, as a valiant Conqueror to his vanquished enemy, propound many conditions of peace, of such qualitie and condition that wyne ears scorn to hear the same. Truly, Amurath, although thy immoderate railing might moue a man of greatest patience to intemperat speech; yet I impute the same partly to thy great age, and partly to the wantardnes of thy nature; and the rest, to thy conceined griefe, which I know thou canst hardly moderate: and the rather, for that I haue not set down my self so content with thee in foul and vnseemly language, but with arms and the just fury of war. Yet I pray thee, wherefore dost thou so exclaim against me before God and man? as though thou hadst first suffered wrong and injury from me, and that thou hadst not in truth first don the same. Dost thou call my necessary departing, a perfidious treachery? my native country by my policy and valor recovered, dost thou object to me as a villainie? object the same still and spare not; charge me with such crimes for euer, I care not. The long catalogue of thy kindnes toward me, which thou reheardest, I could willingly remember, if it drew not with it

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Scanderbegs  
replut answer  
to Amuraths  
letters.

the sad and wofull remembrance of my greater miseries. Which if they were equally weighed, and springly compared together, the greatness of thy good deserts would be quite overwhelmed with the multitude of thy greater tyrannies, which I had rather thou shouldst count with thy self, than blush whilst I repeat them. Every man that knoweth them, may marvel how I had power to endure them, or that thou wast not weary at last of thy cruelty and secret hatred. Thou tookst away my fathers Kingdome by force, thou didst murder my brethren, and my self thou didst most wickedly vow to death, when I little feared any such cruelty. And dost it now seem strange to thee, O Amurath, that an invincible mind desirous of liberty, should seek to break out of the bonds of so great and insupportable slavery. How long didst thou thinke at length I would endure thy proud bondage? which for all that, I many years endured, and refused not thy command: I exposed my self to publique and private dangers, both voluntary, and by thy designment: speeches were given out daily by thy self, and the admonition of my friends concerning thy deep treachery was rise in myne ears. Yet for all that, of long time I simply beleev'd both thy words and deeds to have bin devoid of all fraud, untill thy cankered malice began too too apparently to shew it self. Then began I also to glose with thee, wholly metamorphos'd into thyne own conceits, until I found occasion to recover my liberty. Wherefore there is no cause thou shouldst now griene if thou be well beaten with thy own rod. But these art but trifles, Amurath, in comparison of those things which I have laid up in hope and resolution of mind. Therefore hereafter cease thyne angry threats, and tell not us of the Hungarian fortune: every man hath his own resolutions, and every man a particular governor of his actions; and so will we with patience endure such fortune as it shall please God to appoint us. In the mean time, for direction of our affairs we will not request counsell of our enemies, nor peace of thee, but victory by the help of God. Fare well.

From our Camp.

When Amurath had read these letters, and further conferred with Ayradin, he was filled with wrath and indignation, wondering at the great resolution of so small a Prince, presently casting in his mind (as was thought) the difficulty of that war. Yet because he would give no token of fear, oftentimes stroking his white beard, as his manner was when he was thorowly angry; with a dissembling cheerfulness of countenance said,

Amurath's pathos in speech in hearing of Scanderbeg's.

Thou desirest (wicked man) thou desirest the title of some honorable death: Wee will give it thee (beleeves) we will give it thee; we our selves will be present at the buriall of our sister Child, and in person (though unwid'd) honor the funerall pomp of the great King of Epirus, that thou shalt neuer complain among the damned ghosts, that thou didst die a base or obscure kind of death.

And because at that time, by reason of many great occurrences, hee could not convert his whole power into Epirus, he sent Ferises one of his best captains, with 9000 choice horsemen, to keep Scanderbeg in doing, and to spoil his country as much as he could. Which was with such speed don, as it was thought Ferises would have bin in the heart of Epirus, before Scanderbeg could have had knowledge of his coming. But for all his hast, he could not so prevent the flying fame, but that Scanderbeg hearing thereof, and having his men alwaies in readiness, placed 1500 good footmen in ambush upon the rough mountains leading into the vally of Moeva, whereby the Turks must needs passe into Epirus; placing also 2000 horsemen as he thought most fit & convenient for the purpose. Ferises descending from the high mountains full of woods and bushes, by the broken and stony waies leading into the Valley, was in that troublesome and intricate passage fiercely set upon by Scanderbegs ready footmen; suddenly arising out of ambush; where the Turks having novse of their horses, but rather by them incumbered, were slain as Deer inclosed in a toill. In this conflict 760 Turks were taken prisoners, and a great number slain, and Ferises himself with the rest enforced to fly, crying still out as he fled, *Better some saved than all lost.* Scanderbeg having thus overthrowne Ferises, pursued him into Macedonia, and with the spoil there taken rewarded his soldiers, as he had also many times before done.

Amurath griev'd with the overthrow of Ferises, presently sent Mustapha a politique and hardy Captain, with a new supply of six thousand souldiers to take the charge from Ferises; commanding him in no case, nor upon any occasion to enter far into Epirus, but onely to burn and spoil the frontiers thereof, saying, That he would account it for good service, if hee might but understand that the trees and fruits of that country had felt the force of his anger.

Mustapha

A Mustapha having received his charge, when he began to draw neere to the borders of Epirus, continually sent out scouts before his army, to see if the passages were clear, and so warily entered the vally of Moeva, where Ferises not long before was overthrowne. In this fruitful vally (being the frontiers of Scanderbegs dominion) Mustapha intrenched his army upon the rising of a hill, and placed espials upon the top of the high mountains round about, by them to discover the coming of the enemy, and to have notice thereof by signes into the camp: then referring 4000 horsemen with himself to keep his camp, he sent forth the rest of the Army, about 9000 horsemen, to forrage and spoil the country; giving charge before, that every man upon pain of death should presently retire unto the Campe, upon signe given from thence, as unto a place of safety and refuge. The Turkish army ranging over that rich and pleasant Valley, burnt the villages, cut down trees, spoiled the vineyards, and made havock of all things that fire and sword could destroy: in that point executing Amuraths command to the full. At length Scanderbeg drawing neer to this vally with 4000 horsemen and 1000 foot, was advertised of all the enemies doings by an Epirot soldier, who grievously wounded, had hardly escaped from the Turks; of him he understood what number of Turks were burning and destroying the country, of the Campe also kept by Mustapha, and how espials were placed upon the mountains. Scanderbeg having well considered Mustapha's wary proceedings, and seeing no policie to be used against so carefull an enemy; resolved to vanquish him by plaine force, by assaulting him suddenly in his trenches, before his dispersed soldiers could repair to the camp. And having to this purpose with effectual persuasions encouraged the minds of his valiant soldiers, ready of themselves to follow him thorow all dangers, when he had set all things in order for the assaulting of the enemies camp, speedily entered the vally, and was presently discovered by the enemies espials from the tops of the high hills, and a sign given to the Campe, from whence also the appointed sign was given for the dispersed soldiers to retire: but most of them being strayed from the camp, and busied in taking the spoil of the country, heard not or saw not the sign given. Those which were within the hearing thereof, retired to the Campe, after whom followed Scanderbegs souldiers, terrifying them with calling upon the name of Scanderbeg. Many of the Turks were by the Christians slain in the entrance of the camp, with their booties in their hands, and presently the Turks trenches were now by Scanderbegs soldiers courageously assaulted, and the Turks beaten from the top of them. They having won the trenches, prevailed still upon the Turks, filling all their camp with fear and slaughter. There was novse of shot in that medly, by reason of the streightnesse of the place, for they were now come to pel mel. Mustapha seeing his soldiers put to the worst, & that the camp was not long to be defended, took horse and fled by the port which was farthest from the enemy. The rest of the soldiers fled also, making such poor shift for themselves as they could. In this barrail 5000 Turks were slaine, and but 300 taken: for the Christians enraged with the spoil of the country, reuenged themselves with the slaughter of the Turks. Scanderbeg lost in this conflict but 20 horsemen and 50 footmen. The rest of the Turks army dispersed in the country, hearing the tumult in the camp, misdoubting the fortune of their fellows, fled also: yet many of them were in that flight pursued and slain.

Scanderbeg his valiant resolution for assaulting of Mustapha in his camp

E After this misfortune, Mustapha returning to Amurath, the better to excuse the misfortune of himself and the other captains before sent, greatly commended the invincible courage of Scanderbeg, and his wonderfull skil in feats of Armes; persuading Amurath either to send a greater power against him, or els none at all: saying, that to send such small Armies, was but to administer matter to the increase of his glory, and the infamy of the Turks; and to use policy against him the master of policie, was but meer folly. It griev'd Amurath to hear the praises of his enemy, although he knew the same to be true, by the continuall fortune he had alwaies against his great captains, Ali Bassa, Ferises, and Mustapha: wherefore he determined for a time not to provoke him further, but to suffer him to live in peace: yet commanded Mustapha to renew his army for defence of the borders of his kingdome toward Epirus, against the innovation of Scanderbeg; but strictly commanding him, in no case to invade any part of Epirus, neither upon any occasion offered, or conceived hope of victory, to join battell with Scanderbeg, for fear of such evil success as before.

At this time also the Grecians of Peloponesus (now called Morea, having before fortified the Streit of Corinth from sea to sea, with a perpetuall wall which they called Hexamylum,

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and

and deep trenches about six miles in length, had also built five strong castles in the said wall, of purpose to take away all passage by land into that rich country; and began now not onely to deny the yearly tribute they were wont to pay vnto the Turkish King, but also to invade such Princes of Achaia their neighbors, as were content to remain still the Turkish tributaries. Among whom, *Nicasus* Prince of Athens, and *Turacian* gouernor of Thessalia for *Amurath* led not by continuall complaints to inforce him against them of Peloponnesus. Who hauing his Army in readines, although it was now winter, and he himself very aged, set forward from Hadrianople, and marching thorow Thessalia, came into Achaia, where most of the Grecians were before fled for fear into Peloponnesus. So passing on with his army, he came to the streit commonly called Isthmus, where the famous city of Corinth sometimes stood; and there he camped his army neer vnto the strong wall and castles lately before built: hoping that the Grecians of Peloponnesus, terrified with the multitude of his army, would without resistance submit themselves. But when he perceiued them to stand vpon their guard, & to trust to their strength, he laid battery to the wall four daies, and hauing made it faultable, brake thorow the same with his army. The Grecians hauing lost the wall (their chief strength) fled, some vnto one strong hold, and some to another, as their fortune led them; the Turkes at their pleasure spoiling and destroying that rich and pleasant country, sometime the nurse of worthy wits and famous captains; where they found wonderfull riches, and took prisoners without number, in so much that they were sold amongst the Turkes at most vile price. There *Amurath* for his pleasure cruelly sacrificed six hundred Christian captiues to the hellish ghost of his dead father *Mahomet*. And afterward imposing a yearly tribute vpon the Peloponnesians and other Grecian princes now again yielding vnto him, as an induction to their further slavery vnder his Turkish tyranny, he returned, taking in his way the two famous cities of Patras and Sicione. Thus the rich country of Peloponnesus, and all the rest of Grecia, sometime fountaine of all learning and chivalry, became tributarie to the barbarous and cruel Turkes, in the year of our Lord 1445.

Old *Amurath* now clogged with years and wearied with long wars, was content to take his rest at Hadrianople: during which time, *Bajazet* the son of *Mahomet* was born in the year 1446; who afterwards of long time with great glory gouerned the Turkish empire at Constantinople, as in his place shall appear.

The Hungarians after the calamity of Varna (wherein they had together with *Vladislaw* their King, lost most part of their nobility also) in a generall assembly of the State, made choice of *Ladislaw* the posthumus son of *Albertus* (and then in keeping of *Frederick* the emperor) for their king. But inasmuch as he being then but a child of five yeares old, and chosen king more for the remembrance of the emperor *Sigismund* his grandfather, and *Albert* his father, and the good hope conceiued of him, than for any other thing presently to be expected from him; it was thought more than necessary, to make choice of some notable and worthy man, to whom they might during the time of the Kings minority, commit the gouernment and protection of that so great and turbulent a kingdom. Many there were in that honorable assembly well thought of both of themselves and others; but such was the glory and valor of *Huniades*, and so great the remembrance of his noble deserts, both of the kingdom of Hungary, and of the Christian commonweal, as without his seeking procured him the general fauor and suffrages of all: yea so far, that they which most enuied his honor (as ouershadowing their own) were glad to hold their peace, for that without him, as it was commonly thought, the state of that shaken kingdom could not long stand. So by the general consent of all the States there assembled, he was with the great applause of the people chosen and proclaimed Gouernor; as of all others most fit for so great and heavy a charge. Wherein he quietly spent some few yeares in deciding of ciuill controuersies, in composing the quarrels of the Nobility: not forgetting in the mean time the indifferent administration of justice to all men, ending many controuersies far from the place of judgment, and that without any suspicion of corruption; vnto the which such expedition and neuer-wearied patience in hearing euery mans cause, that sitting, going, standing, riding, he dispatched many great and weighty matters: alwayes shewing himself affable and courteous, as wel vnto them of the poorer sort, as others of greater calling that had any suits vnto him. So that it was of him truly said, That no man was than hee vnto his friends more friendly, or vnto his enemies more croffe and contrarie.

In

A In time of peace he was alwaies prouident for War, heaping vp great treasure and such other things, as without which the wars could not be maintained. But about all things he was careful for the good agreement of the Nobility, taking great pains in reconciling their displeasures conceiued one against another; and that with such dexteritie, as that hee was both of them and others generally both beloued and feared.

In the mean time, whilst he was thus busied in disposing the ciuill affairs of the Commonweal, and the administration of justice, he was aduertised by his espials, how that the old Sultan *Amurath* was raising great forces both in Asia and Europe, and that as the common fame went, for the inuasion of Hungary. For the withstanding whereof *Huniades* not vnprovided, as neuer vnmindfull of so dangerous an enemy, or of any thing more desirous than in

1448  
Huniades go-  
eth against  
the Turke.

B some sort to be reuenged of the great losse receiued at Varna; in the fourth year of his gouernment, and in the year of our Lord 1448, accompanied with most part of the Nobility of Hungary, and the Vayuod of Valachia his friend and confederat, set forward against the Turk with an army of two and twenty thousand choice soldiers. So hauing passed the riuer Tibiscus or Teise, and traueiling thorow Valachia, a little beneath where the Riuer Morava running thorow Serbia, falleth into Danubius, he with most part of his army passed that great riuer, the rest in the mean time taking passage ouer at a town called Severin. *Huniades* with his Army being thus gotten ouer into Serbia, by his Embassadors requested the Despot, as hee had oftentimes before, to put himselfe into that most Christian War, and remembering the great benefits he had receiued from the Hungarians, not to shew himself therfore vngrateful,

C than which, nothing could be more dishonorable. And to encourage him the more, certified him both of his own strength, and of the ayd brought vnto him by the Vayuod; and that for the good successe of the War there wanted nothing but his presence and direction, with such troupes of light horsemen as he knew he had alwaies in readines; wherewith he requested him with all speed to follow him. But he being a man of no religion, and better affected vnto the Turk than to *Huniades*; the more cleanly to withdraw himself from this war, pretended many excuses: first, The league hee had with *Amurath* his son in law, which he said hee might not break, for fear that if things chanced not well, he might thereby fall again into his old misery. Then, The vnseasonableness of the time, Autumn being now past: which difficulties in those cold Countries they had to their cost too much felt in the late Warres. These with many

D other such like he alledged in excuse that he came not: but the truth was, the malice of the man, being much grieued to see *Huniades* preferred to the gouernment of the kingdome before him, and disdainful to serue vnder his ensignes, being himself Despot and King of Serbia, defended of the royal race, was the cause of his backwardnes. So that blinded with envy, he could not there rightly iudge of himself, or what was fit for him in this case to haue don. But *Huniades* angry with his vnkind answer, threatened with his own hands to be reuenged vpon him, and to giue away his kingdom to one more worthy therof than he, if hee should with victory return. So passing thorow Serbia as thorow the enemies country, hee came vnto Bulgaria. After whose departure, the false Despot by speedy messengers aduertised *Amurath* both of the coming of the Hungarians, and of their strength; yea he certified him of euerie

The false De-  
spot informeth  
Amurath both  
of Huniades his  
coming, & of  
his strength.

E dayes march, and how that *Huniades* was but with a small company of his own, and some weak supplies of the Vayuod, come ouer Danubius: whom if he should not presently meet, but suffer him to come on farther, and so with his army to get betwixt him and home, he might so shut him in, as that he should be hardly able to escape his hands. All which he did, partly for envy, partly to gratifie the Turk, and the better to keep friendship with him. So *Amurath* not concerning the Despots counsell, suffered *Huniades* without resistance to enter a great way into his country, and comming two or three daies march behind him, so stopped the passage, as that he could not possibly retire, but that he must needs fight. And now they were both come vnto a great plain in Bulgaria, which the Hungarians call Rigomez; and the Rascians, the plain of Cossova: through the midst whereof the Riuer Schiechniza rising out of the mountains of Ulyria, running at length falleth into Morava, and so into Danubius. This Plaine is about twenty miles in length, and in bredth five, environed on each side with pleasant mountains, in manner of a theatre, the riuer and low vallies at the foot of the mountaines being garnished with many country villages and towns. Into this fatall Plain, when as the Hungarians

D d 3

first

to be done. The valiant he commended, the coward he reprobued, and as a careful General, was himselfe in euery place present. Whereby the battel became so fierce and terrible, that in euery place a man might haue seen all fouly soiled with bloud and the quarry of the dead. *Amurath* in like maner still sent in new supplies, nothing discouraged with the losse of his men, pictuning vpon his multitude, as fully resolu'd orderly to fight, and to make vse of his forces, in hope at length, by continuall sending in of fresh supplies, to weary his enemies, whom he saw he could not by force overcome. Wherein he was not deceiued; for one battalion of the Hungarians was oftentimes inforced to weary four or five of the Turks before they could be relieved, they came on so fast. That day they dined & sup't in the battell, refreshing themselves with such short repast as they could eat standing, going, or riding. The Turks Army was that day in euery place put to the worst, and oftentimes with great slaughter inforced by the Hungarians to retire almost to their trenches: yet was the battel still again renewed, and so fought on both sides, as well appeared they were resolu'd either to overcome, or there to die. This cruel fight, maintained all the day, was by the comming on of the night ended, both the armies retrying into their own trenches, but with purpose the next day to renew the battel, and not to give over or turn their backs, vntill the victory were by dint of sword determined. So with little rest was that night spent, both armies keeping most diligent Watch, all carefully expecting the next day, as by battel, therein to try whether they should liue or die. It was yet scarce fair day, when both the armies in good order ranged began again the battaile, which at the first was not by the Hungarians fought with such force and courage as before: for there was none of them which had not the day before spent their whole strength; whereas there was yet 40000 of the Turks which either had not fought at all, or but lightly skirmished. Yet *Huniades* exhorted his souldiers, not by faint-hearted cowardise to break off the course of the victory by them the day before so wel begun, but courageously to prosecute the same; beseeching them not to be wanting vnto themselves and their country, but to remember how they had fought the day before, how many thousands of their enemies they had slain, and not now at last to giue out, and so shamefully to frustrat all the pains and dangers by them endured: for that they (as he said) were to be thought worthy of honour, not which began, but which ended honorable actions. He wished them to let before their eyes the calamities like to ensue, if they should as cowards be overcome: first, the diuers kindes of death and torture; then the slavery of their wiues and children, the rauishment of their virgins and matrons; and last of all, the vtter destruction of their kingdome, with the horrible confusion of all things, as wel sacred as prophane: all which were by that one daies labor (said hee) to be auoided. And therefore he besought them for the loue both of God and man, with their wonted valor, that day to set at liberty for euer, themselves, their country, their wiues & children, and whatsoeuer els they held dear. In like maner also did *Amurath* encourage his souldiers with great promises and threats, perswading them rather to endure any thing, than by that daies ouerthrow to be quite driuen out of Europ. He carefully viewed his army, ordered his battels, and with many great reasons perswaded them to play the men. But after some light skirmishes being past, both the armies were fully joined, the battel was fought with no lesse force and fury than the day before. Of the Christians many then wounded came now againe into the battell, there either by speedy death or speedy victory to cure their wounds before received, and there did right good seruice. Great was the slaughter in euery place, neither could the valour of the Hungarians bee withstood; whose furious impression when the Turks could not by plain force endure, began with their fresh horsemen cunningly to delude their desperat fiercenes: at such time as the Hungarians began most hardly to charge them, they by and by turned their backs, suffering them to follow after them, far scattered and dispersed: who allured as it werewith the hope of present victory, eagerly pursued them, and in the pursuit slew diuers of them: and they again vpon a signal giuen, closing together, and turning back vpon the dispersed troupes, wel reuenged the death of their fellowes; and with their often charges and retreats wonderfully wearied the Hungarians, notably deluding their furious attempts with that vncertain kinde of fight, all the day long. Many of the Hungarians were slain, and the Turks had that day the better. And so both Armies beeing wearied, night and wearinesse ended the fight, both retrying into their trenches, there keeping most careful watch. The next morning by the dawning of the day the battel was again begun. *Huniades* his

The battel began againe the second day.

*Huniades* encouraged his souldiers.

brother,

A brother; General of the Valachians, with his light horsemen setting first forward; after whom in seemly order followed the rest of the nobility with their Companies. Where for certaine hours the battel was hardly fought with like hope on both sides, and a great slaughter made; but specially of the Hungarians; who wearied with the long fight, & most part of them wounded, were now all to endure this third daies labor. *Zechel* (*Huniades* his sisters sonne) valiantly fighting in the front of the battell; was the first of the Leaders there slain in the thickest of the Turks. *Emericus Marzalus*, and *Stephen Bamfi*, both great Commanders, inclosed by the Turks, there died also. *Amurath* seeing the foremost ensignes of the Christians, which stood in *Zechels* regiment, taken, and his souldiers, discomfited with the death of their Colonell, turning their backs; presently commanded all the Companies (which were many) yet left in the trenches for new supplies, to issue forth, and at once to ouerwhelm the Christians, being (as he said) but few, and ouerwearied with three daies continuall fight. Vpon which command they fiercely breaking out, presently ouerthrew both the wings of the Christians, before wauering; and in a great battel (wherein most of the chief commanders were slain, and their Ensignes taken) discomfited the rest, and with a great slaughter put them to flight. *Huniades* seeing his brother now slain, the ensignes taken, & the battel quite lost, betook himselfe to flight also, leaving behind him his tents and baggage, all which shortly after became a prey to the Turks; who from noon vntil night fiercely followed the chase with most cruel execution: but at length stayd by the comming on of the darknes, they returned again to their trenches. The rest of the Turks army that followed not the chase, compassing in the Hungarian campe, were there by the wounded foldiers, the wagoners, and other drudges of the army, kept out so long as they had any shot left; but yet were in the end euery mothers son slain, though not altogether vnreunged, two or three of the Turkes in many places lying dead by the body of one Hungarian: *Amurath* to couer the greatnes of his losse there receiued, commanded the bodies of his captains there slain, to be forthwith buried; and the bodies of his common souldiers to be for the most part cast into the riuer *Schichniza*: for which cause the inhabitants of the country there by, of long time after abstained from eating of any fish taken in that riuer. The plain by this great battel made once again famous, lay neuertheles many years after couered with dead mens bones, as if it had bin with stones: neither could be plowed by the country people, but that long time after armor and weapons were there still in many places turned vp and found. Thus albeit that this bloody victory fel to the Turks, yet was their losse far greater than the Hungarians, hauing lost (as was reported by them that say least) 34000 of themselves, for 8000 of their enemies. Howbeit they themselves report the losse to haue been on both sides far greater; as that of the Christians were slain 17000, and of themselves 40000: which in so long and mortal a battel is not vnlike to haue bin true. In this vnfortunate battell fel most part of the Hungarian Nobility, all men worthy eternall fame and memory, whose names we wil for breuities sake passe ouer. Many in the chase taken, & the next day brought to *Amurath*, were by the commandement of the angry tyrant slaine. Such as escaped out of the slaughter by the way of Illyria, returned in safety; but such as thought to saue themselves by returning back again through *Servia* the Despots country, found the same so troublesome as that few of them escaped, but that they were by the way either slain, or quite stripped out of all they had.

Neither was the fortune of the noble *Huniades* much better than the fortune of the rest; who hauing on horseback all alone by vncoth and vntra't waies trauelled three days without meat or drink, and the fourth day tyred his horse and cast him off; being himself on foot and disarmed, fell into the hands of two notable Theeues, who in dispoiling him of his apparell, finding a faire crucifix of gold about his necke, fell in strife amongst themselves for the same: whereby he took occasion to lay hand vpon one of their swords, and with the same presently thrust him through; & then suddenly assailing the other, put him to flight also. So deliuered of this danger, traueilling on, and almost spent with thirst and hunger, the next day hee light vpon a shepherd a sturdy rough knaue, who hearing of the Hungarians ouerthrow, was in hope of prey roaming abroad in that desolat country: who at the first meeting, stricken with the maiesty of the man, stood at gaze vpon him; as also did *Huniades*, fearing in his so great weaknes to haue to do with him. Thus a while hauing one well regarded the other, they began to enter talk; the shepherd bluntly asking him of his fortune; and he for Gods sake cra-

The battel began againe the third day.

*Huniades* flies.

The number of the Turkes and Christians slain in the battel of *rosgova*.

Huniades taken prisoner by the despot.

uing of him something to eat. When as the shepherd hearing of his hard hap, moved with G his estate, and hope of promised reward, brought him vnto a poor cottage not far off, causing to be let before him bread and water, with a few onions. Vho in the pleasant remembrance of that forepassed misery, would oftentimes after in his greatest banquets say, That he neuer in his life fared better or more daintily, than when he supped with this shepherd. So wel can hunger season homely cates. Thus refreshed, he was by the shepherd conducted to Sinderovia: wherof the Despot hauing intelligence (whose Countrey was all laid for the staying of him) caused him by the captain of the castle to be apprehended and imprisoned. But after certain daies spent in talk about his deliuerance, it was at length agreed, That all such strong towns in Rascia and Serbia, as had by the Hungarians bin detained from the Despot, at such time as his kingdom was by *Vladislaus* restored vnto him, should be again to him deliuered, H and that *Matthias*, *Huniades* his yongest son, should for the confirmation of further friendship marry the Despots daughter: with some other such conditions as it pleased the vngratefull Prince for his own behoof to set down. For performance wherof, he required to haue *Ladislaus*, *Huniades* his eldest son, in hostage. All which *Huniades* was glad forthwith to yeeld vnto, for fear the false Despot should haue deliuered him into the hands of *Amurath* his mortall enemy. So the hostage being giuen, *Huniades* was again deliuered. Vho vpon Christmas day coming to Segedinum, was there by all the nobility of Hungary, and great concourse of the people, honorably receiued. This ingratitude of the Despots no lesse grieved this worthy man, than the dishonor receiued from the Turk. Wherfore vpon the sudden raising a great army, he inuaded the territory, long before giuen to the Despot by the Emperour *Sigismund* in I Hungary, in exchange of the strong town of Belgrade, destroying the country before him, and burning the villages, neuer resting vntil he had got into his power whatsoever the despot had in Hungary: and not so contented, presently entred Rascia, where the Despots Embassadors met him, bringing with them *Ladislaus* the hostage honorably rewarded, and humbly crauing peace at his hand, which he at the request of the nobility easily granted, with forgiveness of all former wrongs or injuries: and so hauing with him concluded a peace, returned back againe into Hungary. But fortune neuer long suffereth the valiant man to rest, but stil keeps him busied, lest he should at too much ease attain vnto honors glory.

1449

The Despot was needed by Amurath, crauing aid of Huniades.

The year following, *Amurath* certainly informed, That *George* the Despot hauing of late Huniades in his power, had againe set him at liberty; was therewith exceeding wroth: blaming him of great ingratitude, That for a kingdome which he had at his hands receiued, hee had not deliuered to him his enemy, in full recompence thereof, whom of all others he most feared, & therefore likewise wisht to haue had him perish. In reuenge of which injury, as he took it, the melancholy tyrant sent *Fritze-beg* and *Iose-beg*, two of his most expert capitaines, with a strong power to inuade Rascia the despots country: who accordingly entring therinto, strongly fortified Chrysonicum a town before ruinated, vpon the side of the riuer Morava, and from thence with fire and sword destroyed the country both far and neer. The Despot dismayed with this sudden and vnexpected invasion, wist not wel which way to turn himself: the angry Turk he wel knew was not to be appeased without yeelding to some great inconuenience; and to pray aid of *Huniades*, without which he was not able to withstand the Turks, he thought but vain, for the wrong he had before don him. So that what to do he wist not; yet had he rather to endure any thing, than again to suffer the heauy bondage of the Turk. In this extremity he thought best to make proof of *Huniades*, of whom he humbly, and not without great shame, craued aid. Which the courteous gouernor, according to his honourable nature, forgetting all former injuries, easily granted; and the rather, for that he desired nothing more, than to be of the Turks in some part reuenged of the ouerthrow from them of late receiued in the plaines of Cossova: as also for that he wisely foresaw, that the Despots country being lost, he should haue the Turks stil brauing him euens as it were in the gates of Hungary. Wherfore hauing with great speed raised a conuenient power, he forthwith in person himself set forward, and at Synderovia passing ouer the riuer of Danubius, into Rascia, there joined his forces with the Despots, which he found thereready. And so marching forward with such expedition that he preuented the same of his coming; and the weather also at the same time as it were fauoring his purpose, (and couering the Countrey with a thicke mist) hee was the fourth day vpon the Turks before they were aware of him. Vho beeing wonderfully dismayed with the

A the sudden coming of the Christians, and vpon the breaking vp of the mist discovering also *Huniades* his ensignes (alwaies vnto them dreadfull) thought now no more of resistance, or of the ordering of their battell, but as men discouraged, betook themselves to speedy flight. After whom followed the Hungarian and Serbian light horsemen with most bloody execution, hauing them in chase all that day; *Huniades* with his men at arms following stil after in good order, for feare the Turks should again make head vpon the light horsemen that had them in chase. And had not the coming on of the night ended the slaughter, few of the Turkes had there escaped: but by the approach thereof, many of them got into the Woods, and so saved themselves. *Fritze Beg* the Generall, with most of the Turkes best commanders were in that flight taken. *Huniades* after this victory entring into Bulgaria, came to Budina the metropolitical City of that Country, which (as the cause oftentimes of great wars) he burnt downe to the ground. And so hauing well reuenged himself, and cleared the Country of the Turkes, he returned back again into Serbia, and there gaue to the Despot for a present all the prisoners he had taken; and contenting himself with the honor of the victory, returned with triumph to Buda, there to find no lesse trouble with the Bohemians and some of the discontented Nobilitie of Hungary, than he had with the Turkes, to the great hurt of the Christian Commonweal.

All this while that *Amurath* was thus troubled with *Huniades* and the Hungarians, *Mu-Mustapha* lying stil vpon the borders of Macedonia, as *Amurath* had commanded, it chanced that a great quarrell grew betwixt the Venetians and *Scanderbeg*, about the inheritance of *Lech Zachary* a nobleman of Epirus, then shamefully murthred by his vnnatural kinsman *Lech Duchagne*, part of whose inheritance lying in the frontiers of Epirus, the Venetians claimed, as belonging to their seigniory: and hauing got possession of the city of Dayna, part thereof by force held the same against *Scanderbeg*. Vpon which quarrell great wars arose betwixt the Venetians and him, who had before bin very good friends; insomuch that in the end they joined battell at the riuer of Drine, where the Venetians were by him in a great battell ouerthrowne. Of which troubles *Mustapha* daily understood, and how that *Scanderbeg* so busied, had left but a small garrison vpon the borders of Epirus. Wherfore being desirous to redeem his former disgrace with some better hap, he would fain haue taken the opportunitie now presented, but that his great masters command lay so heauy vpon him, as that he durst not without his leaue D attempt the same: knowing that the danger of his euill fortune, if it should so fall out, would far exceed the vncertain glory of his better success. Yet ceased hee not from time to time, to giue *Amurath* intelligence of these troubles and wars in Epirus, earnestly requesting him not to let slip so fair an opportunitie, but to giue him leaue to enter into the country, in manner assuring him before hand of the victory: yet the suspicious old King was long in resolving what to do, stil fearing the fortune of his enemy. At length discharged of the fear of the Hungarians, and commending *Mustapha*'s forwardnes, he sent vnto him a messenger with letters of this purport, answerable to his desire.

The wars thou so greatly desirest, behold *Mustapha* wee grant vnto thee: the glory thereof (if those E things be true which we hear of the Venetian war) thine own valor and worthy right hand shal giue thee. Yet thou must warily deal with that enemy, and not rashly take up Arms, which thou maist be enforced shamefully to cast away, when thou thinkest least. Peraduenture the counterfeit shew of war and falling out among the Christians do too much allure thee; for the common saying is, There is no quarrell sooner ended, than betwixt the father and the sonne. We in person absent, can neither aduise thee as present, nor commend a foolish forwardnes in arms. Thou must before thou put on arms, dispose of all things, and consider of euery particular which is to be put in execution when thou art in the field. Thou hast a great army of fresh and lusty soldiers; thine enemies are with continual war wearied and spent: in that remains do as thou thinkest good, for I forbid thee nothing which thou thinkest may be for aduancement of our honor.

Amurath's letters of aduancement vnto Mustapha, concerning his going againe into Epirus.

F *Mustapha* hauing thus obtained leaue, and well appointed, with all his forces entered into Epirus, hoping in one battell to end that War. Which hee (presuming vpon the strength of his army) many times offered in the plain field. News herof was brought to *Scanderbeg* (then lying at the siege of Dayna against the Venetians) from his garisons lying vpon the frontiers of

of

of Epirus; to whom he addressed a speedy messenger, commanding them in no wise to encounter with the Enemy, but to keep themselves within the safeguard of their strong Holds, and to protract the time vntill his coming. Afterwards selecting out of his army 500 horsemen, and 1500 chosen footmen, all old beaten soldiers, he with that small number marched to the place where he knew his garrisons lay intrenched, in the vpper country of Dibra; leaving *Amurath* his nephew at the siege of Dayna. *Mustapha* hauing many times in vain sought to draw the garrison souldiers out of their trenches, by offering them many opportunities of aduantage, and now out of hope that way to circumvent them, began to spoil and burn the country round about; but when he vnderstood by his scouts of *Scanderbegs* coming, he speedily called together his army, and incamped within two miles of *Scanderbegs* camp, at a place called *Oronoche*, in the vpper country of Dibra. *Scanderbeg* had there in his Camp, of the garrison soldiers and thole he brought with him, 4000 horsemen and 2000 foot, all old expert souldiers, where after he had made his trenches strong, he left therein 300 of them, and brought the rest into the field in order of battell. *Mustapha* likewise on the other side likewise brought on in good order his army also. But whilst both armies thus stood ranged one within view of another, expecting nothing but the signall of battell, suddenly a man at arms in gallant & rich furniture, issued out of the Turks army, into the midst of the plain betwixt both armies, and from thence with a loud voice challenged to fight hand to hand with any one of the Christian army: this Turk was called *Caragusa*. At the first *Scanderbegs* souldiers vpon this challenge stood still, one looking vpon another; for as they were all ashamed to refuse so braue an offer, so the danger so suddenly offered staied euery mans forwardnes for a while: vntill that one *Paul Manesi*, accounted the best man at arms in *Scanderbegs* army (vpon whom euery mans eye was now cast, as if hee had bene by name called out by the proud Challenger) not able longer to endure the Turks pride, with great courage and cheerful countenance came to *Scanderbeg*, requesting him that he might be the man to accept that challenge. Who greatly commended him, and willed him on Gods name to set forward, first to win honor to himselfe, and then to giue example of his valor for all the rest of the army to follow. *Paul* staying a while, vntill he had for that purpose most brauely armed himselfe, presently mounted to horse, and riding forth into the plain, called aloud vnto the Turk, that he should make himselfe ready to fight. Whom *Caragusa* required to stay a while, that he might speak vnto him a few words, indifferently concerning them both.

*Caragusa* the  
Turks speech  
to *Manesi*.

*The victory* (said he) *our force and fortune shall determine; but the conditions of the victory are now to appoint our selues. If the Destinies haue assigned vnto thee the honor of this day, I refuse not but that thou shalt by law of arms, when I am overcome, carry away with thee my rich spoiles, and at thy pleasure dispose of my dead body. But if thou shalt fall vnder my hand, I require that I may haue the same right and power over thy captiue body; and that the Generals will grant, that no man shall moue out of either army, to better the fortune of either of vs in the time of the combat, or after.*

*Manesi* his  
answer to  
*Caragusa*.

Wherunto *Manesi* answered; *I haue agreed to those conditions of the combat, which hee vpon a needlesse fear had so required to be kept: saying, that where the fierce soul had yielded, there of good right all the rest ought to be the Conquerors. And that therefore he should fight without fear of any more Enemies than himselfe; whom so soon as he had deprived of life, he should haue free power to doe with his dead body what he would. Which if thou wouldst giue* (said he) *to the tears of my fellow souldiers, yet would not worthy Scanderbeg suffer the carcase of a vanquished coward to be brought backe againe into his Campe.*

*Caragusa* maruelled to heare his so braue resolution, and as it was thought repented him of his challenge. But after both the Generals had vpon their honors confirmed the lawes of the combat before rehearsed, both the champions were left alone in the midst of the plain betwixt both armies, with all mens eyes fixed vpon them. Now both the Armies betwixt fear and hope, stood in great expectation of the euent of the combat, presaging their own fortune in the fortune of their Champions. In which time they both hauing withdrawn themselves one from another a conuenient distance, for the making of their course, and after with great violence running together, *Caragusa* was by *Manesi* at the first encounter struck through the head and slain. *Manesi* alighting, disarmed the dead body & struck off his head; and so loded with the armor and head of the proud challenger, returned Victor to the Army, where he was joyfully

A joyfully receiued and brought to *Scanderbeg*, of whom he was there presently honorably both commended and rewarded. *Scanderbeg* seeing his men by this good fortune of *Manesi*, greatly encouraged, and the Turks as men dismayed with the death of their Champion, hanging their heads, like an inuincible Capitaine, himselfe set first forward toward the enemy, as it were in contempt of their multitude: and had charged them as they stood, before they had set one foot forward, had not *Mustapha* to encourage his souldiers, with certain disordered troups opposed himselfe against him; which the whole army seeing, faintly followed: but as they set forward with small courage, so were they at the first encounter easily driuen to retire. Which when *Mustapha* saw, he called earnestly vpon them to follow him, and the more to encourage them by his own example, put spurs to his horse, and fiercely charged the front of *Scanderbegs* army, as one resolu'd either to gaine the victory, or there to die: after whom followed most of the principall captains of his army, which would not for shame forsake their Generall: thus by his valor the battell was for a while renewed. But *Moses* preuailing with great slaughter in one part of the Army, the Turks began to fly: in which flight *Mustapha* the Generall, with twelue others of the chiefe men in that army, were taken prisoners, but of the common souldiers few were saued. There was slaine of the Turks army ten thousand, and fifteene ensignes taken; whereas of the Christians were slaine but three hundred. The Turks tents and campe, with all the wealth thereof, became a prey to *Scanderbegs* souldiers: wherewith although he had satisfied the desires of them all, yet to keep his old custom, he entred into the confines of Macedonia, and there burnt and spoiled all that he could. And afterward leauing a garrison of two thousand horsemen and a thousand foot for defence of his frontiers, returned againe with the rest of his army to the siege of Dayna.

The battell be-  
twixt *Scander-  
beg* and *Musta-  
pha*.

Not long after, the Venetians made peace with *Scanderbeg*; and *Amurath* desirous to redeeme his Captaines, about the same time sent great presents vnto *Scanderbeg*, with fise and twenty thousand ducats for the rancome of *Mustapha* and the other chieftaines; whom *Scanderbeg* so honorably vsed, as if there had neuer been any hostility betwixt him and them: and so with a safe conuoy sent them out of his country. The rancome of *Mustapha* and the other Turks he diuided amongst his souldiers. When *Scanderbeg* had thus made peace with the Venetians, he forthwith led his army againe into Macedonia, with the spoile of that country to make his souldiers better pay, as his vsuall manner was. And to do the greater harme, he diuided his army into three parts, wherewith he ouer-running the country, wasted and destroyed all before him, putting to the sword all the Turks that came in his way. As for the Christians that there liued among them, he spared, but left them nothing more than their liues: the buildings of the Countrey he utterly consumed with fire, so that in all that part of Macedonia which bordereth vpon Epirus, nothing was to be seene more than the bare ground, and the shewes of the spoile by him there made. Which vnmerefull hauocke of all things he made, to the end that the Turks should finde no reliefe in those quarters, whensoever they should come either to lie in garrison in that country, or to invade Epirus. The spoile he made was so great, that it was thought he left not all that country, so much as might relieue the Turks army for one day.

*Mustapha* ran-  
som'd.

E Of all these great harms by *Scanderbeg* done in Macedonia, *Amurath* was with all speed aduertised, and therewith exceedingly vexed: howbeit he resolu'd with his great counsellors, no more to send any of his Bassa's or captains, but to go himselfe in person, with such a royall army as should be sufficient not to conquer Epirus, but if need were, to fill euery corner thereof. Wherefore he commanded Commissions to be speedily directed into all parts of his Kingdomes & provinces, for the leuying of a great army for Hadrianople; yet whether he intended to imploy the same, was not knowne to any in the Turks court, more than the Bassa's of the counsell. Which caused all the bordering Christian Princes to make the best preparation they could for their own assurance, euery one fearing lest that growing tempest should break out against himselfe. But *Scanderbeg* of long acquainted with the Turkish policy, easily perceiued all that great preparation to be made against him: which he was the rather induced to think, by reason of the vnaccustomed quietnes of *Amurath*, who all that while had neither sent any army to reuenge *Mustapha*'s ouerthrow, nor so much as a garrison for defence of the borders of his kindeome, but had let all things negligently passe, as if he had bin in a dead sleepe. Besides that, it was also thought that he had secret intelligence from some of his old friends

E c

and

and acquaintance in *Amuraths* court, who probably suspected the matter. Wherefore *Scanderbeg* G setting all other things apart, gaue himself wholly to the preparing of things necessary for the defence of his small kingdome against so mighty an enemy. First, he by letters and messengers aduertised all the Christian Princes his neighbors and friends, of the greatnes of the danger of that war: wherein *Amurath* (as he said) sought not only his destruction, but the vtter ruine of them all: exhorting them therefore to consider, how far the danger of so great an army might extend, and therefore to stand fast vpon their guard. Then he sent *Moses* and other his expert captains into all parts of Epirus, to take vp soldiers, and all the prouision of corne and victuals that was possible to be had. Wherein he himself also busily travelled day and night, nor resting vntill he had left nothing in the country, whereupon the enemy might shew his cruelty. Most part of the common people, with their substance, were receiued into the strong cities; the rest H tooke the refuge of the Venetian and other Christian Princes towns and countries farther off, vntill this fury were ouerpast: all such as were able to beare armes, were commanded to repaire to Croia; where when they were all assembled, they were ynow to haue made a right puissant army. But out of all this multitude, *Scanderbeg* made choice only of 10000 old expert soldiers, whom he purposed to lead himselfe, to encounter with the Turks great army, as he should see occasion, and placed 1300 in garrison in Croia. The citizens also themselves were thorowly furnished with all manner of weapons & other prouision meet for the defence of their city. Then proclamation was made, That all the aged men vsfit for wars, with the women and children, should depart the city, and none to be therein left, but the garrison soldiers, and such citizens as were willing to tarry, and able to beare armes. This city of Croia I was the chiefe city of Epirus, and of the fortune thereof seemed to depend the state of all the other strong townes and cities, and so consequently of the whole kingdome: for which cause, *Scanderbeg* had the greater care for the defence thereof. It was a miserable fight, to see the lamentable departure of this weake company out of Croia; all was full of weeping and wailing; no house, no street, no part of the city was without mourning: but especially in the churches was to be seene the very face of common sorrow and heauinesse; where all sorts of people in great numbers flocking together, poured forth their deuout praiers, with fountaines of teares, ringing their hands, yea, and some in the impatiency of their griefe forgetting themselves, seemed to expostulate their griefe with God. But when their sorrow was with tears assuaged, and their hearts somewhat eased, the aged mothers kissing their sons, gaue them many a fearefull K commandment, sometime rehearsing, how louingly and tenderly they had brought them vp, and other sometimes shewing vnto them their feeble lims and hoary haire, willing them to be mindfull of them. The wiues presented their children vnto their husbands, bewailing to leaue them as childlesse widowers, and their houses desolate. The old men mute with sorrow, and carefull of their children, durst neither encourage them, for feare of making them too forward; neither dissuade them from aduenturing themselves, lest they should seem to loue them more than their native country. In the midst of these passions commandement came from *Scanderbeg*, that they must now depart, that the souldiers might take their places and charge. Then began their sorrows afresh, with pittieous screeching and tears: a man would haue thought the city had euen then bin presently taken by the Turks. They could hardly be drawne from the imbracing of their friends, all now desiring to remain still with them in the city, partakers of their common danger. But when they saw the officers begin to be earnest vpon them, and to hasten their departure, then with heauy hearts they took as it were their last farewell, and departed out of the city, setting their feet many times they wist not where, for desire they had to looke backe againe vpon the city. This great multitude was conueied also into the Venetian cities and other places free from danger: whither all the country people which were not before receiued into the strong cities, resorted also, with all their subiects and cartell; leauing nothing in all the country of Epirus, but the bare ground for the Turks to prey vpon. After this multitude was departed, and all well quieted, and none left in the city but men fit for seruice, *Scanderbeg* thorowly stored it with all things needfull for the defence thereof, and for the induring of M a long siege: besides that, he gaue to euery soldier conuenient armor, with some small reward. Then he placed *Pranacones* (a valiant and famous capitaine, honorably descended) Gouvernour of the city. And so hauing set all things in order for the safeguard thereof, after he had in few words exhorted them courageously to endure the siege, and not to listen to *Amuraths* flatter-  
ring

The lamentable  
departing of the  
weake citizens  
out of Croia.

A ring and deceitful charms, he departed out of the city vnto his army, then lying within view, and began presently to march toward Dybra. But he was not farre gone, before he met with *Moses* with a gallant troupe of horsemen comming from Sfetigrade, a strong city of Dybra, situate in the confines of Epirus, bordering vpon Macedonia: which city was *Scanderbeg* his second care, for that it was like to be the first that should indure the angry tyrants fury, standing first in his way, as it were the fortresse of that country. *Moses* had there set all things in like order, as had *Scanderbeg* in Croia, and had there placed one *Peter Perlat* (a graue and politique man) Gouvernour, with a strong garrison of soldiers chosen out of all the country of Dybra, which were alwaies accounted the best men of war in all Epirus, and was for so doing greatly commended of *Scanderbeg*. Who deliuering vnto him all the forces he had prepared for the defence of the other castles and cities of Epirus, sent him with diuers others of his Nobility and Capitaines, to take order for the safety of those places, appointing vnto euery man his charge. As for himselfe, he with a small troupe of horsemen went to Sfetigrade, carefull of that city aboue measure, as it were before diuining the ensuing danger. Being come thither, and all the soldiers assembled by his commandment into the market place, he there in open audience spake vnto them as followeth:

*Scanderbeg*  
committeth to  
Sfetigrade.

Almighty God could not this day offer vnto you (worthy soldiers of Sfetigrade) better matter, neither The effectual  
could a fairer occasion be presented vnto braue minds and soldiers desirous of honour, than that which now speech of *Scanderbeg*  
hath caused you to take up most just armes. Wherein you may for ever, by worth by example, make knowne the soldiers and  
C your constant faith and worthy valour, both towards me in private, and the people of Epirus in generall. citizens of Sfetigrade,  
Hitherto we haue borne armes for the honour of our kingdome, but now we must fight for our lines, our to encourage  
liberty, and the wals of our country. You must now force your selues, that you do not by reproch and coward- the comming of  
ise staine the worthy praises you haue already deserved by the great victories by you obtained vnder my *Amurath*.  
conduct. The greatest part of the fortune of this war dependeth vpon you: For, the first passage of *Amurath* into Epirus (that I my selfe may be vnto you the first messenger of that danger) will be this way, the  
first fury of the Turks will assaile you, that hauing here as it were broken downe the strongest fortresse of Epirus, he may afterwards breake into the country, more subiect to danger. The first fruits of this war is  
yours, you (if you beare the hearts of couragious men, mindfull of your liberty) may beat downe the proud  
strength of the haughty enemy, and dislouer his high conceits. The Othoman King shall haue his begin-  
ning both of his hope and feare: if he shall see you so minded, as I now see you gallantly moued, and wish  
D joy heare your violent indignation; he will in euery place feare a great force of danger, and thereby learne  
to abstaine from the other cities of Epirus. Neither will he lie here long at a vaine siege, except the way-  
ward old man will foolishly hereupon rage all his whole forces: for such is the situation and strength of  
this city, that it may easily set at nought an angry enemy. Wherefore resolute with your selues (worthy sol-  
diers and citizens) onely by constancy and faithfulness, without bloodshed, to gaine vnto your selues an  
honourable victory. Of your valour (which I willingly speake of) dependeth for the most part the faith-  
fulness of all the rest; they will looke vpon you, whom they may praise or accuse, and whose example they  
may follow in the fortune of these warres. But to what purpose should men of worth in their actions pre-  
tend the necessity of faith, or chance of fortune? whereas by Reason, things are both best begun and accom-  
E plished. It seldome chanceth, that fortune faileth the second aduice, or is not obedient to vertue: and you  
haue all things which most politique care could provide for your safety. You want not armour: you want not  
plentiful prouision of victuals, you want not valiant men: the superfluous multitude of vnnecessary peo-  
ple, the pittifull lamentation of women, and troublesome crying of children shall not withdraw you from  
your publike charge, from your seruice and defence of your country; I haue left you alone to your selues,  
for defence of your city, your Religion, and dwellings, that you might be encouraged only with the prouoca-  
tions of honour and liberty, with the emulation of aduantage and danger, and the very sight one of ano-  
ther, and I my selfe will not be far off with my couragious soldiers, a silent beholder and encourager of your  
vertue: where although I may not avert from you all the force of the cruell enemy by rash aduantage, nor  
F try the whole fortune of this war in plaine field; yet will I turne a great part of your danger vpon my selfe,  
and trouble the enemies desires with many an hot skirmish. For as much as there is no better manner of  
fight, nor safer kind of war for vs, amongst such a multitude of men, & so many thousands of soldiers, than  
never to offer battell vnto the enemy in plaine field, neither to aduantage all vpon the fortune of one con-  
flict, although a man did see apparant signes of victory. He will of purpose at the first giue vs the opportu-  
nity

city of good hap; he will feed our hardinesse with the blood of his base soldiers, the easilier to intrap or oppress our rashnesse, allured with the sweet baits of good fortune: but the crafty devices of the Othoman Kings are by great policy and consideration to be frustrated: this mighty enemy is by little and little to be cut off, as time and place shall give occasion. For truly that victory shall be unto me lamentable, which I should buy with the blood of my soldiers: and beleene me, it would be unto me a more sorrowfull than pleasant sight, to see eight or ten thousand of my enemies slaine, with the losse of a few of you. I praise and honor my subjects of Epirus for valiant conquerors, if they shall not suffer themselves to be conquered of the Turkish King. The rest I had rather you courageous soldiers of Dybra should consider with your selves, than that I should seeme to distrust of your assured faith, by giving you a carefull and tedious admonition.

When Scanderbeg had with cheerful persuation thus encouraged the minds of them of Sfetigrade, he departed thence, and visited diuers others cities of Epirus; where finding all things politiquely ordered by Moses and the other capitaines, whom he had put in trust, he returned to his army, then lying neere vnto Croia.

Whilest Scanderbeg was with great cheerfulness yet thus providing for the safegard of his Kingdom, in the meane time Amurath his army was assembled at Hadrianople, to the number of an hundred and fifty thousand men, whereof many were pioners, and men appointed for other base seruices necessary at the siege of townes. Of this great army Amurath sent forty thousand light horsemen before him to Sfetigrade; who according to his command came and incamped before the city. The newes of their coming, with a great deale more than truth, was forthwith brought to Scanderbeg, then lying with his small Army neere Croia: whereupon he with foure thousand horse, and a thousand foot, tooke the way toward Sfetigrade, and strongly incamped his Army within seven miles of the city. Where hauing set all things in good order, he, accompanied with Moses and Tanusius went by certaine blinde wayes thorow the mountaines and woods, vntill he came so neere vnto the city, that from the place where he stood, he might easily discouer in what fort the enemy lay incamped; and so returning backe againe to his campe, rose with his army in the night following, and drawing as neere vnto the Turks army as he could, vndiscovered, placed all his army in the couert of the woods and secret vallies, vnperceiued of his enemies. After that, he sent forth Moses and Atusachi his nephew, with thirty of his best horsemen, apparelled as if they had beene but common souldiers, but passing well mounted, driuing before them certaine horses laden with corne, by a by-way, as if they had secretly purposed to haue got into the city. The day then breaking, they were discovered by the Turks scouts, and set vpon: where at the first Moses and the rest began of purpose to fly; but when hee saw that they were pursued but with like number to themselves, he turned backe vpon the Turks, and slew five of them, and chased the rest vnto the campe. The Generall seeing what had hapned, sent forth foure thousand horsemen to pursue these supposed victuallers: whom they quickly recovered sight of, for that Moses of purpose had made small haste to fly; but when the Turks began to draw nigh, Moses left the horses laden with corne, and fled; yet so, that he still drew on the Turks with hope to ouertake him, vntill he had brought them where Scanderbeg with his army lay in wait: by whom they were suddenly assailed on euery side, and with great slaughter put to flight. In this conflict two thousand of the Turks were slaine, and a thousand of their horses taken: of the Christians were lost but two and twenty. This was the first welcome of the Turks army to Sfetigrade.

I 449  
Amurath cometh to Sfetigrade with his army.

About eight daies after, came Amurath with all his army, in the beginning of May, Anno Dom. 1449, and hauing made the greatest shew he could with his huge army to terrifie the defendants; he incamped the baser sort of his footmen at the foot of the hill whereon the city stood, and lay himself with his Ianizaries, & other his most valiant soldiers, about three quarters of a mile further off: where after he had lien still one day, and well considered the strength of the place, toward euening he sent a messenger to the city, who requested to speake with the Gouvernour Perlat. Whereof he hearing, came to the wall: of whom the messenger requested, That he would command the souldiers standing by, to goe further off, for as much as he had something in secret to say vnto him from his master. Vnto whom Perlat merrily answered, It is like indeed to be some great secret, that you would haue kept not onely from the hearing

A ring of my souldiers, but from the very light of the day, and therefore haue chosen the night: but I haue not learned of myne elders, to hear any message from myne enemies by night, neither at any time els out of the hearing of the garrison souldiers, to whom Scanderbeg hath committed the defence of the City, and I the safegard of my person. You must therefore at this time pardon me, and to morrow if your master so please, I will hear you at large. And therewith commanded him to depart from the wall. So he returned at that time without audience as he came. It grieved Amurath not a little to see his messenger so lightly regarded, yet forasmuch as he had more hope to gain the City by large offers, or some reasonable composition, than by all his great force, he dissembled his wrath, and the next day sent the messenger again with one of his Bassa's, a graue and wel spoken man, himself born in Epirus. This Bassa, with three B foldiers and two seruitors was by the Gouvernours command, by one of the ports receiued into the city, and brought into S. Maries Church, where after he had with great eloquence sought to insinuat himself into the minds of the Gouvernor and hearers; and afterwards augmented the terror of Amuraths power beyond all measure, laying before them the great victories by him obtained against the Hungarians and the other Christian Princes; in fine hee exhorted them to yeeld the City vnto him. In whose name he promised first, that the citizens should in all respects vnder his gouernment liue as they had before don vnder Scanderbeg. Then, That the Gouvernour should receiue at Amurath his hands most honourable preferments, with many rich and princely gifts. And, That it should be lawfull for the garrison souldiers to depart in safety whither they pleased; and to haue three hundred thousand Aspers diuided amongst them in reward. But when the Bassa had ended his speech, the Gouvernour in this sort replied.

If you had not deliuered this speech vnto resolute men, deuoted vnto the defence of their liberty, perhaps it might haue wrought some effect; and we (said he) might peradventure listen vnto your offers, if wee were either afraid of the Othoman King, and the vain threats of our enemies, or els were weary of the gouernment of the noble Scanderbeg. But forasmuch as no euill desert of his, nor good desert of your Masters, hath yet passed, for which we should prefer a stranger before our naturall Soueraign, an enemy before a friend, a Turk before a Christian; let your master proceed first in his action begun, let him prooue his fortune, let him by force terrifie vs, beat down our walls, make hauock of our men, and by strong hand D driue us to humble our selves at his feet, and to sue for peace. But it were a great dishonor, yea a thing almost to be laughed at, if we should cowardly accept of these conditions by him offered, before any assault given, before one drop of blood spilt, before any soldier did so much as once groan for any wound received, before one stone were shaken in the wall, or any small breach made: But your master should do better to raise his siege, and get him back again to Hadrianople, whereto spend the small remainder of his old yeares in quiet; and not to prouoke vs his fatall enemies, whose courage in defence of our liberties, and fidelitie towards our Prince he hath so oftentimes proued to his great dishonour, and losse of his armies. The faith I haue once given to my Soueraign for the defence of this city, I will neuer forge, vntill the effusion of the last drop of my blood. It shall be vnto me reward and honor enough, if I either liuing defend this city, or with losse of my life shall leaue my guiltlesse soul at liberty, and my carcas among the dead bodies of worthy soldiers, when I shall find a way into a far better place.

The General hauing giuen this resolute answer vnto the Bassa, bountifully feasted him that day at dinner, and afterwards led him thorow the midst of the city; where he saw great store of victuals, by the gouernour commanded of purpose to be set in shew, to put Amurath out of hope of winning the city by long siege. And so sent the Bassa out by the same port whereby he came in, much discontented with the answer he was to returne to his Master.

When Amurath vnderstood by the Bassa, of the gouernours resolution, he was therewith exceeding wrath, and thereupon with his great Ordnance battered the city three daies without intermission. And hauing by the fury of his artillery made a small breach, he forthwith gaue F thereunto a most terrible assault, laboring first to win the same by force and multitude of his common soldiers, which the Turks call Asapi, whom he forced by great numbers to that seruice. Of these souldiers the Turke in his wars maketh no great reckoning, but to blunt the swords of his enemies, or to abate their first fury, thereby to giue the easier victory to his Ianizaries and other his better soldiers: which the Othoman Kings hold for good policy. Whilest these

these forlorn soldiers without respect of danger pressing forward, were slain by heapes at the breach, the Janizaries at the same time in another place attempted to haue scaled the wals of the city: but whilst they with much labor and difficulty first crawl vp the steep rock whereon the city was built, and afterward desperately mount vp their scaling ladders, they were by the defendants, with huge stones & weighty pieces of timber cast vpon them, beaten down, where with they were driuen headlong to the bottom of the rock, and so miserably slaine. Many of them together with their scaling ladders, were by the Christians thrust from the wall, and tumbling from the rock, violently caried with them others comming vp behind them. Some few got to the top of the ladders, and taking hold of the battlements of the walls, lost some their fingers, some their hands, but most their liues, being beaten down as the other were. Many of them which stood farther off, were then wounded also, and with shot from the Wals slain. With this miserable slaughter, and no hope to preuaile, the Turks discouraged, began to withdraw themselves from the assault: but the Bassa's and Captains standing behind them, forced them again forward, exhorting some, threatening others, and beating the rest forward with their truncheons. By which means the assault was again renewed, but not with like courage as before, though with no lesse slaughter: which the defendants seeing, gaue from the Walls, great tokens of ioy and triumph. *Amurath* seeing his discouraged souldiers ready of themselves to forsake the assault, presently sent *Feri Bassa* (one of his most valiant Captains) with a new supply of 3000 chosen soldiers to renew the fight. The Christians well aware of their comming, ceased not with continuall shot to beat them from the wals; but such was the forwardnes of that fierce captain, that without regard of danger he brought his men vnto the wals, where the defendants from above ouerwhelmed them with stones, timber, wild-fire, and such other things as are vsually prepared for the defence of towns besieged. For all that, *Feri Bassa* gaue so great an assault, that he slew diuers of the defendants vpon the wals, & had there forcibly entred, had not the gouernor, perceiuing the danger, with a company of fresh souldiers come with speed to the defence of that place; whereby the enemy was presently repulsed and driuen again from the wals. *Amurath* seeing the great losse of his men, and no hope of success, caused a retreat to be founded, & so leauing the assault, retyred again into his camp. The great losse and dishonor at this assault receiued, much troubled his inward minde, who for all that yet ceased not to giue the like vain attempts. At length the captain of the Janizaries perceiuing that part of the city which was farthest from the camp, to be commonly but slenderly manned, by reason that it seemed a place impregnable, both for the height and steepnes of the rock; told *Amurath* that he would assay (if it pleased him) secretly in the night to attempt by that place to enter the city; whereas they thought nothing was more to be feared than the sight therof, which they, supported with the wings of desire, doubted not to mount vnto. This his deuice exceedingly pleased the King, and was the next night with great silence put in execution. But such was the carefullnes of the gouernor ouer euery part of his charge, that nothing could bee done against the same, but that it was forthwith by him discouered. The gouernor aduertised by the watch, of the Turks attempt, with great silence presently repaired to the place with a great company of the garison soldiers, and standing close, from the top of the wal beheld the Turks, as it had bin a swarm of Emmets, climbing vp the high rocks, and one helping vp another, by such a desperat way, as was in reason to be thought no man would haue attempted. But when they were come to the top of the rock, and now euen ready to enter, they were from above suddenly ouerwhelmed as it had bin with a shour of shot, and so violently forced down that steep rock, that most of them which had got vp to any height, were miserably crushed to death, either with the weight of themselves, or with others falling vpon them, and many of the rest slain with shot from the top of the rock. Whereof *Amurath* presently vnderstanding, was therewith exceedingly grieved.

During the time of this siege, *Scanderbeg* neuer lay long still in one place, but remoued continually from place to place as best serued his purpose, breaking sometime into one quarter of the Turks camp, and sometime into another, & straitway so suddenly got again, and as it were vanished out of sight, that *Amurath* many times wondred what was become of him. At this time, being the later end of Iune, he was come with his army within eight miles of *Amuraths* camp: and from thence sent *Moses* his greatest Captain, in the attyre of a common souldier, with two other, to take view how the enemy lay incamped. By which trusty Espials he was

The Turks  
puffed vp.

The Janizaries  
diligently at-  
tempt to sur-  
prise the city.

The Janizaries  
repulsed.

A informed, That the Turks lay in great securitie as men without feare, keeping but negligent watch. Of which opportunitie *Scanderbeg* reioicing, the night following suddenly assaulted one quarter of the Turks camp: whose comming, although it was a little before by the Turks scouts discouered, yet his furious assault was so sudden and forcible, that he slew 2000 of the Turks, and filled euery corner of that great camp with fear and tumult, before they could well arm themselves or make resistance. After which slaughter he safely retyred, carrying away with him two hundred and thirty horse, with seuen of the Turks ensignes, hauing in this skirmish lost of his men but 42: whose dead bodies the Turks the next morning, in reuenge of their slain friends bewed into small pieces.

Vpon these great disgraces one following in the neck of another, *Amurath* hauing no other B object but the city to shew his fury vpon, fiercely assaulted the same thrice one after another, and was alwaies with losse both of his men and honor repulsed. But the more he lost, the more he burnt with desire of reuenge, perswading his soldiers, that as the strongest cities & fortresses were built by mens hands, so were they to bee ouerthrowne and laid euen with the ground by resolute and valiant men: incouraging them to a fresh assault, with greater promises of reward than euer he had done before in all his wars, from the first beginning of his reign. And because he would with more safety giue this his last and greatest assault, he commanded *Feri Bassa* with 12000 horsemen and 6000 foot to attend vpon *Scanderbeg*, if hee should hap to come (as he thought he would) to trouble the assault by assailing of his camp. *Feri Bassa* glad of this charge, wel hoping now to redeem his former ouerthrow with some great victory, and

C leading forth his army a little from the camp, as he was commanded, so lay, wishing for nothing more than the comming of *Scanderbeg*; vainly boasting, That he would seek him in the field, and there try his force and fortune with him hand to hand: which he did shortly after to his cost. When *Amurath* had thus set in order all things requisite, as wel for the siege as for the safeguard of his Camp, the next morning he compassed the City round about with his army, and couered the ground with his men of war, purposing at that time to gage his whole forces vpon the taking therof. The wals he had before in some places battered, so much as was possible; and yet but so, as that they were not without scaling ladders to be assaulted; partly for the naturall defence of the place, and partly for that the defendants had with great diligence continually repaired and filled vp with earth what the fury of the cannon had thrown downe.

D This assault *Amurath* began first with his archers and small shot, who deliuered their arrows and bullets vpon the top of the wall, and into the city, as if it had bin a shour of hail, thereby to trouble the tumultuary soldiers. In this heat ladders were clapt to the wals in euery place where any could possibly be reared, and the Turks began desperately to scale the wals. But the Christians nothing dismayed therat, with great courage resisted them, & with shot from their safe standings wounded & slew many of them: yet others still pressed vp in the places of them that were slain, so that the assault began most terrible in many places at once, but especially neer the great gate of the City, where the Turks had vpon the sudden, with ladders, timber, and planks clapt together, raised close vnto that tower, as it had bin a wooden tower, equall in height to the wall: from whence the Turks greatly distressed the Christians in that place, fighting with them as if it had bin vpon euen ground, still sending vp fresh soldiers in stead of them that were slain: and thereby preuailed so far, that they had set vp certain of *Amuraths* Ensignes vpon the wal, to the great comfort of the Turks, and astonishment of the besieged Christians. The Gouernor seeing the imminent danger, hasted to the place with a company of fresh and valiant soldiers, by whose force the Turks were quickly repulsed from the wal, their ensignes taken and sent into the market place; and the tower of wood, with many ladders and much timber by the Turks brought to that place, was quickly consumed with Wild-fire cast vpon the same from the wals. *Perlat* hauing deliuered the City of this fear, presently placed fresh soldiers in stead of them that were slain or hurt, and so worthily defended the city.

Whilst *Amurath* was giuing this great assault to *Sferigrade*, *Scanderbeg* to withdraw him F from the same, came with nine thousand souldiers to assail the Turks Camp, as *Amurath* had before suspected, and was now come very neer the same. *Feri Bassa* glad of his comming, opposed his army against him: which *Scanderbeg* seeing, retyred a little, of purpose to draw the Bassa farther from the camp, and then forthwith began to join battell with him. The Bassa considering the small number of his enemies, and his own great power, withdrew four thou-

*Scanderbeg*  
comming to  
trouble the  
assault, as met  
by *Feri Bassa*.

land

land horfmen out of his army to fetch a compaffe about, and to fet vpon the rereward of *Scanderbegs* army: hoping fo to inclofe him that he fhould neuer efcape thence, but there either to be flain or taken aliuie, and his army vtterly defeated. But the expert Captain perceiuing his purpofe, to meet therewith, left *Mofes* to lead the main battell, and he himfelf with 2000 horfmen fo valiantly charged thofe 4000 of his enemies before they were well departed from the reft of the *Baffa's* army, that they had now more caufe to looke to their own fafety, than how to circumuent others. In this confli& *Feri Baffa* hand to hand, as he had oft times before defired, encountering with *Scanderbeg*, was by him there flain. All this while that *Scanderbeg* was in fight with *Feri Baffa* in the right wing of the army, and *Mufachy* in the left, *Mofes* flood faft, receiuing the affault of the enemy without mouing any thing forward, expecting the fucces of the wings. But *Scanderbeg* hauing difcomfited the right wing, and flain the Generall, coming now in, he fet forward with fuch force and courage, that the Turks not able longer to abide his force, turned their backs and fled, of whom many were flain in this chafe, although *Scanderbeg* doubting the great power of his enemy fo nigh at hand, durft not follow them too far, but founding a retreat, put his Army again in good order, for fear of fome fudden attempt from the camp, and atter appointed fome of the meanest of the fouldiers to take the fpoile of the flain Turks. When *Amurath* vnderftood what had hapned to *Feri Baffa*, hee was fo overcome with anger and melancholy, that for a while he could not fpeak one word. But after the heat was a little paff, he commanded certaine fmall pieces of ordnance which hee had before vfed againit the city, to be remoued into the camp, and there placed vpon that fide which was moft in danger to the enemy. He alfo prefently fent thither 4000 fouldiers to join with the remainder of *Feri Baffa's* Army, for defence of the Camp, with ftreit charge that they fhould not iffue out of the trenches. Neuertheles he himfelf continued the affault of the city all that day: but when night drew on, and no hope appearing for him to preuaill, he caufed a retreat to be founded, and leauing the affault, he returned again into his camp. At this affault *Amurath* loft 7000 men, befide many that died afterwards of their wounds: but of the garrifon fouldiers were flain but feuentie, and ninety more hurt.

The terror of the Turkish army began now to grow in contempt throughout Epirus, and *Scanderbeg* was in good hope, that *Amurath* after fo many ouerthrows and shamefull repulles, would at length raife his fieve and be gone: yet hee fent fpies continually to difcouer what was don in the Turks camp, and he himfelf with two thoufand fouldiers would oft times fhew himfelf vpon the fides of the mountains, neer to *Amuraths* camp, of purpofe to draw the Turks out, that he might take them at fome aduantage. But the old King had giuen commandment vpon pain of death, that no man fhould go out of the trenches without leaue, or once to fpeak of giuing battell or affault. So that he lay certain daies in his camp, not like a King befieging a city, but more like a man befieged himfelf: the which his ftill lying *Scanderbeg* had the more in diftruff, fearing greatly that he was hatching fome mifchiefe, which fo foon as it was ripe, would violently break out.

*Amurath* confidering with what euil fucces he had many times affaulted the city, & holding it as a great difhonor to raife his fieve & depart, hauing don nothing worth the remembrance; thought good once again to proue if it were poffible to overcome the mindes of the garrifon fouldiers with gifts, whom he was not able to fubdue by force. For which purpofe he fent an embaffador vnto the city, offering vnto the befieged and garrifon fouldiers eafie conditions of peace, with fuch large gifts and rewards as had not bin heard offered to any garrifon in former time. At which his magnificent promifes were lightly reje&ed by the common confent of the whole garrifon, preferring their faithfull loyaltie before all his golden mountains. For all that, *Amurath* was in hope, that among fo many fome would be found, into whose minds his large offers might make fome impreffion. Wherein he was not deceived; for one bafe minded fellow among the reft, corrupted with the Turks great promifes, preferring his own priuat wealth before the welfare of his country, waiting his time, had fecret conference with the Turks ofpials, promifing vpon affurance of fuch reward as was before by *Amurath* M profered, to find means that in few days the City fhould be deliuered into his power. This corrupted traitor had layd many mifchieuous plots for the effecting of this horrible treafon: but the firft deuice he put in pra&ife, which of all others a man would haue thought to haue bin of leaft moment, ferued his wicked purpofe in ftead of all the reft. All the garrifon fouldiers

*Amurath* by  
ge at promifes  
fent to corrupt  
the garrifon of  
Sfetigrade, &  
a traitor there-  
upon confpires  
to betray the  
city.

A diers of Sfetigrade were of the vpper country of Dybra, put into that city, by *Mofes*, for their approved valor about all the other fouldiers of Epirus. But as they were men of great courage, fo were they exceeding fuperftitious both in their religion and maner of liuing, putting nice difference betwixt one kind of lawfull meat and other: accounting fome cleane, fome vnclane; abhorring from that, which they fondly deemed vnclane, with more than a lewifh fuperftition, chufing rather to die than to eat or drinke thereof: fuch is the ftrong delufion of blind error, where it hath thoroughly poffeffed the minds of men. The city of Sfetigrade (as is aforefaid) is fcituate vpon the top of a great high rocke, as moft of the cities of Epirus now be, and was then wated but with one great well in the midft of the city, which funke deepe into the rock, plentifully ferued both the publike and priuat vfe of the inhabitants. Into this common

B well the malicious traitor in the night time caft the foule finking carrion carcafie of a dead dog, knowing, that the conceited garrifon fouldiers of Dybra, would rather indure the paines of death and ftarue, or els yeeld vp the city, vpon any condition, than to drinke of that polluted water. In the morning when that finking carrion was efpied, and drawne out of the well, the report thereof was quickly bruted in euery corner of the city, & that the well was poisoned: fo that all the people were in maner in an vprore about the finding out of the traitor. The citizens were exceeding forry for that had hapned, but the garrifon fouldiers detefted that loathfome and vnclane water (as they accounted it) more than the Turkish feruitude, protefting, that they would rather perifh with thirft than drinke thereof. Whereupon fome of them defired to fet fire vpon the city, and whileft they had yet strength, to breake thorow the enemies camp or there manfully do die. And they which thought beft of the matter, requested that the city might be yeilded vp; for now, they difcouraged with a fuperftitious vanity, could be content to hearken to the former conditions of peace, yea, they were ready enough of themfelues to fue to

C *Amurath* for peace, though it had been vpon harder tearmes: The Gouvernour troubled with that had hapned, and aftonied to fec fo great alteration in the minds of his fouldiers vpon fo fmal occafion: could not tell whether he might thinke it to proceed of a fuperftitious conceit, or of fome fecret compa& mad with *Amurath*. But the better to pacifie the matter, he came into the market place, and there in the hearing of all the garrifon, with many effectual reaifons, exhorted them to continue faithfull vnto their Prince and country in that honorable feruice; and in a matter of fo great confequence to make fmall reckoning to vfe that water, which

D would eafily in fhort time be brought again to the wonted purity and cleannesse: and to perfuade them the rather, he went prefently to the well himfelf, and in the fight of them all drunk a great draught of the water, whose example the citizens following, drank likewife. But when it was offered to the captains and fouldiers of the garrifon, they all refused to tafte thereof, as if it had bin a moft loathfome thing, or rather fome deadly poison, and with great inftance cried vnto the Gouvernour, to giue vp the city: for which caufe many thought they were corrupted by *Amuraths* great promifes. Howbeit none of the garrifon (except that one traitor) did euer afterwards reuolt to the Turkish king, or yet appeared any thing the richer for any gift receiued, whereby fuch fufpition might be confirmed. When the Gouvernour faw that the obftinate minds of the garrifon were not to be moued with any perfuafion or reward (whereof he fpared not to make large promife) nor by any other means which he could deuife, he called vnto him his chief captains, with the beft fort of the citizens, & refolued with them ful fore againft his wil, to yeeld vp the city to *Amurath*, on fuch conditions as they themfelues there agreed vpon: which were, That it fhould be lawfull for all the captains and fouldiers to depart in fafety with their armor and all other things; and that fo many of the citizens as would ftay, might there ftill dwel in the city, in fuch fort, as they had done before, vnder the government of *Scanderbeg*; the reft that lifted not to remain there ftill, might at their pleafure with bag & baggage depart whither they would. Glad was *Amurath* when this offer was made vnto him, and granted them all that was defired, fauing that he would not confent that the citizens fhould continue in the city, yet was he content that they fhould liue vnder him as they had done before,

E quietly enjoying all their poffeffions, but to build their houfes without the wall of the city: which condition fome accepted, and fome forfaking all, went to *Scanderbeg*. When all was thorowly agreed vpon, the keys of the gates were deliuered to *Amurath*, & the gouvernour with the captains, & all the garrifon fouldiers fuffered quietly to paffe thorow the Turkish camp, as the King had promifed. Howbeit, *Mahomet* the fon of *Amurath*, a Prince of a cruell difpofition,

earnely

The earke of a  
dead dog caft  
into the common  
well that ferued  
the city.

The Gouvernour  
in vain feeketh  
to perfuade the  
garrifon fouldiers  
to drinke of  
the water of  
the well.

earnestly persuaded his father, to haue broken his faith, and to haue put them all to the sword: G saying, it was one of their Prophet *Mahomets* chiefe commandements, to vse all cruelty for the destruction of the Christians. But the old King would not therein hearken vnto his son, saying, That he which was desirous to be great among men, must either be indeed faithfull of his word and promise, or at leastwise seeme so to be, thereby to gain the minds of the people, who naturally abhor the gouernment of a faithlesse and cruell Prince. The traitor which corrupted the water, remained still in the city, and was by *Amurath* rewarded with three rich suits of apparell, and fifty thousand aspers, and had giuen vnto him besides a yearely pension of two thousand duckats. But short was the joy the traitor had of this euill gotten goods; for after he had a few daies vainly triumphed in the midst of *Amurath* his fauors, he was suddenly gone, and neuer afterwards seene or heard tell of; being secretly made away (as was supposed) by the commandement of *Amurath*; whose noble heart could not but detest the traitor, although the treason serued well his purpose. *Amurath* entring into *Sfetigrade*, caused the wals to be forthwith repaired, and placed one thousand two hundred *Ianizaries* in garrison there. And raising his campe the first of September, departed out of *Epirus*, hauing lost thirty thousand of his Turks at the siege of *Sfetigrade*; much grieved in mind for all that, that he could not vanquish the enemy, whom he came of purpose to subdue. In his returne, the viceroy of *Asia* marched before him with the *Asian* souldiers; in the reeward followed the viceroy of Europe with his *European* souldiers: in the midst was *Amurath* himselfe, compassed about with his *Ianizaries* and other souldiers of the court. *Scanderbeg* vnderstanding of *Amurath* his departure, followed speedily with eight thousand horsemen, and three thousand foot, and taking the advantage of the thicke woods and mountaine streits (to him well knowne) whereby that great army was to passe, oftentimes skirmished with the Turks, charging them sometime in the vaward, and sometime in the reeward, sometime on the one side, and sometime on the other, and slew many of them: whereby he so troubled *Amurath* his passage, that he was glad to leaue the viceroy of *Romania*, with 30000 to attend vpon *Scanderbeg*, that he himselfe might in the meane time with more safety march away with the rest of his army. *Scanderbeg* perceiuing the stay of the viceroy, ceased to follow *Amurath* further, fearing to be enclosed betwene those two great armies. The viceroy seeing that *Scanderbeg* was rettyred, after he had staid a few daies, followed his master to *Hadrianople*, and so *Scanderbeg* returned to *Croia*.

Shortly after the departure of *Amurath* out of *Epirus*, *Scanderbeg* left two thousand soldiers K vpon the borders for defence of the country against the Turks. These souldiers so streightly kept in the *Ianizaries* left in garrison at *Sfetigrade* that they could not looke out of the city, but that they were intercepted and slaine. And within a few daies after came himselfe with an army of 18000, and laid siege to *Sfetigrade* the space of a moneth, which was from the middle of September vntill the middle of October. In which time he gaue two great assaults to haue recouered the city, but was both times repulsed, with the losse of five hundred men. *Amurath* vnderstanding that *Scanderbeg* lay at the siege of *Sfetigrade*, sent with all speed to recall his army but lately before dispersed. Whereof *Scanderbeg* hauing intelligence, considering also the difficulty of the enterprise, with the approach of Winter, raised his siege, and returned to *Croia*: where he set all things in the same order he had done before the coming L of *Amurath* to the siege of *Sfetigrade*, and put two thousand of his best souldiers there in garrison, vnder the charge of the famous capitaine *Vranacotes*, and stored his city with sufficient victuall for a yeares siege, wherein he had great helpe from the *Venetians* and other Christian Princes, for that there was then great scarcity of all things in *Epirus*, by reason of the late wars. The like care he had also of all the rest of his cities, being continually aduertised from his secret friends in the Turks court, of the great preparation intended against him by the Turkish King, against the beginning of the next Spring.

*Amurath* vnderstanding that *Scanderbeg* was departed from *Sfetigrade*, changed his former determination for the calling backe againe of his army, and appointed it to meet againe at *Hadrianople*, in the beginning of March following: whither the Bassaes, and other great commanders, at the time appointed, assembled with their companies, according as *Amurath* had before commanded. So that by the latter end of March, he had there in readinesse an army of an hundred and threescore thousand men strong. Of which great multitude, he after the manner of the Turkish wars, sent forty thousand horsemen, vnder the leading of *Sebalyas* a politick capitaine,

A traitor was  
secretly rewarded  
according to his  
merit.

1450

Amurath af-  
sembled againe  
his army at  
Hadrianople.

A capitaine, as his vauntcourriers into *Epirus*, in the beginning of Aprill, in the yeare 1430. The valiant capitaine with great speed and no resistance entred into *Epirus*, as was giuen him in charge, and without let came to *Croia*: where, after he had aduisedly considered of the situation thereof, and of the places thereabouts, he strongly encamped himselfe neere therunto in the pleasant plaine called *Tyranna*: and there with his trenches kept his souldiers close; attending nothing more, but that no new supply of men, munition, or victuals, should be conueied into the city, more than was therein before his coming. For he was not able with his horsemen to do any thing against the city: and *Scanderbeg* had left nothing abroad in the country subject to his fury. Besides that, he was expressly by *Amurath* forbidden, to attempt any thing against *Scanderbeg* himselfe.

B After *Sebalyas* had twenty daies thus lien encamped before *Croia*, neither doing nor taking harme, *Amurath* by reason of his great age, hauing marched oftentimes but five miles a day, came thither also with his whole army, wherewith he filled all the country round about: the very sight whereof had bin enough to haue discouraged the small garrison in *Croia*, had they not been men both of great experience and resolution. Where after he had spent foure daies in settling of his campe, he sent two messengers vnto the Gouernour (as the manner of the Turks is) offering him if he would yeeld vpon the city, that it should be lawfull for him with all his souldiers in safety with bag and baggage to depart; and the Gouernour himselfe to receiue in reward two hundred thousand aspers, with an honourable place amongst the great Bassaes of his court, if it would please him to accept thereof: and further, that the Citizens

C should enjoy all their ancient liberties as in former time, without any alteration, with promise also of greater. These messengers coming to the gates of the city, could not be suffered to enter, but standing without, were commanded there to deliuer their message: which when the Gouernour had heard, he scornefully rejected their offers, and returned the messengers shamefully derided by the souldiers which stood vpon the wall. *Amurath* more offended with this contempt, than the refusal of his offers; and seeing no other means to gaine the city, conuerted all his deuises vnto the siege thereof. Wherefore he first commanded ten great pieces of artillery to be forthwith cast, for he had brought with him none ready made, because of the difficult passage ouer the high mountaines of *Epirus*; whereby it seemed to be a matter of infinit trouble to haue brought his great ordnance, and therefore carried with him great store

D of mettall in masse, whereof at his pleasure to make his great artillery as he saw cause. In fifteen daies this worke was brought to perfection, and ten pieces of huge greatnesse were ready mounted vpon carriages. Six of them he placed against the East side of the city, towards the plaine of *Tyranna*, and the other foure against the gate: in which two places only, *Croia* was subject to battery, being on all other parts naturally defended with impregnable rockes, vpon the tops whereof were built faire battlements, more for beauty than needfull defence. These two places *Amurath* battered foure daies continually, and with the fury of his artillery had

E himselfe most forward in that dangerous enterprise. And *Mahomet* the yong Prince, the more to encourage the souldiers, besides the great rewards by his father proposed, promised of himselfe to giue an hundred thousand aspers vnto him that should first set vp an ensigne vpon the wals of the city. The garrison souldiers on the other side, considering that the whole state and welfare of *Epirus* was reposed in their valour; and that the cies of most part of *Christendome* were as it were fixed vpon them, were nothing dismayed with the breaches made, but manfully comforted and encouraged one another to endure all manner of perill and danger that might possibly chance: but especially the worthy Gouernour *Vranacotes*, who going through the midst of his souldiers, and shaking some of them by the hands, withall said:

F These, these are the fortresses of our City, these are the invincible bulwarkes, these are the irre- movable stones and surest sement. What honour? what praise? what triumph should we hope for? if these wals standing whole and strong, we should lie shrouded vnder the defence of them, and not they defended by vs? So can cowards defend cities, and sheepe feare not the wolues rage, when they are safely encouraged by stout vpon within the wals of their sheepecoats: But that is the praise of the wals, and not of the men.

Worthy

*Croia* battered.

Worthy Castriot our Prince hath commanded this his city to be defended by us; and not us by it. He now is attended upon with danger, and fostered up amongst perils: every base manner may be a master in fire weather: and firme things stand of themselves, and need not our upholding. Wherefore, men of worth shun such things, which being kept or lost, yeeld like praise. Things ready to fall, need shoaring, and thither hasten honour; and there (worthy souldiers) appeareth courage and valour. Wherefore let our valiant right hands defend these broken breaches, and in stead of these dead wals, courageously oppose our lusty and lively armed bodies against the force of our enemies. If these wals stand still firme, and unbattered, you should then fight from the top of them like women; but now that they are something shaken, you shall as men stand upon somewhat more even ground, and encounter your enemies hand to hand, the better to satisfie your furious desire. Where also in the thickest, shall easily view and judge of every mans private courage in particular, and of all your valour in common. And yet if we well consider of the matter, the place it selfe doth yet notably make for us; and our former good hopes are little or nothing by these small breaches diminished: for, this rising of the hill (not possible to be taken from us) although it be not so high as it is in other places, yet, doth it not serve us sufficiently at great advantage to charge our enemies, and hinder their assault? The steepnesse whereof, as it will be troublesome unto them, so will it keepe us most fresh in strength, and make our shot more forcible. Wherefore this had beene a thing of us to haue beene wished for, if we desire the slaughter of our enemies at this siege, or if we wish for perpetuall honour and glory by this warre. For this breach of the wals will encourage these barbarians, and allure their armed men to clime up in greater multitude than if the wals were whole; whereof so many shall on every side be easily slaine, as we shall but aime at: except you had rather sit still, holding your hands together in your bosome as cowards. Their dead bodies shall fill up the breaches againe, if you be men murtherers of your liberty. What is there (worthy captains and souldiers) that letteth our victory? or memorable slaughter of our enemies? by whom only these two places of the city can be assaulted: all the rest is out of danger and feares no enemies force. Here only is the paine to be taken, this only is left for you to defend, and here shall you all be: the courage, force, and strength of you all, shall in this place appeare. How will you so many worthy captains, and valiant souldiers, in so little roome bestow your felues? we are too many defendants for so small breaches. Yet let us play the men, and do our endenour: let us in one conflict weaken the tyrants strength, and burst his proud heart; he will forsake this city, and raise his siege unfortunately begun, so soone as he shall see his first assault to cost him the liues of so many thousands of his men.

roia assaulted.

When Fr. macotes had with this comfortable speech thus encouraged his soldiers, against the assault which he expected the next day; and had with great care and diligence set al things in order for the same, & repaired the breaches as well as was possible in that case, he gaue them leaue for that night to take their rest. In the morning Amurath commanded the assault to be giuen to both the breaches, which was forthwith by the Turks cheerefully begun, and every man busie to perform the seruice he was appointed unto. But by that time that the assault was well begun, a sudden alarm was raised throughout all the Turks campe: for Scanderbeg with five thousand valiant soldiers, had suddenly broken in vpon one side of the Turks great camp, and at the first encounter had slaine six hundred of the Turks, & was now spoiling their tents. The rumor whereof troubled the whole campe, and made the Turks with lesse courage to assault the breaches, for feare of the danger behind them. Amurath although he had great confidence in them whom he had before left for the safeguard of his tents, yet for more surety sent Stremit one of his greatest captains, with foure thousand souldiers backe into the campe, for more surety, saying, that nothing could be too sure, against that wild beast: meaning the fury of Scanderbeg. Mahomet also the yong prince, halted thither in great choller with his guard, much against his fathers will. But Moses, Scanderbegs lieutenant, knowing himself too weak to withstand the multitude that was swarming thither (contenting himself with that which was already done) had before Mahomet comming, speedily retired with all his army into the safeguard of the mountains, from whence he came: hauing done great harme in the Turks campe, with the losse but of ten men. Scanderbeg in the heat of this skirmish, forgetting himself had so far ingaged himself among the Turks, that he was by them on euery side inclosed, & in great danger to haue bin slaine or taken: yet valiantly breaking through them, he escaped the danger, and recouered the mountains, and with much ado came at length to his camp, to the great joy and comfort of them all, being before in great feare he had bin lost. This was accounted the

Scanderbeg in danger.

- A the greatest ouersight of Scanderbeg in all his wars; for so much as the office of a good General consisteth not in aduenturing of his person to manifest danger, but in the politick government of his charge. During the time that Scanderbeg thus assailed the Turks camp, Amurath by faintly assaulted the breaches, expecting the successe in the camp; but when he vnderstood that Scanderbeg was retired, and all quieted, he brought all his forces to the wals: and first with the multitude of his archers and small shot labored to driue the defendants from the wals, ouerwhelming them with arrows falling as thick as haile. And likewise at the same time other common soldiers of baser account, brought scaling ladders and other things needfull for the scaling of the walls. After whom also followed the Janizaries and other chosen soldiers, ready to mount the ladders so soone as they should be set to the wals. But whilst they climb vp the high hills in this order, the garrison soldiers made such slaughter of them with shot from the wals and out of the city, that they would haue presently retired, had they not bin forced forward by their captains, who spared neither stripes nor wounds, when words would not serue: by this tyrannical means, the scaling ladders were with great slaughter of the common soldiers set vp against the wals, and the Turks climbing vp, came to handy blowes with the defendants at the breaches: nothing was to be heard but the crying of the people, the clattering of armor, and the instruments of warre, which was terribly redoubled with the eccho's from the mountains round about. The Turks doing what they might to win the breaches, were by the Christians worthily repulsed, and with their ladders tumbled headlong down the mountain, with such horrible slaughter and discomfort, specially of the common soldiers, that none of them would set one foot forward again toward the wals, although they had small hope to saue themselves by retiring backe: for the fierce young Prince Mahomet euen then making shew of his cruell disposition, caused them that returned, to be slain, by the terror thereof to driue others forward. These common soldiers, whom the Turks make small reckoning of, are for the most part miserable Christians, which liued in such countries as had sometimes received the faith of Christ, but are now vnder the Turkish slavery; of which sort of wretched people the Turkish tyrants draw with them great multitudes in their warres, most commonly vnarmed, because they dare not well trust them in wars against the Christians: these carry all the baggage of the camp, these serue to fetch wood and water for other souldiers of better account; these serue in stead of pioneers to cast trenches and raise bulwarks; and when battell is to be giuen, if it be in plaine field, these haue their weapons put in their hands, and thrust into the fore front of the battell, to blunt the enemies swords: but if a city be to be besieged, these serue as fit matter to fill up the breaches with their dead bodies, or to make bridges for other soldiers to passe ouer vpon: and if they shrink to attempt any thing they are commanded, then are they more cruelly vsed by their commanders than by their enemies. When Amurath saw his souldiers so discouraged, he stood in doubt whether it were better for that time to found a retrait, or to send a new supply: but being enraged with the losse of his men, and desirous to be in some part reuenged, he sent diuers companies of his better soldiers, for the encouragement of them which were before discouraged, and so gaue a fresh assault: but with as cuill or worse successe than before; for Fr. macotes had withdrawne from the breaches all those souldiers which had endured the former assault, and placed other fresh & lusty men in their stead, who encouraged with the former victory, and loth to be accounted inferior to their fellows, repulsed the Turks with double slaughter: vntill that the aged King, not able longer to behold the cruell losse of his men, caused a retrait to be founded, which all his souldiers were glad to heare, and so returned into his camp, hauing lost in those two assaults eight thousand men, without any notable harm done vnto the defendants worth the remembrance.

This shamefull repulse much grieved all the captains and commanders of Amuraths army, but especially Mahomet the yong Prince, whose violent nature vnacquainted with mishap, burnt impatiently with reuenge. Wherefore vnderstanding that Scanderbeg lay intrenched on the mountaine of Tumenist, not far from his fathers army, he drew most of the best and readiest soldiers of all the whole camp, into that quarter which was neere vnto Scanderbeg: of purpose that if he should againe assaile the camp in that place (as it was most like he would) he should be encountred with so many braue and valiant men there in readines, as that it should be hard for him either to do any great harme, or for himselfe to escape. Of all which, Scanderbeg by certaine fugitiues had intelligence, as also in what order the camp lay: wherupon he

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left

Mahomet thinking to deceive Scanderbeg, as himselfe by him deceived.

left *Moses* with five hundred soldiers in the place where he lay; taking order with him before his departure, that he at a certain appointed houre in the night following, should assaile the Turks camp in the quarter next vnto him where *Mahomet* lay; and hauing there raised some tumult, speedily to retire again vnto his assured strength in the mountaine. *Scanderbeg* himself with the whole strength of his army, in number about 8000, in the mean time toke a compass, and by certain secret by-waies through the woods and mountains, came to the farther side of the Turks camp, to a place called Mounteele. The night following, *Moses* at the appointed houre, with his 500 soldiers assailed that part of the Turks camp next to him, with such noise and tumult as if it had bin some great army: by occasion whereof, all the Turks camp was in alarm, and drew in hast to that place where they heard that great tumult, as was before by *Mahomet* commanded. When at the same instant *Scanderbeg* with all his army brake into the other side of the Turks army, where he was least feared or looked for, & from whence the best soldiers were before drawn by *Mahomet*; and there made such slaughter and hauocke of the rest (not knowing which way to turn themselves) that the losse a little before receiued vnder the walls of Croia was now forgot, as a small thing in comparison of this. *Moses* hauing raised a great fear, and don little harm, returned in safety to his wel known strength, and *Scanderbeg* hauing made great spoil in the Camp, fearing to be oppressed with the multitude of his enemies, if hee should there longer stay, returned in good time, hauing scarce lost one man.

*Amurath* after this great losse and trouble of his Camp, withdrew the greatest part of his small Ordnance which he had before bent against the City, into his Trenches, placing them as commodiously as he might, for the defence therof against the sudden attempts of *Scanderbeg*. Yet for as much as he could not in that hot season of the year so closely incamp his Army, but that some part therof would still be in the like danger as before; he therefore appointed *Sebalias* with sixteen thousand soldiers to attend vpon *Scanderbeg*, that he should no more trouble the Camp. After which order taken, he battered the Walls of Croia afresh, and with his great Ordnance ouerthrew whatsoever the Citizens had with great labour repaired, making the breaches greater and more faultable than before, intending once againe by a new assault to proue his fortune and the force of his soldiers: which he appointed to be the next day. But when he saw no sign of courage or good hope in the heavy countenances of them discouraged; and that they yielded vnto him their consents rather for fear and shame, than for hope of victory: he called them Cowards, discouraged with the least frown of fortune; and said,

*Amurath* his  
unfortunate  
fall vnto  
his weary  
soldiers.

Every weak castle is able to hold out one assault; but if you wil draw these wild beasts out of their dens, you must arm your selues like resolute men of inuincible courage, to endure what thing soeuer shal happen. Great Captains with their puissant armies haue grown old vnder the walls of their enemies, vpon light and small displeasures: and will you, hauing receiued so many disgraces of these periured Epirots, leave them all vnreuered? What great victory was euer yet by any man gained without bloodshed? Remember the most glorious victory of Varna. It is hard without bloody hands to put the yoke vpon the fierce enemies neck. All honorable things are brought to passe with aduventure and labor; and the end of this War dependeth vpon the taking of Croia: if it were once won, all this war were at an end; which if *Scanderbeg* lose (being the strength of his kingdom) he will not tarry one day longer in Epirus. Wherefore bee of good cheer, and courageously set vpon it: there is not more vncertainty in any thing than in matters of war. Fortune is to be proued, and oftentimes prouoked of him that will wed her. And yet I wil not deny, but that we must go more warily to work against this enemy, and hazard our selues with better aduise ment, and not without reason like wild beasts to run headlong vpon our own death. At length we shal wear them out, if we kill but ten of them at an assault; yet are they daily to be assailed, that they may haue no leisure to refresh themselves, and to make up their breaches; and peradventure if force may not preuaile, fortune may find some mean that we look not for, as it fell out at the siege of Sfetigrade, beyond all our expectation. Treason is ingenious, and mens desires great where rewards are propounded.

With these and the like speeches old *Amurath* encouraged his captains & soldiers, and the next morning early began the assault; which the Turks valiantly attempted, and without any regard of danger, came vnto the gates of the City, assaying, but with vain and desperat labour,

A bow to haue broken them open. In this assault wilde fire was cast into many places of the city; and the great Artillery oftentimes discharged into the breaches, whereby many of the Turks themselves were slain with their own great shot, together with the Christians: for *Amurath* desperately fell was content to buy the life of one Christian with the losse of twenty of his Turks. But the Christians still valiantly repulsed their enemies, so that of them that came to the gates, none escaped alive; and of them that assailed the great breach, the forwardest were first slain, and they which stood farther off were sore wounded with great shot. Yet for all that, *Amurath* still maintained the assault by sending in of new supplies, delighted to see them go forward, and grieved at the heart to see them so slain; vntill at last, weary with beholding the slaughter of his men, he caused a retreat to be sounded, and so ended the assault.

The Turkish  
tyre.

B persuaded by his Bassa, not wilfully to cast away his valiant soldiers where there was no hope to preuaile, but to preserve them for his better seruice.

*Amurath* seeks  
to undermin  
Croia.

*Amurath* now out of hope to win the city by assault, thought good to proue what might be done by undermining the same: during which work he caused small alarms daily to be given to the city, to the intent that the defendants buffed therewith, should not perceiue the secret work of the miner. About which time his prouision of corn began to fail in his camp: for which cause he sent his purueysors for Corn to Lyfia, a City of the Venetians, with whom he was then in league, and bought of them great store of corn. But as his officers were conueying it to the camp, *Scanderbeg* hauing intelligence therof, slew the Conuoy, and carried away with him all that prouision, diuiding it among his own soldiers. Howbeit not long after, *Amurath* decided great abundance of corn and other prouision out of Macedonia. Beside that, the Venetian merchants afterwards furnished him with plenty of corn, oil, honey, and other necessaries: which *Scanderbeg* might wel haue hindred, but that he would not in so doing offend the Venetians, who were also his secret friends; considering that *Amurath* might haue had all the same prouision out of the further part of Macedonia, Thracia, Mysia, and such other places, if he had not otherwise had it from the Venetians.

While *Amurath* thus lay expecting the success of his mine, 400 of the garison soldiers of Croia sallying out of the city, chased diuers of the Turks that were come forth, back again to the Camp. Whereof *Amurath* was glad, hoping that they, encouraged with that good hap, would to their further losse giue the like attempt afterward. But the staid discretion of the

D governor deceiued that his expectation: who considering the danger, would not suffer his soldiers any more to sally out of the city. *Scanderbeg* also at this time hauing increased his army with a new supply of 2000 soldiers, diuided the same into three parts, deliuering one part to *Moses*, another to *Tamusc*, and reseruing the third vnto himself. With this Army of 9000 thus diuided, he determined by night at one instant to assail the Turkes great Camp in three diuers places, appointing in which quarter every one should charge. But as *Scanderbeg* in the night appointed was comming toward the Turks camp, he was discovered by their Scouts; wherupon a sudden alarm was raised in the camp, and all mens minds turned that way, & soldiers appointed with all diligence to guard that side of the camp. But whilst the Turkes were all at gaze this way for fear of *Scanderbeg*, *Moses* & *Tamusc* in the dead of the night at one time

E assailed the Turke Camp in two diuers quarters, as they were appointed, where they slew a number of the Turks, and made great spoil. At which time *Scanderbeg* did also what he might, but by reason he was before discovered, did not much harm. Vpon the approach of the day *Scanderbeg* retired again to the hills, and by that time it was fair day light fate down vpon the side of a great mountain about 20 furlongs off, in the open sight of all the Turks camp: which he did of purpose, that *Moses* and *Tamusc*, which were by night retired into the mountaines, might see which way to hold, to meet with him again. But the Turks thinking that he stood there to braue their whole camp, and as it were to out face them, to the great encouragement of the besieged, diuers of them earnestly craved leave of *Amurath* that they might go vp to him, and at leastwise beat him out of sight: which he granting, 12000 of his best soldiers, of which 7000 were horsemen, and the rest foot, presently set forward to encounter them. *Scanderbeg* seeing them all the way they came, vpon their approach softly retired a little farther vp into the mountains; still expecting the comming of *Moses* & *Tamusc*. The Turks vnacquainted with such difficult waies, marched vp the steep hills after *Scanderbeg* with much labor and

F f 2

pains,

pains, well wearied of these solues, but when they were come a great way into the mountains, they perceived by the rising of the dust, that some greater force was at hand; and soon after they might plainly see the tumult of their enemies. Wherefore fearing so to be inclosed, they began to retire: in which retreat Scanderbeg hardly pursued them, and having the advantage of the ground, slew many of them, but especially with his archers. After also turning about on another side, caused them to fly down the hill again, & beside the slaughter that he made, took diuers prisoners. After which victory by Scanderbeg obtained, in the sight of Amurath, and his whole army, he retired again into the mountains.

The late spoil of the Turks camp, with this overthrow of the soldiers, but soon sent against Scanderbeg, much grieved the old tyrant, but the work of the misdeeds, wherein he had of long laid up his greatest hope, forcing now to no great purpose, being deemed as well as an endless piece of work, for the natural hardness of the rocks, as also of small importance, for that as was by the defendants discovered, draue him to his wits end. His forces he had, his greediness sufficiently proued, and still found them too weak; and policies prevailed not. Nothing remained now, but to prove if by great gifts and glorious promises, he could first corrupt the faith of the Governour, and afterwards the garrison, wherein he determined to spare no cost. Whereupon he sent one of his Bassa's (a man of great authoritie and dexterity of wit) vnto Pranacones, with such rich gifts and presents as might haue moued a right constant mind, commanding the Bassa, if it were possible, first to fasten the same vpon the Governour, as presents sent from Amurath of meer bounty, in the honor of his valiant mind; and afterwards to deliuer his message, not sparing to promise any thing for the deliuering vp of the city, yea more than should be desired. The Bassa attended on but with two seruants, came with this rich present next to the gates of the City, and there staid vntill the Governours pleasure were known. By whose commandement he was receiued into the city, and brought to his presence. Then the Bassa with much reverence and many magnificall words, presented vnto Pranacones the rich gifts sent from Amurath; and would forthwith haue deliuered them vnto him, as the reward of his valor. But Pranacones willed him first to declare his message from Amurath, vpon the hearing wherof he would (he said) as he saw cause, either receiue or refuse them: before which time he would not be beholden to his enemy, by receiuing from him the least courtesie. With which answer the subtil Bassa nothing dismayed, with great constancie thus began to deliuer his message:

*The Bassa sent from Amurath crassily seeks to corrupt the governour, and to persuade the soldiers to yield up the city.*

Howsoever we agree (said he) vpon other matters we come for, we brought not these gifts of purpose to deccie any: for so men vse to deal with their children and seruants, and not with men of courage and honour. And albeit that enemies gifts are euer to be suspected, (as you haue right wisely said, and we our selves know) yet we durst not for shame come vnto so worthy a Governour (as the common saying is) empty handed. Neither ought you, if you be the man you seem to be, and whom men report you are, to refuse our courtesie. Take this present in good part, which shall no way inforce or hinder you to determine or dispose of your affairs otherwise than shall seem vnto you good: neither shall we once object vnto you these gifts, which we so frank and freely offer in the great Sultans name, whether you receiue or admitt this demand and message: wherein there is (perhaps) no lesse regard had of your good, than of ours. For there is no greater token of a base mind, than to giue in hope to receiue again. We come vnto you frankly, (worthy Governour) I speak it from my heart, we goe not about with fild speech and rich rewards: we come to thee, whose invincible minde we haue so often in vain proued with our forces and power. That it is for which Amurath loneth thee. He doth wonderfully admire the vertues of his enemies: and if it were possible, desireth to haue them with himself. There verily with some right a Monarch might thy invincible mind and pregnant courage find a better way vnto the highest type of Fortunes blisse. Not that I condemn Scanderbeg (whom we his enemies do highly commend) for his Countryes so well recovered, and so oftentimes worthily defended, yet chiefly by your help; but you are worthy of another manner of Souldiers, and of another manner of calling, and not to spend all the daies of your life, and such heroicall vertues in obscuritie, and (without offence be it said) in contemptible basenes. Besides that, Scanderbegs estate is but momentary, the Destinies haue assigned vnto him too too mighty an enemy: his destruction may not be deferred, but not by any means avoided. Amurath hath conceived against him an implacable displeasure, and prepared his forces accordingly: he hath sworn to spare no cost, no labor, no danger: and that he will

A neuer whilst he liueth depart out of Epirus, before he haue imposed a deadly yoke vpon his neck. And behold, the first of his misery beginneth at this city, and vpon your selues. We daily hear his passions sound with these and such like speeches. That he will neuer depart out of this place before he haue taken this city, and satisfied his angry mind with the torture of your bodies; no, not if he should therefore lose Hadrianople, yea and that more is his whole kingdom. And verily he will do it, which I fear to diuine or think vpon: For although I wish others bear against you the mind of an enemy, yet am I a man, and moued with human compassion. Beleeue me, ye men of Croia, beleeue mee, my eyes would scarcely endure to behold the horrible spectacle of your miserable fortune. I tell you again, he will do it, except you change your purpose, and now receiue health, life, liberty and peace, whilst it is so freely offered. For albeit that this notable strong place, these impregnable walls, and especially your own valour, do yet defend you; how long will it hold out? Verily no longer than you haue victuals, no longer than you haue meat to sustain your bodies. Do you think that Amurath will raise his siege in the middle of the heat of this war, and be gone? No, no; if force will not preuaile, if all his attempts fail, yet shall you see and feel these enemies continually to your hurt; you shall alwaies haue these tents in your eyes, and at your gates, vntill long famine, which maisteth all things, tame your courage also. I pray you, what hope haue you left? from whence ariseth in your resolute minds such desperat contempt of danger? Can Scanderbeg victuall you being so strictly besieged? who hideth himself (poor man) in the woods all day, and flieth over the tops of the mountains, laden with trauell and care, scarce able to relieue his own misery. Or will the Venetians relieue you, who daily bring victuals, and store vs with too too great plenty of all things for this war against you. Wherefore repent your too much hardness, and at bar your wits together: behold, I your enemy aduise you; you haue long enough continued in your obstinacy; your country and liberty is not so far to be defended, as that you should therefore fight against God. But wherefore do I call this, liberty? you must giue place vnto your fortune, and learn to obey them that be too strong for you. You shall find assured liberty, rich rewards, perpetuall rest with Amurath. Provide for your selues, if you be wise, whilst all things are yet whole for you to determine of; whilst we your enemies exhort and request you, and had rather haue you our voluntary companions, than our inforced seruants and slaues.

This the Bassa spake with great grauitie, and no lesse vehemencie, expecting some great motions to haue risen in the minds of the soldiers. But when he perceiued that his speech had rather filled them with indignation, than with fear; and that it was but a vain thing to go about to terrifie them with words, whom all the power of Amurath could not make afraid with weapons, he requested to talk alone with the governour in secret, which was also granted. For all men had no lesse good opinion of the worthy governours fidelitie, than of his wisdom and valor. The crafty Bassa hauing him by himself, began with great cunning to deliuer his more secret message. When Pranacones perceiuing by a little, what the whole tale meant, interrupted him in the middle of his speech, and without more ado commanded him to depart, strictly charging him, that neither he nor any other should after that time presume to come from his master to the city, to speak with him about any such dishonorable matter, for if he did, he would in detestation thereof cause their hands, nose, and ears to be cut off, and so return them dismembred in stead of answer. And so the Bassa was with his presents turned out of the city, and no man suffered to receiue any thing of him in reward; although the soldiers could haue bin well content to haue eased him and his seruants of that cariage, if the governour would but haue winked therat.

Great was the expectation in the Turks camp, of the Bassa's return; but when they saw the presents were not receiued, they easily ghesed that all went not as they wished. But when Amurath himself vnderstood the governours resolute answer, he in great rage commanded all things to be made ready for a fresh assault: which he did rather to satisfie his anger, than vpon any hope he had to preuaile therein. The next day he caused a furious assault to be giuen to the city, but with greater losse to himself than before; the Christians still valiantly defending the city against the Turkish fury. In this assault many of the Turks were slaine at the breach with their own great froth: for whilst Amurath sought therewith to driue the Christians from the defence of the breach, he flew a great number more of the forwardest of his own men, than he did of the defendants. But wearied at length to behold the endless slaughter of his men, he gaue over the assault, and returned into his camp, as if he had bin a man halfe frantick.

*Pranacones resisteth Amuraths presents, and libertians the Bassa.*

*Croia againe in vain assaulted.*

tick or distract of his wits; and there sat down in his Tent all that day full of melancholy passions, sometimes violently pulling his hoary beard & white locks, complaining of his hard and disaster fortune, that he had liued so long to see those daies of disgrace, wherein all his former glory and triumphant victories were obscured, by one base town of Epirus. His Bassa's and graue counsellors laboring in the meane time with long discourses to comfort him vp: sometimes recounting vnto him his many and glorious victories, and otherwhiles producing antient examples of like euent. But dark and heauy conceits had fouerwhelmed the melancholy old Tyrant, that nothing could content his waiward mind, or reuiue his dying spirite; so that the little remainder of naturall heat that was now left in his aged body, now oppressed and almost extinguished with melancholy conceits, and his aged body dried vp with sorrow, he became sick of griefe. Whereupon by the counsell of some of his Bassa's he sent an Embassador to Scanderbeg, offering him peace, if he would yeeld to pay him a yearly tribute of ten thousand Duckarts: thinking by that means his honour to be well saued, if before his departure out of Epirus, hee could but make Scanderbeg his Tributary. This Embassadour was by Scanderbeg honourably entertained in his Campe; but the offered peace at the same time vitterly refused. The Embassadour returning vnto Amurath, declared vnto him the euil successe of his Embassy, which greatly encreased his melancholy sicknesse. And Scanderbeg to grieue him the more, vnderstanding that he was dangerously sicke, and that the great Bassa's were more carefull of the Kings health, than of the successe of the war; diuers times assailed the Turks Camp. Which thing though the Bassa's kept from his knowledge with all carefullnesse; yet he oftentimes suspected the matter, by the often alarums and tumults in the Camp, and with the grief therof languished. So feeling his sicknesse daily to increase, and that he could not much longer liue, lying vpon a pallet in his pavilion, grievously complained vnto his Bassa's, That the Destinies had so blemished all the former course of his life with such an obscure death, That hee which had so often repressed the fury of the Hungarians, and almost brought to nought the pride of the Grecians, together with their name, should now be enforced to giue vp the ghost vnder the walls of an obscure Castle (as hee termed it) and that in the sight of his contemptible enemy. After that, turning himselfe to his son Mahomet, he earnestly commended him to the faithfulness of his Bassa's, and gaue him many graue aduertisements, sometimes in secret betwixt themselves, and sometimes in the hearing of others: want of strength, and abundance of tears running down his aged face (vpon the sight of his son) oftentimes interrupting his speech. Yet sick vnto death as hee was, and drawing fast vnto his end, he forced himselfe, to warn his son of such things as now at his death grieued him most.

*The last speech of Amurath to his son Mahomet vpon his death bed.*

Let myne example (quoth he) be a warning vnto thee, my son, neuer to contemn thine enemy, be hee neuer so weak: of which one thing aboue all others I haue repented my self too long, and shall do after my death, if any feeling of human things remain in the dead. And that I was so foolish and inconsiderate to foster up as it were in my bosom this my domesticall and neglected enemy, whereby I haue purchased vnto my self this calamity, and for euer blemished the honor of the Othoman kings; whilst I so basely ending my daies vnder the walls of Croia, shall become a by-word vnto the world and all posterity for euer. This Traitor should euen then haue bin oppressed, when he by treachery first recovered his wicked kingdom: in that newnesse of his estate, and before the minds of the people were assured vnto him, then it had been an easie matter, without blood-shed vitterly to haue extinguished the wretch, together with his name. Alis Bassa, whose euill fortune was the first beginning of his good; nor the other Generals, who by him slain or taken prisoners, increased his strength & credit vnto his subjects, should not haue bin sent against him: a thing which I haue oftentimes thought vpon, but would scarce haue beleueed, that euer I should haue thereby received such disgrace, together with the ignominious renting of my kingdom, if I had not bene taught the same by myne own experience, to my great losse and heauy grief. We entred into Epirus, and here incamped an hundred and threescore thousand men strong: now if leisure serue you, take view of them, examin the matter, you shall find a great want of them. The fields could not contain our regiments, and the multitude of our men: but now, how many tents stand empty? how many horses want riders? You shall go to Hadrianople with our forces much impaired. As for me, the Destinies haue vowed my spirits to this country of Epirus, as vnto me fatal. But wherefore do I impute vnto my self these impediments and

A and chances of fortune? for then first began this seed of mischief in Epirus, when the Hungarians and other the Christian princes rose up in arms against vs; at which time we fought not with them for sovereignty, but for the whole state of our kingdom, as the bloody battels of Varna and Cossova still witness to the world. So whilst I had neither leisure nor sufficient power to take order for all my important affaires at once, in the meane time this enemy grew as you see. But how or in what order you are hereafter to wage war against him, you may not look for any direction from me, which haue in all these matters so euil directed my self. Fortune neuer deceived my endeavors more than in this: but haply thou Mahomet my son mayst prove a more fortunate warrior against him: and for so many honors already giuen vnto me, the destinies haue reserved the triumph of Epirus for thee. Wherefore, my son, thou shalt receive from me this Scepter, and these royall ensignes: but aboue all things, I leaue vnto thee this enemy, charging thee not to leaue my death unreuenged. It is all I charge thee with, for so great and stately a patrimony as thou art to receive from me: it is the only sacrifice that my old departing ghost desireth of thee.

Shortly after he became speechles, and striving with the pangs of death half a day, he then breathed out his gastly ghost, to the great ioy and contentment of the poor oppressed Christians. He died about the middle of Autumn, Anno Dom. 1450. when he had liued 85 years, as most write, and therof reigned 28, or as some others report 30; about five months after the besieging of Croia.

Thus lieth great Amurath, erst not inferior vnto the greatest monarchs of that age, dead almost in despair: a worthy mirror of honors frailty, yeelding vnto the worldly man in the end neither comfort nor relief. Who had fought greater battels? who had gained greater victories, or obtained more glorious triumphs than did Amurath? who by the spoil of so many mighty Kings and Princes, and by the conquest of so many proud and warlike nations, again restored and established the Turks kingdom, before by Tamerlane and the Tartars in a manner cleane defaced. He it was that burst the heart of the proud Grecians, establishing his Empire at Constantinople, euen in the centre of their bowels; from whence haue proceeded so many miseries & calamities into the greatest part of Christendom, as no tongue is able to express. He it was that first brake down the Hexamile or wall of separation on the streit of Corinth, and conquered the greatest part of Peloponessus. He it was that subdued vnto the Turkes so many great countries and provinces in Asia; that in plain field and set battell ouerthrew diuers puissant kings and princes, and brought them vnder his subiection; who hauing slaine Vladislans king of Hungary and Polonia, and more than once chased out of the field Huniades that famous and redoubted warrior, had in his proud and ambitious heart promised to himself the conquest of a great part of Christendom. But o how far was he now changed from the man he then was! how far did these his last speeches differ from the course of his forepassed life! full of such base passionate complaints and lamentations as befecemed not a man of his place & spirit; but some vile wretch ouertaken with despair, & afraid to dy. Where were now those haughty thoughts, those lofty looks, those thundring and commanding speeches, at which so many great Captains, so many troupes and legions, so many thousands of armed soldiers were wont to tremble and quake? Where is that head, before adorned with so many trophies and triumphs? Where is that victorious hand that swaied so many scepters? where is the maiestie of his power and strength, that commanded ouer so many nations & kingdoms? O how is the case now altdred! the lieth now dead, a ghastly filthy stinking carcasse, a clod of clay vnguarded, his hands closed, his eies shut, and his feet stretched out, which erst proudly traced the countries by him subdued and conquered. And now of such infinit riches, such vnmeasurable wealth, such huge treasures, such stately honors and vain-glorious praises as he in his life time enjoyed; his frail body enjoyed nothing, but left all behind it. O the weak condition of mans nature! o the vain-glory of mortal Creatures! o the blinde and peruerse thoughts of foolish men! Why doe we so magnifie our selues? why are wee so pufft up with pride? why doe we so much set our minds vpon riches, authority, and other vanities of this life? whereof neuer man had yet one daies assurance, and at our most need, and when we least think, quite forsake vs, leauing euen them that most sought after them, and most abounded in them, shrouded oft times in the sheet of dishonor and shame.

That his death is otherwise by some reported, I am not ignorant, the Turkes saying that he died miraculously forewarned of his death at Hadrianople. And some others, That hee died

Amurath his death.

Amurath an example of the vanity of worldly honor.

in Asia, stricken with an apoplexy proceeding of a surfeit taken of the immoderate drinking of wine. But *Marinus Barlesius*, who lived in his time in Scodra fast by Epirus, whose authority in the report of the wars betwixt him and *Scanderbeg* we follow, sets it down in such manner as is before said.

Amurath born  
in Scodra.

Presently after his death, *Mahomet* his son, for fear of some innovation to be made at home, raised the siege and returned to Hadrianople; and afterward with great solemnity buried his dead body at the West side of Prusa, in the suburbs of the city, where he now lieth in a chapel without any roofe, his grave nothing differing from the manner of the common Turkes; which they say he commanded to be done in his last will, that the mercy and blessing of God (as he termed it) might come vnto him, by the shining of the Sun and Moone, and falling of the rain and dew of heaven vpon his grave.

He whilst he lived mightily enlarged the Turkish kingdom, and with greater wisdom and policie than his predecessors established the same. In somuch that some attribute to him the first institution of the Janizaries and other soldiers of the court (the greatest strength of the Turkish empire) before indeed begun in the time of *Amurath* the first, his great grandfather, (as is before declared) but by him greatly augmented; and the policy of that state, wherein it euer since in his posteritie flourished, euen by himselfe plotted. For the better establishing wherof in his own house, &c. to cut off all occasion of fear, as also to leaue all such as he thought might rise against him, naked & bare of forces to resist (but especially the other antient and noble families of the Turks, still secretly repining at the great honor of the *Othoman* kings) he as a man of great wisdom and iudgment, to keep them vnder in the beginning of his reign, by manifold fauors began to bind to himself men of strange and forreign countries, his seruants; and by ordering his most weighty affaires by their authority, purposed so by little and little to cast off the seruice of his naturall Turks: they in the meane time little or nothing at all looking into this his practise. And whereas the *Othoman* Kings his predecessors had for the most part, or rather altogether raised their Janizaries and other soldiers of the Court, of such children of the Christians as were taken in the Wars; hee, seeing by experience how seruiceable those new kind of soldiers were, began forthwith to plot in his head, how to make himself an army altogether of such able persons, his own creatures, and so to bring in a new kind of Warfare, wholly depending of himself. And to that end, by his officers appointed for that purpose, took from the Christians throughout his dominions, euery fift child, the fairest and aptest of whom he placed in his own Seraglio at Hadrianople, and the rest in other-like places by him built for such purpose: where they were by sufficient teachers, first instructed in the principles of the Mahometan religion, and then in all manner of activity and feats of arms. Of these being grown to mans state, he made horsemen, gaue them great pensions, and sorting them into diuers orders, appointed them also to guard his person, honoring the better sort of them with the name of *Spahi-Oglani*, that is to say, his sons the Knights: and of these hee began to make his Bassas, his Generals of his armies, and the gouernors of his prouinces and cities, with all the great offices of state. The rest, & far the greatest part of these tribute children, taken from their Christian parents, and not brought vp in the Seraglio's, hee caused to be dispersed into euery city and country of his dominion in Asia, there for certain years to be brought vp in all hardnes and painful labor, neuer tasting of ease or pleasure: out of which hard brood so inured to pains, he made choice of the most lusty and able bodies, fittest for seruice, as hee thought good; who kept in continuall exercise, and by skilfull men taught to handle all manner of weapons, but especially the bow, the pike, and the scimitar, were by him as occasion serued, added to the other Janizaries, and appointed for the guarding of his person; commonly calling them by the names of his Sons. The remainder of these Tribute children, as vsfit for the Wars, he put vnto other base occupations and ministeries. But vnto those martiall men of all sorts so by him ordained, he appointed a continuall pay according to their degrees and places: and by great liberties and benefits bestowed vpon them, bound them so fast vnto him, as that he might now account himself to haue of them so many sons, as he had soldiers. For they, together with the Christian religion, hauing forgotten their parents and Country, and knowing no other lord and master but him, and acknowledging all that they had to come and proceed of his free grace only, remained euer bound and faithfull vnto him, and so kept others also, as wel the naturall Turks themselues, as the other oppressed Christians, with-

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- A in the bounds of obedience and loyalty. A great policie proceeding from a deep iudgment, first to weaken the Christians, by taking from them their best children, and of greatest hope; and then by them depending wholly of himself, to keep in awe and dutifull obedience his naturall subiects also: hauing them alwaies as a scourge ready to chastise the rebellious or disloyal. Now the other *Othoman* Kings and Princes (the successors of *Amurath*) keeping this custom, and also increasing it one after another, haue thereby not onely kept the empire still in their house and family, where it was first gotten, but also so maintained the majesty of their state, as that they are of their subiects feared, obeyed, and honored not as Kings, but as Gods. For the naturall Turks their subiects losing courage continually, and daily growing more base and dastardly, by reason they are not suffered to practise the knowledge of arms; and the
- B soldiers in whose power all things are, knowing nothing of their own, but holding & acknowledging all that they haue to come of their Lord, account them as Lords and Kings of all: ruling much after the manner of the *Pharaohs* the antient Kings of Egypt; who were absolute Lords and masters both of the publique and priuat wealth of their subiects, whom they kept vnder as slaues and villaines. And herof comes it to passe, that the better part of them whom we call Turks (but are indeed the children of Christians, & seduced by their false Instrueters) desire to be called Musulmans, that is to say, right beleaguers; holding it a reprochfull & dishonorable thing to be called Turks, as it were peculiarly and about other people. For that they knowing right wel, that there is not one naturall Turk among all those that bear authority and rule, and are had in greater honor and reputation than the rest (such as are the men of war and the courtiers) but he is born a Christian either of father, or at the least of his grandfather; athough them only to be Turks who liue in Natolia, all of them either merchants, or of base and mechanical trades, or poor laborers with the spade and pick-axe, and such like people vsfit for the wars; the rest (as I say) holding it for a title of honor, to be descended of Christian parents. Yea the grand Seignior himself, although by the fathers side hee be come of progenitors such as were naturall Turks born, yet many of them had Christian mothers, which they accounted in the greatest part of their nobility and honor. Thus by *Amuraths* wisdom was the Order of the Janizaries and other soldiers of the Court greatly aduanced, though not by him begun; and the politick state of the kingdom (to say the truth) quite altered: the naturall Turks (more than the Sultan himself) now bearing therein no sway, but only these new
- C soldiers, all of them descended from Christian parents, and by adoption as it were become the sons of the Turkish Sultans, and vnder them commanding all. By whom they haue euer since mannaged their estate, and by their good seruice wonderfully, euen to the astonishment of the world, increased and extended their empire. But of them more shall be said hereafter.
- D This great King was of his subiects while he liued, wonderfully beloved, and no lesse of them after his death lamented. He was more faithfull of his word than any of the Turkish Kings either before or after him: by nature melancholy and sad, and accounted rather politick than valiant, yet was indeed both: a great dissembler and painful in trauell, but waiward and testy about measure, which many imputed vnto his great age. He had issue six sons, *Achmetes*, *Aladin*, *Mahomet*, *Hasan* (otherwise called *Chasan*) *Yrchan*, & *Achmetes* the younger, of some called *Calepinus*. Three of whom died before; but the two youngest were by their vnnaturall brother *Mahomet*, who succeeded in the Turkish kingdom, euen in their infancie, in the beginning of his reign cruelly murdered.

A great policie.

Amurath's disposition.

The sons of Amurath.

FINIS.

The Christian Princes of the East and West, from the Birth of Christ to the Death of the last of the Palaeologi. The Christian Princes of the East and West, from the Birth of Christ to the Death of the last of the Palaeologi. The Christian Princes of the East and West, from the Birth of Christ to the Death of the last of the Palaeologi.

Emperors	Of the East	John Palaeologus.	1431. 24
		Constantinus Palaeologus.	1444. 8
Of the West		Sigismund King of Hungary.	1411. 28
		Albert the Second, King of Hungary and Bohemia.	1438. 2
		Frederick the third, Archduke of Austria.	1440. 14
Christian Princes of the same time with Atmuth the second.	Of England	Henry the first.	1413. 9
		Henry the sixth.	1422. 39
	Of France	Charles the sixth.	1381. 42
		Charles the seventh.	1423. 38
	Of Scotland	James the first.	1424. 13
		James the second.	1436. 39
Bishops of Rome		Martin the V.	1417. 13
		Eugenius the IV.	1431. 16
		Nicolas the V.	1447. 8



Paul. Iov. II.  
Iust. viror. Ec.  
log. lib. 3.

Qui vici innumeros populos, tot regna, tot vrbes,  
Solu & immensi qui timor orbis eram:  
Me rapuit quacunque rapit mors improba, sed sum  
Virtute excelsa, ductus ad astra tamen.  
Major Alexander non me fuit, Anibal & non,  
Fuderis Ausonios tot licet ille duces.  
Vici victores Danaos, domuiq; feroces  
Caonia populos, Sauromataq; truces.  
Pannonius sensit, quantum surgebis in armis  
Vis mea: qua latio cognita nuper erat.  
Arsacida sensere manus has, sensit Arabique:  
Et mea sunt Perca cognita tela duci.  
Mens fuerat bellare Rhodum, superare superbam  
Italiam, sed non fata dedere modum.  
Hei mihi, nam rapuit mors aspera, quaque sub alto  
Pectore condideram, vertit & hora brevis.  
Sic hominum saevis pereunt, sic stemata, sicque  
Imperium, atque aurum, quicquid & orbis habet.

*In English thus :*

I that so many nations, towns,  
and kingdoms haue brought low ;  
And haue alone dismaid the world,  
and fil'd the earth with wo :  
Am now by death (which all deuours)  
brought down from high degree ;  
Yet doth the glory of my name  
surmount the starry skie.  
The great King *Alexanders* fame  
the world no better fil'd :  
Nor worthy *Hanibal*, whose force  
so many Romans kil'd.  
I vanquisht the victorious Greeks,  
and tam'd with mighty hand  
The warlike people of Epire,  
and fierce Tartaria land.  
My force in field Hungaria felt,  
my greatnes is there known ;  
Which of late time through Italy,  
to their great ruth is blown.  
Th'Assyrians felt my heauy hand ;  
so did th'Arabians wild :  
The Persian King with all his force  
I droue out of the field.  
I purposed to win the Rhodes,  
and Italy t'undo ;  
If that the fatall Destinies  
had granted leaue thereto.  
But wo is me, for grisly Death  
hath brought all this to nought,  
And in the twinkling of an eye  
is perisht all I thought.  
So periseth the pride of man,  
his honor, wealth, and power,  
His gold, and whatsoeuer els,  
it fadeth as a flower,



THE LIFE OF *MAHOMET*, SECOND  
OF THAT NAME, SEVENTH KING, AND FIRST  
EMPEROR OF THE TURKS, FOR HIS  
MANY VICTORIES SYRNA-  
MED THE GREAT.

**T**HE report of the death of old *Amurath* the late King, was in short time blowne thorow most parts of Christendome, to the great joy of many ; but especially of the Greekes and other poore Christi-  
ans which bordered vpon the tyrants Kingdome ; who were now in hope, together with the change of the Turkish King, to make exchange also of their bad estate and fortune : and the rather, for that it was thought, that his eldest sonne *Mahomet*, after the death of his father, would haue imbraced the Christian Religion, being in his childhood instructed therein (as was supposed) by his mother the daughter of the Prince of Serua, a Christian. But vaine was this hope, and the joy thereof but short, as afterward by prooffe it appeared : For *Mahomet* being about the age of one and twenty yeares, succeeding his father in the Kingdome in the yeare of our Lord 1450, embraced in shew the Mahometan Religion, abhorring the Christian ; but indeed making no great reckoning either of the one or of the other, but as a meere Atheist, deuoyd of all Religion, and worshipping no other god but good Fortune, derided the simplicity of all such as thought that God had any care or regard of worldly men, or of their actions : which gracieffe resolution so wrought in him, that he thought all things lawfull that agreed with his lust, and making conscience of nothing, kept no league, promise, or oath, longer than stood with his profit or pleasure.

Now in the Court men stood diuersly affected towards the present state : the mighty Baf-  
saes, and others of great authority, vnto whom the old Kings gouernment was neuer gricuous, inwardly lamented his death ; doubting lest the fierce nature of the yong King should turn to the hurt of some of them in particular, and the shortning of their authority in generall, as indeed it shortly after fell out. But the lusty gallants of the Court weary of the old King, who in hope of preferment had long wished for the gouernment of the yong Prince, were glad to see him set vpon his fathers seat. And the vulgar people (neuer constant but in vnconstancy, and alwaies fawning vpon the present) exceedingly rejoyced in their yong King. The Ianizaries also at the same time (according to their accustomed manner) took the spoile of the Christians and Iews that dwelt amongst them, and easily obtained pardon for the same : whereupon he was by the same Ianizaries and other souldiers of the Court, with great triumph saluted King. Which approbation of these men of war, is vnto the Turkish Kings a greater assurance for the possession of their Kingdome, than to be borne the eldest son of the King, as in the pro-  
fesse of this History shall appeare : so great is the power of these masterfull slaues, in promoting to the kingdome whichsoeuer of the Kings sons they most fauour, without much regard whether they be eldest or not.

This yong tyrant was no sooner possessed of his fathers kingdome, but that he forgetting the lawes of nature, was presently in person himselfe about to haue murdered with his owne hands,

1450  
*Mahomet of no Religion*

*Mahomet murdered by his brethren*

hands; his youngest brother, then but eightheene moneths old, begotten on the daughter of *Sponderbeius*. Which vnnaturall part, *Moses* one of his Bassaes, and a man greatly in his fauour, perceiuing, requested him, not to embroile his own hands in the blood of his brother, but rather to commit the execution thereof to some other: which thing *Mahomet* commanded him the author of that counsell forthwith to do. So *Moses* taking the child from the nurse, strangled it, with pouring water downe the throat thereof. The young lady vnderstanding of the death of her child (as a woman whom fury had made past feare) came, and in her rage reuiled the tyrant to his face, shamefully vbraiding him for his inhumane cruelty. When *Mahomet* to appease her fury, requested her to be content, for that it stood with the policy of his state: and willed her for her better contentment, to aske whatfoeuer she pleased, and she should forthwith haue it. But she desiring nothing more than in some sort to be reuenged, desired to haue *Moses* (the executioner of her sonne) deliuered vnto her, bound: which when she had obtained, she presently struck him into the breast with a knife (crying in vaine vpon his vnthankfull master for helpe:) and proceeding in her cruell execution, cut an hole in his right side, and by piece-meale cut out his liuer, and cast it to the dogs to eat. At the same time also he caused another of his brethren, committed by his father to the keeping of *Caly Bassa*, and now by him betraid into his hands, to be likewise murdered.

A cruell re-  
uenge of an-  
griuousness.

Mahomet refer-  
reth to the Tur-  
kish common-  
weale.

Thus beginning his tyrannous reign with the bloody execution of them that were in blood necrest vnto him, and whom of all others he ought to haue defended, he presently after began to frame a new forme of a common-weale, by abrogating and altering the old laws & customs, and publishing of new, better fitting his own humour, and more commodious for himselfe: imposing also new taxes and subsidies vpon his subjects, neuer before heard of thereby to increase his treasures, and satisfie his auaritious desire: which amongst many other his vices, so much reigned in him, as that he was thought ouer-sparing vnto himselfe, as well in his apparel as in his diet. And proceeding further, he called vnto streit account all the great officers of his kingdom: of whom some he put to death, and confiscated their goods: others he put to great fines, or quite remoued them from their offices. In like maner he dealt also with his great Bassaes, admitting many false and furnished accusations against them: whereby to bring them within his danger, where little mercy was to be looked for. By which meanes he became no lesse terrible vnto his subjects, than he was afterwards vnto his enemies: and so was of them exceedingly feared, but more hated. Among other things, he much misliked in his court the excessive number of faulconers and huntsmen, which was growne so great by the immoderate delight which his predecessors tooke in the pleasures of the field, that there were continually maintained of the Kings charge seuen thousand faulconers, and not many fewer huntsmen, saying, that he would not be so much a foole, as to maintain such a multitude of men to attend vpon so meere a vanity. And therefore tooke order, that from thenceforth there should be allowance made for 500 faulconers only, and 100 huntsmen: the rest he appointed to serue as soldiers in his wars. At the same time also he entred into league with *Constantinus Palaeologus* the Emperor of Constantinople, and the other Princes of Grecia: as also with the Despot of Sernia, his grandfather by the mothers side, as some will haue it; howbeit, some others write, that the Despot his daughter, *Amurath* his wife, was but his mother in law, whom he, vnder the colour of friendship sent backe againe vnto her father after the death of *Amurath*, still allowing her a princely dowry. But if she were not his mother (as like enough it is that she was not) much more happy was she that she neuer groned for so gracelesse a son.

1451

Mahomet forth-  
with against the King  
of Caramania.

Whilest *Mahomet* was thus occupied about his ciuill affaires, *Ibrahim* King of Caramania, who long before had married *Amuraths* sister, and yet for all that, had (as his ancestors had before him) alwaies enuied the prosperous succeffe of the *Othoman* Kings, tooke occasion in the first yere of *Mahomet* his reigne, with fire and sword to inuade his dominions in Asia. Which thing when *Mahomet* vnderstood, he displaced *Isa* his lieutenant in Asia, as a man not sufficient to mannage so great warres, and appointed *Isaac Bassa* in his roome, a most valiant man of war, vpon whom not long before he had vpon speciall fauour bestowed in marriage the faire daughter of *Sponderbeius*, one of his fathers wiues, of whom we haue spoken before. This great Bassa passing ouer into Asia, raised a great army. After whom followed *Mahomet* in person himselfe with a greater, out of Europe: and hauing all his forces together, entred with great hostility into Caramania. But the Caramanian King perceiuing himselfe vnable to withstand

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A so puissant an enemy, fled into the strength of the great mountains, and by his Embassadors offered vnto *Mahomet* such reasonable conditions of peace, as that he was content to accept thereof. Which after they had by solemne oath on both parts confirmed, *Mahomet* returned with his army to Prusa: but when he was come thither, the Ianizaries presuming that they might be bold with the young King, putting themselves in order of battell, came and with great insolency demanded of him a donatiue or largious, as a reward of their good seruice done. With which so great presumption, *Mahomet* was inwardly chafed: but for so much as they were his best souldiers, and already in armes, he wisely dissembled his anger for the present, hauing a little before had warning thereof by *Abedin Bassa*, and *Turechan beg*, two of his great captains, who had got some suspicion of the matter: wherefore to content them, he caused ten great bags of aspers to be scattered among them; and to pacified the matter. But within few daies after, he caused *Daganes* (the Aga or chief captain of the Ianizaries) to be brought before him, and to be shamefully whipt: and so presently discharging him of his office, placed one *Mustapha* in the same. The like severity he vsed against the rest of the vnder captains, causing them to be cruelly scourged and beaten like slaues: which in that tyrannical gouernment is an vsuall punishment, vpon the least displeasure of the King to be inflicted vpon any man, without respect of degree or calling, if he be not a naturall Turkeborn. Presently after he sent *Isaac* his lieutenant against *Elias* Prince of Mentesia or Caria, by whom the poore Prince was driuen out of his countrey: euer since which time it hath remained in subjection to the Turkish Kings, as part of their Kingdome and Empire.

Mentesia sub-  
dued by the  
Turks.

When *Mahomet* had thus ended the Caramanian war, and was determined with his army to returne to Hadrianople, he was aduertised, That the streits of Hellespontus were so strongly possessed by the Christian fleet, that he could not there possibly passe ouer but with most manifest danger: wherefore he tooke his way through that part of Bythinia which lyeth about Constantinople, and came to the castle which the Turks call *Acce-Chisar*, and the Grecians, *Acce-Chisar*, or white castle, standing vpon the narrow streit of Bosphorus on Asia side, and there passed ouer into Europe at the same place where his father *Amurath* had not many yeares before in like manner found passage. Where when he was safely got ouer with his army, he by the aduice of his Bassaes encamped fast by the sea side, and there presently began to build a great strong castle close vnto the streits of Bosphorus, neere vnto Propontis, on Europe side, directly ouer against the other castle in Asia. For the speedy accomplishment of which work, he assembled thither all the workmen he could possibly get out of Europe and Asia, apportioning vnto his captaines and soldiers of his army part of the worke also: by whose industry and labor, that great building was in shorter time brought to perfection, than was by any man at the first expected. This castle which for the greatnesse thereof, is of most writers reputed for a city, was by the Turks named *Genichisar*, and of the Grecians *Neocastron*, or New castle, and also *Lemacastron*, or castle vpon the streits; and was there by the Turks built, as well for the safety of their owne passage to and fro, as for to hinder the passage of the Christians through those narrow streits, they now possessing the strong forts on both sides: and thereby also to distresse the city of Constantinople, from whence this castle was not aboute fiew miles distant. When *Mahomet* in the second yere of his reign had finished this great castle, with some other small forts about the same, and also repaired the other castle in Asia ouer against it, he placed therein strong garrisons, and furnished the same with artillery; in such sort, that no ship could passe through the streit of Bosphorus into the great Euxine, or blacke sea, but there was in danger to be funke: whereby the rich trade which the merchants of Venice, Genua, and Constantinople, had to Caffa, and other places lying vpon the Euxine, were almost quite cut off, to the great hinderance of those estates. Now *Mahomet* by nature ambitious, and withall desirous to do some such thing as the glory whereof might farre passe the fame of his predecessors, thought nothing more answerable to his high conceits, than to attempt the winning of Constantinople, and the vtter subuersion of the Greeke Empire: Whereupon his father *Amurath*, and his great grandfather *Bajazet*, had before in vaine spent their forces. Besides that, it grieved him to see that goodly city, the antient seat of the Christian Empire, to be so commodiously situated; as it were in the midst of his Kingdome, and not to be at his command. Hereunto the small power of the Greeke Emperour himselfe, and the other Christian Princes at the same time at mortall discord amongst themselves, ministred vnto his greedy

1452

Mahomet maketh  
preparati-  
on for the besie-  
ging of Con-  
stantinople.

Constantinus  
the Emperour  
vaine, crau-  
nd of the Con-  
stantinopolis.

desire no small hope of successe, and serued as spurs to prick him forward vnto so great an enterprife. Wherefore all the Winter he caused great preparation to be made of shipping and otherwarlike prouision both by sea and land: and gaue out commissions for the leuying of a mighty army, to be in readinesse against the next Spring. But whether he would employ the same, no man could certainly tell: some ghesing one thing, and some another, as the manner of men is, when such extraordinary preparation is at hand. *Constantinus* the eighth of that name, then Emperour of Constantinople, a Prince of a mild and soft spirit, fitter for the Church than for the field, hearing of the great preparation made by the Turkish King, and fearing lest that tempest then growing, should vpon the sudden break forth vpon himself, first made such preparation as his owne small ability would extend vnto. And then sent his Embassadors vnto other Christian Princes, earnestly crauing their aid & assistance in that his dangerous estate. But that labour was lost, and all his suit vaine: for they being at variance one with another, and hauing more care of priuate reuenge, than how to repulse the common enemy of Christianity, could not, or would not afford him any helpe at all. *Nicholas* the fifth of that name, then Bishop of Rome, with *Alphonso* King of Naples, and the State of Venice, promised to haue sent him thirty gallies, but none for all that came.

There were by chance at Constantinople certain ships and gallies of Venice, Genua, Creet and Chios, of whom the Emperour made stay: at which time also it chanced, that *Ioannes Iustinianus*, an aduenturer of Genua, who had bene scouring those seas, came to Constantinople with two tall ships, and foure hundred fouldiers: where he was entertained by the Emperour. And forasmuch as he was a man honourably descended, and supposed to be both of great courage and direction, was by the Emperour appointed Generall of all his forces next vnto himselfe. He also entertained six thousand Greekes: which, with three thousand Venetians, Genowies and others, whom he had made stay of, joyned vnto the citizens, was all the weake strength he had to rely vpon, for the defence of his State and Empire.

1453

Vide Leonispi  
Chienfis Ar-  
chiepiscopi  
Mityken, hist.  
de captiuitate  
Constantino-  
politana.

Against the beginning of the Spring, the Turkish king had in readinesse a great and puissant army of three hundred thousand men, of whom, the greatest part were taken out of Bulgaria, Seruia, Rascia, Thessalia, Macedonia, and Grecia, which as yet were called the Christian countries, and were themselves either indeed Christians, or else such renegates as had not long before forsaken the Christian faith: vnto these also were joyned diuers other Christians which came out of Germany, Bohemia, and Hungary, to serue the Turke in his wars. This hath been none of the least means, wherby the Turkish Kings haue growne so great, and their kingdome so mightily enlarged, by inforcing and alluring Christians to fight against Christians, to the vtter confusion of themselves. Among the great multitude of the European Christians, were mingled his effeminate fouldiers of Asia, and his naturall Turks and Ianizaries, which were in number fewest, and yet cammanded all the rest.

Mahomet en-  
campeth before  
Constantinople.

With this great army, well appointed with all warlike prouision, came *Mahomet* the Turkish King from Hadrianople: and the ninth day of Aprill, in the yeare 1453, encamped before Constantinople, and with the multitude of his army filled all the maine land before the city, from the sea side of Bosphorus, vnto the place where the same sea compassing in the city on two parts, and running far into the land betwixt Constantinople and Pera, maketh there a goodly haue between them.

The situation  
of Constantinop-  
lis.

This city of Constantinople (called in ancient time Bizantium) is in some of a Triangle, situated in Europe in the pleasant country of Thracia, vpon a point of the maine land shooting out towards Asia, called by *Pliny* and *Solinus*, the promontory Chryoceras, where the sea of Propontis joyneeth vnto that streit of sea, which diuideth Asia from Europe, called in ancient time Bosphorus Thracius; sometime the streit of Pontus; and the mouth of Pontus; and of the modern writers, the streit of Constantinople; and about two hundred yeares past, or more, *S. George* his arme. This point of the maine, whereon the city standeth, lieth about two Italian miles more Northward than doth the ancient city of Calcedon, on the other side of the streit in Asia: more than thirty miles distant from the Buxine or blacke Sea, lying from it Northward: And two hundred miles from the streit of Hellespontus or Gallipolis, from thence South. Which noble City (of all others most fitly seated for the Empire of the World, and with great majesty overlooking both Europe and Asia) is by the Cosmographers accounted to stand in the height of 43 degrees, vpon seven little hills, of

no

Constantinople  
built by *Constan-  
tine*, destroyed  
by *Seuerus*, re-  
deified by *Con-  
stantine* the  
Great, and now  
taken by *Mahomet*  
the Turk.

A no great and easie ascent: and was there first buile by *Pausanias* the Lacedemonian King, and called Bizantium, and so many yeares flourished as a populous and rich city, vntill the ciuill wars betwixt *Seuerus* the Emperour, and *Niger*: what time it indured the siege of the Romans vnder *Seuerus*, three yeares, with such obstinacy, that it yielded not vntill it was brought to such extremity, that the citifens did eat one another; and then yielded, had the wals ouerthrowne by *Seuerus*, and the city it selfe destroyed, and brought to the low estate of a poore countrey village, and so by him giuen to the Perinthians. In which base estate it continued vntill the time of *Constantine* the Great, the son of *Helena* (whom some will needs haue to haue bene an English woman) by whom it was new built, and beautified with buildings so stately & sumptuous, that vnto the strange beholders it seemed a dwelling place for heavenly wights, rather than for earthly men. And to grace it the more, translated his imperiall seat thither, and called it *Neua Roma*, or New Rome; and all that pleasant part of Thracia along the sea coast of Hellespontus, Propontis, and Bosphorus, by the name of Romania, of the faire Romane colonies there by him planted, which name it at this day retaineth, and is of the Turks called Rumilia, and Rum-Ili, that is to say, the Romane country. But as for the city it selfe, the glorious name of the founder so preuailed, that the city was & yet is (of him) called Constantinople, or *Constantine* his city: and now of the barbarous Turks commonly, but corruptly, Stamboli. It is (as we said) built in the forme of a Triangle, whereof the longest side, which runneth from Northeast to Southwest, is on the South side washed with the Propontis; and towards the ending of the point, which is about the seven towers, is somewhat indented; being commonly reputed to be eight miles long. The other side lieth East and West five miles in length, being washed with the haue, which is somewhat more than eight miles long before it meet with the fresh water, and about a quarter of a mile broad: on the further side whereof standeth the city of Pera, commonly called Galata, sometimes a colony of the Genowies. This haue is very deepe, and by that reason as commodious as deep, bearing ships full fraught close to the shoare, so that they may discharge their burthens with the least trouble that may be; and is of *Strabo* called *Cornu Bizantium*, or the Horne of Bizantium. The third side of this city towards the Continent, lieth almost North and South, five miles also in length; those two sides that lie vpon the sea, and the haue, are intironed and girt in with a single wall, built after the antique maner, with many high towers, which strongly defend and flanke the same. Without which wals (especially towards the haue) there lieth a street between them and the shore. But the other side which is the third, and regardeth the maine land (beside the ditch, which is also fenced) is defended with three wals: the first wall standing vpon the ditch being but low; and the second not far distant from the first, raised somewhat higher; but the third overlooketh and commandeth both the other; from whence as from an high fortresse both the other wals and all the ditch without may easily be defended. But the two vtter wals, with the whole space betwixt them, are now by the Turks but slenderly maintained, lying full of earth and other rubbish, euen as they were in the time of the Grecians: some cause why they with lesse heart & courage defended the same against their barbarous enemy. In the East part of the city, on that point which in the reign of the Grecians was called the cape of *S. Demetrio*, distant from Asia not much more than halfe a mile, stands the Seraglio or palace of the great Turk, containing in it selfe a great part of an hill, enclosed round with a wall, as if it were it selfe a city, in circuit more than two miles: wherein amongst other stately buildings, nere vnto the sea standeth a very faire and sumptuous gallery, built for pleasure, with a priuy gate well fortified and planted with great ordnance, and other munition, whereby the great Turke at certaine times passeth, when he is disposed in his gally to take his pleasure vpon the sea, or to passe over the streit vnto his houses or gardens of delight, on the other side in Asia. In this great city are also many other most stately and sumptuous buildings, as well of late erected by the Turkish Sultans, since they became Lords thereof, as before by the Greeke Emperours: amongst all which the Temple of *S. Sophia* standing on the East side of the city, not far from the Seraglio (now reduced vnto the form of a Mahometan Moschy, and whither the great Turke goeth oftentimes to heare seruice, being indeed but the sanctuary or chancel only of the great stately and wonderful church built by *Iustinian* the Emperour) is most beautiful and admirable. That which standeth of it now, is both round and very high, built after the fashion of the Pantheon in Rome, but much greater, fairer, and not open in the top as is that: the wals thereof being of the finest

The magnifi-  
cent Temple of  
*S. Sophia*.

marble, and the floore all paved with faire marble also. In the middest there is a very great and large circle, compassed in with high and huge pillars of most excellent marble of diuers sorts, and these support a mighty vault that beareth vp as many mo pillars aboue, standing after the very same order, and in a downe-right line, almost of the like greatnesse and goodnesse of the marble with the other below: vpon which, aboue the second vault in manner of a loouer, resteth the great round rooffe which couereth all that space of the Church which is compassed with the foresaid pillars being all enameled and filled, with the pictures of Saints, after the ancient manner of some great Churches in Christendome: but that the Turks, who like not to haue any pictures in their churches, haue put out their eies only, as loth to spoile such a rare piece of worke and vterly to deface it. In like maner the wals of the vpper vault are wrought, painted, or portraied after the same order, though in some part decayed, by reason of their long continuance and standing. About this church are eightene or twenty doores of brasse, right faire and costly, well declaring the magnificence and greatnesse thereof in more ancient times, when as it had (as is reported) more than two hundred doores of like making and greatnesse: and beside the hugeness of the frame and building it selfe, had also diuers faire monasteries and houses of religion joyned vnto it: whereunto belonged six thousand Priests, whose houses and lodgings extended almost all ouer the place where now the Turks palace standeth, and the other places adjoyning to this great church, which is now their chiefe Moschy, and called by them by the proper name of *S. Sophia*, because they hold euen as we doe, the wisdome of God to be incomprehensible and infinit. The next in magnificence vnto this is the Moschy of *Solyman*, wherein he lieth buried, and his welbeloued wife the faire *Roxolana*: a worke well becoming the majesty of so mighty a Monarch. There are beside these also many other faire Moschies, Seraglios for the Turke his wiues and concubins, Bezastanes or Burfes for merchants, Obeliskes, Bathes, and other publike edifices and buildings of great majesty and state, all well worth the beholding: wherein consisteth all the beauty of this so ancient and renowned a city; far vnlike to that it was in the time of the first Greeke Emperors, and before it was spoiled by the Latins. For the Turks priuat houses in this so great and imperiall a city, so much renowned thorow the world, are for the most part low and base, after the Turkish fashion, built some of wood, some of stone, and some of vnburnt bricke, laid with clay and dirt, which quickly decayeth again: they after their homely manner (by long custome receiued) neuer building any thing sumptuously for their own priuat vse, but contenting themselves with their simple cottages, how mean soeuer, commonly saying them to be good enough for the short time of their pilgrimage: and yet not sparing for any cost vpon the publike buildings and ornaments of the commonweale, which they build with great majesty and pomp, but specially their Moschies, wherein they excell. Neuertheless, there yet are in Constantinople some other houses also built high and comely enough, but these be few, and very old, all inhabited by the Christians and Iewes, and not by the Turks; but of this enough. And so againe to our purpose.

The fragility  
of the Turks in  
their priuate  
buildings.

The Turks fleet.

Mahomet with his puissant army thus encamped before the city, placing his Asian soldiers on the right hand towards the Bosphorus, his European soldiers on the left hand, toward the hauen; lay himselfe with 15000 Iapizaries and other soldiers of the court, in the middle betwixt both, against the heart of the city. On the further side of the hauen also by Pera, he placed *Zoganus*, one of his chiefe counsellors, with another part of his army. At which time also *Pantolages* his admirall came to the siege, with a fleet of 30 gallies, and 200 other small ships, and a number of other lesser vessels, which were rowed with three, or five oares apiece, full of Turkish archers, fitter for shew than seruice, but for defence of the hauen, and so of the city on that side, the Emperour had caused the hauen to be strongly chained ouerthwart from the city to Pera: and within the chaine had orderly placed his strong fleet; the greatest strength whereof was seuen great ships of Genoa, with three gallies, and two gallions of Venice, three of Crete, and a few other of the Island of Chios, all which were there, rather by change vpon marchants affaires, than that they were provided for any such seruice: yet by this means the Turks fleet was shut out of the hauen, and so the city put in good safety on that side.

When Mahomet had thus conveniently encamped his army, and surrounded the city both by sea and land, he first cast vp great trenches as neere as he possibly could vnto the wals of the city, and raised mounts in diuers places as high as the wals themselves, from whence the Turks with their shot greatly annoied the defendants. After that, he placed his battery against one of

the

A the gates of the city called *Calegaria*, and terribly battered the same, specially with one piece of ordnance of a wonderfull greatnesse, which with much difficulty was brought from *Hadrinople* with an hundred and fifty yoke of oxen, and carried a bullet of an hundred pound weight, made (as his other shot was) of a kind of hard blacke stone brought from the *Euxine* sea: for as yet (as it seemeth) so soone after the inuention of that farall engine, the vse of bullets of metall was vnkowne. There with continuall battery, he terribly shooke the wals, which although they were very strong, yet were they not able to withstand the fury of so great a battery. The Christians also our of the city discharged their great artillery vpon the Turks, but so sparingly, as if they had bin afraid to shake their owne wals, or loth for good husbandry, to spend shot and powder, which was to the canoniers very sparingly allowed: yet that which was spent, was so well bestowed, that the Turks were therewith grievously annoyed. The breach also which they had made at the foresaid gate, was by the defendants with great and dangerous labour again repaired with faggots and earth, and such like matter best seruing for that purpose, and so made stronger than before. In which most dangerous worke, they were altogether directed and greatly encouraged by *Iustinianus* the Genoway, the Emperors lieutenant Generall for defence of the city.

Yet for all this diligence of the Christians, Mahomet continued his battery with no lesse fury than before: but reposing greater hope to finde a way into the city, by the spade and mattocke, than by battery; he employed his pioners, whereof he had great store, to digge a mine: being altogether directed by Christians, skilfull in that kind of worke, whom he had for that purpose entertained. By whose cunning direction, with the industrious labour of the poore pioners, the mine was brought to such perfection, that part of the wall, with one of the strong towers in the same, was quite vndermined, and stood supported, but with such vntrusty staies as the pioners had left for the bearing vp thereof till such time as it should be by the tyrants appointment blowne vp. This dangerous work was neither perceiued, neither yet feared by the Constantinopolitans, as a thing not possible to haue bin done: forasmuch as *Bajazet* & *Amurath* had both with great labour before in vaine attempted the same, at such time as they hardly besieged the city. But that which those great kings had with much vaine labor by vnskillfull men made prooffe of, Mahomet had now by men of greater deuice, brought to passe, although it took not such effect as he wished: for one *To. Grandu*, a German captaine, and a man of great experience, suspecting the matter, had caused a countermine to be made, whereby the labour of the Turks was in good time discovered, and they with fire and sword driuen out of the mine, and the same strongly filled vp againe, and so the city for that time deliuered of a great feare and danger. Mahomet perceiuing that it auailed him not to continue his battery against that place, which was againe so strongly repaired, removed the same, and planted it against a tower called *Baetatina*, neere vnto the gate called *Porta Romana*, or, *Romane Gate*. Which tower shaken with continuall battery, at length fell downe, and filled the ditch before the vtter wall, euen with the ground. But this breach was also speedily and with great courage made vp again by the defendants, although the Turks did what they could, with continuall shot to haue driuen them from the same. At which time they also erected certaine high towers of timber, couered with raw hides to defend the same from fire, out of which they with their shot slew many of the Christians vpon the wals, and in making good the foresaid breach: but Mahomet seeing this valiantnesse of the defendants, openly said, That it was neither the Grecians skill, nor courage, but the Frenchmen that defended the city: for the Turks commonly call all the Christians of the West by the name of *Franks* or *Frenchmen*.

The cheerfulness and industry of the Christians in defending and repairing the foresaid breach, was so great, that the Turkish King began almost to despaire of winning the city; which he could no way assault but on one side. When as a bad Christian in his camp, put him againe in good hope, by shewing vnto him a deuice how to bring a great part of his fleet ouer land into the hauen, & thereby to assault that part of the city by water, which the citifens least feared; by which ingenious deuice, and by the great strength of men, *Zoganus Bassa* (to whom that charge was committed) brought seuentie of the lesser ships & gallions, with all their sailes abroad (to the great admiration of those that saw them) vp a grend hit, & so to dry land, out of the Bosphorus behind Pera, the space of eight miles, into the hauen of Constantinople, which running in betweene the city and Pera, runneth into the maine Land (as we haue said) about eight

Constantinople  
vndermined by  
the Turks.

Seuentie of the  
Turks gallions  
brought eight  
miles ouer land  
(by the deuice  
of a Christian)  
into the hauen  
of Constantinople.

eight miles. The Christian that discovered this deuise vnto the king, is supposed to haue lea-  
ned it of the Venetians, who not long before had done the like at the lake of Bannacus. Glad  
was Mahomet to see so many of his ships and gallies in the hauen, and the Christians with the  
fight thereof no lesse discouraged. Neuertheless, they attempted to haue burnt those vessels  
as they were in launching, but the Turks had so commodiously placed certain pieces of great  
Ordnance for their defence, that the foremost of the gallies of the Christians, approaching the  
Turks fleet was presently sunke; wherewith the rest dismayed, returned backe from whence  
they came. Certaine of the Christians of the lost gally, whom the Turks tooke vp swimming  
in the hauen, were the next day cruelly slaine in the sight of the Christians: in reuenge wher-  
of, certaine Turks before taken prisoners into Constantinople, were forthwith brought to the  
top of the wals, and there in the sight of the campe with like cruelty put to death.

A wonderfull  
bridge made by  
the Turkes ouer  
the hauen of  
Constantinople

A notable fight  
betweene foure  
of the Christians  
ships, and the  
Turks fleet.

Mahomet thus possessed of the hauen, shortly after caused a wonderfull bridge to be made  
quite ouer the hauen, from Zaganus his campe which lay by Pera, vnto the wals of Constanti-  
nople: which bridge was built with timber and planks, borne vp with small boates and em-  
pty caske, after a most strange manner, and was in length more than halfe a mile: by which  
bridge his army came ouer the hauen, to assault the city on that side also.

In the meane time, three tall Genoway ships laded with men and munition from the Island  
of Chios, with one of the Emperours laded with corne from Sicilia, came with a faire wind  
for Constantinople. The Turks great fleet then lying not far off, within the sight of the campe,  
set vpon them, and after a great fight, wherein an exceeding number of the Turks were slaine  
with shot, the gallies boarded the ships: but being much lower, were so far from doing any  
good, as that the Turks could not well looke out, but they were from aboue slaine or wound-  
ed. Mahomet from the shore beholding the vnequall fight, and slaughter of his men, cried out  
aloud, swearing and blaspheming God, and in great rage rid into the sea so far as he durst, and  
comming backe again rent his clothes, faring with himselfe like a mad man. The whole army  
of the Turks beholding the same fight at sea, was filled with like indignation also, but could  
nothing remedy the matter. The great fleet ashamed in the sight of their King, to be over-  
come of so few ships, did what they might desperately to enter: but all in vaine, being continu-  
ally overwhelmed with shot and stones from aboue, and valiantly beaten downe by the Chri-  
stian souldiers. At length weary of their losse, they were glad with dishonour to fall off again,  
and to get them further off. The report of the losse the Turks sustained in this fight is almost  
incredible: some of the Turks fugitiues reported, almost ten thousand Turks to haue there  
perished: but certaine it is, that such was the losse, as filled the whole army with indignation  
and sorrow, many hauing there lost their kinsmen or friends. Three of these ships that had  
made this fight, arrived in safety at Constantinople, the other was lost. Mahomet vpon this  
ouerthrow conceiued such displeasure against Pantogles his Admirall, who in that fight had  
lost one of his eies, that he neuertheless thrust him out of his office, confiscated his goods, and  
was hardly by the great Bassas entreated to spare his life.

Whilest Mahomet thus lay at the siege of Constantinople, and had thereunto giuen many  
great attempts, with more losse vnto himselfe than to the defendants, a rumor was raised in his  
campe, of great aid that was comming out of Italy by sea, and out of Hungary by land, for the  
reliefe of the besieged. This report (although indeed it was not true) with the due considerati-  
on of the danger of the siege, filled the Turks campe with feare: so that the souldiers commonly  
murmured amongst themselves, saying, That to satisfie the ambitious humor of their young  
king, they were led to fight against impregnable wals and fortresses, yea, against the battlements  
it selfe, without all reason: Whereupon Mahomet entred into consultation with the three  
great Bassas his counsellors, Whether it were best for him to continue the siege or not. When  
Caly Bassa, sometime his tutor, a man of greatest authority among the Turks, both for his long  
experience and high place, and withall secretly fauouring the distressed Emperour, after he  
had with long & graue discourses declared the difficulty or rather impossibility of the wished  
successe in that present war, and confirmed the same, by producing the examples of Bajazet  
his great grandfather, and of Amurat his father, who had both in vaine made proofe of their  
strength against that city: at length concluded, that in his mind it were best for him to raise his  
siege, & to depart before he had sustained any further losse or disgrace: but Zaganus the second  
Bassa, so great fauor also with Mahomet, and secretly enuying the greatness of Caly Bassa, per-  
suaded

A suaded the K. to proceed in his honorable enterprise: assuring him of the good successe there-  
of, and with all the reasons he could deuise, impugned that which Caly Bassa had said. And of  
the same opinion with Zaganus was also the third Bassa, rather of purpose to crosse Caly Bassa,  
and withall to fit the Kings humor, than for any great hope he had in the good successe of that  
he so much desired. Howbeit the speech he & Zaganus deliuered, so well agreed with the kings  
affection, that he resolved to continue the siege: and thereupon gaue full authority to Zaganus  
to appoint a day for a great and generall assault to be giuen, resolving at once to gage all his  
forces vpon the winning of the city. Which charge Zaganus gladly took vpon him, & with his  
good liking, appointed the 29 day of May for the general assault, being then the tuesday next  
following. In the meane time he sent one Ismael, the son of Alexander Prince of Sinope, embas-  
sador vnto the Emperour, to offer him peace: but vpon such hard conditions, as were no lesse  
to be refused than death it selfe. Which thing he did, partly to satisfie the minds of his Turks  
(who were for most part of opinion, That God will not prosper them in their assaults, except  
they first make with their enemies some offer of peace, how vnreasonable soeuer it forcerh  
not) and partly to make proofe what confidence the enemy yet had in himselfe, for the holding  
out of the siege. But that dishonorable peace so offered, together with the intollerable condi-  
tions, was by the emperor honorably refused: who no lesse feared the Turks faith (if he should  
haue accepted thereof) than he did the hardnes of the conditions. Three daies before this fatall  
assault was to be giuen, the Turks (according to their maner) kept their solemne fast, eating no-  
thing al that day vntil night, and then making the greatest cheere & joy they could deuise, and  
in the winding vp of the same, took their leaue one of another, with such kissing & embracing  
as if they should neuer haue met againe. At the same time Mahomet to encourage his souldiers,  
caused proclamation to be made thorow his campe, That he would freely giue all the spoile of  
the city for three daies vnto his souldiers, if they could win it: and for confirmation thereof,  
solemnly swore the Turks great oath, By the immortall God, and by the foure hundred Pro-  
phets, by Mahomet, by his fathers soule, by his owne children, and by the sword wherewith he  
was girt, faithfully to performe what soeuer he had to them in his proclamation promised.

Whilest these things were in doing, Caly Bassa disdaining that his counsell was rejected, and  
the opinion of his aduersaries followed; by secret letters aduertised the Emperour of the day  
appointed for the generall assault, together with all the preparation made against him: persua-  
ding him not to be afraid of them, who were themselves no lesse afraid of him, but carefully  
to provide to haue all things in readinesse for the defence of his city, and valiantly to with-  
stand the rash and last attempt of his enemies.

This wofull Emperour had already done what he could to the vttermost of his power for  
defence of the city all the time of the siege: but such was the disloyalty of the citizens his  
subjects, that many times they could hardly be drawne from their priuate trades and occupa-  
tions, vnto the wals to withstand the enemy, foolishly affirming, That it was to no purpose for  
them to fight against the Turks at the breaches, and to starue for food at home in their hou-  
ses. For which cause, the Emperor commanded a view to be taken of all the corne in the city  
(which then began to grow very scarce;) but vpon diligent search made, such store was found  
in many mens hands, (which was by them either altogether kept in to sel afterwards at vnrea-  
sonable prizes, or els so sparingly vnto, as if they had none to spare) as that it appeared, the  
dearth and scarcity which then began to increase, to proceed rather of the couetousnesse of  
men, than of any true want of graine: this store the Emperour caused to be proportionably  
diuided vnto euery family at reasonable prizes, according to their spending; and so eased the  
great murmuring and grudging of the common people for bread. The Grecian mercenary  
souldiers also, regarding more their owne priuate profit than the publike seruice, refused any  
longer to go to the wals, than they were sure of their daily pay: which the poore Emperour,  
otherwise vnable to giue them, was glad to conuert the church plate and jewels into money, to  
content them. For he had many times before with tears, in vaine requested to haue borrowed  
money of his cunctious subjects, to haue bin employed in defence of the city; but they would  
still sweare, that they had it not, as men growne poore for want of trade: which in few daies  
after, their enemies found in such abundance, that they wondered at their wealth, and deri-  
ded their folly, that possessing so much, they would bestow so little in defence of themselves  
and their country. But this had bene their vsuall manner of dealing with their Emperours,  
in

The citizens of  
Constantinople  
without cause  
murmuring  
against  
the Emperour.

A bare shift  
for money.

in that declining state of the empire: as well appeared in the time of the Emperour *Baldwin*, who for lacke of mony was glad first to sell away many of the goodly ornaments of the city, and afterwards to pawne his own son vnto the Venetian merchants, for mony to maintaine his state, as in the former part of this History is declared.

But to returne againe to the course of our History. The Emperour certainly aduertised of the enemies purpose, for the generall assault shortly to be giuen, first commended the defence of himselfe and the city to the protection of the almighty, by generall fasting and praier; and afterwards appointed euery captaine and commander, to some certaine place of the wall for defence thereof: which was done by the direction of *Io. Iustinianus* his Generall, in whose valour the Constantinopolitans had reposed their greatest hope.

But the city being on euery side now beset with the Turks great army; and the defendants in number but few, for so great a city (in compasse eight miles) the wals could but slenderly in many places be manned, and especially on both sides toward the sea, where indeed least danger was. The greatest strength and best souldiers, were placed for defence of the vtter wall, where the breach was, and the assault expected by land. *Iustinianus* the Generall himselfe, with three hundred Genowais well armed, and certaine chosen Greeks, vnderooke the defence of that part of the battered wall, neere vnto the Roman gate, where the fall of the tower *Baſtina* had filled the ditch as is aforesaid: against which place *Mahomet* himselfe lay encamped, with his Ianizaries and best men of war. Neere vnto *Iustinianus* lay the Emperour himselfe, for defence of another part of the wall: and so other captains orderly with their companies, all along the vtter wall: and because the defendants should haue no hope to saue their liues, more than their own valour, the Emperour caused all the gates of the inner wall to be fast shut vp; and in this sort they lay all the night, expecting continually when the assault should be giuen: all which time they might heare great hurly burly and noise in the Turks campe, as they were putting things in readinesse for the assault.

Constantinople  
assaulted by the  
Turks.

A little before day, the Turks approached the wals, and began the assault, where shot and stones were deliuered vpon them from the wals, as thicke as haile; whereof little fell inuaine, by reason of the multitude of the Turks, who pressing fast vnto the wals, could not see in the darke how to defend themselves, but were without number wounded or slain: but these were of the common and worst soldiers, of whom the Turkish King made no more reckoning than to abate the first force of the defendants. Vpon the first appearance of the day, *Mahomet* gave the signe appointed for the generall assault, wherupon the city was in a moment and at one instant on euery side most furiously assaulted by the Turks: for *Mahomet*, the more to distress the defendants, and the better to see the forwardnesse of the souldiers, had before appointed which part of the city euery Colonel with his regiment should assaile. Which they valiantly performed, deliuering their arrowes and shot vpon the defendants, so thicke, that the light of the day was therewith darkened: others in the mean time courageously mounting the scaling ladders, and comming euen to handy strokes with the defendants vpon the wall; where the foremost were for most part violently borne forward by them which followed after. On the other side, the Christians with no lesse courage withstood the Turkish fury, beating them downe againe with great stones and weighty pieces of timber, and so overwhelded them with shot, darts, and arrowes, and other hurtfull and deadly deuises from aboue, that the Turks dismayed with the terrour thereof, were ready to retire.

Mahomet vnto  
the assault.

*Mahomet* seeing the great slaughter and discomfiture of his men, sent in fresh supplies of Ianizaries and best men of war, whom he had for that purpose reserved as his last hope and refuge: by whose comming on his fainting souldiers were againe encouraged, and the terrible assault began afresh. At which time the barbarous King ceased not to vse all possible means to maintaine the assault: by name calling vpon this and that captaine, promising vnto some whom he saw forward, golden mountaines; and vnto others in whom he saw any signe of cowardise, threatening most terrible death: by which means the assault became most dreadfully death there raging in the midst of many thousands. And albeit that the Turks lay dead by heapes vpon the ground, yet other fresh men pressed on still in their places, over the dead bodies, and with diuers euent either slew, or were slaine by their enemies.

In this so terrible a conflict, it chanced *Iustinianus* the Generall to be wounded in the arme, who losing much blood, cowardly withdrew himselfe from the place of his charge, not be-

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A uing any to supply his roome, and so got into the city by the gate called Romana, which he had caused to be opened in the inner wall: pretending the cause of his departure to be for the binding vp of his wound, but being indeed a man now altogether discouraged.

The souldiers there present, dismayed with the departure of their Generall, and sore charged by the Ianizaries, forooke their stations, and in hast fled to the same gate whereby *Iustinianus* was entered; with the sight whereof, the other souldiers dismayed, ran thither by heaps also. But whilst they violently strue, all together to get in at once, they so wedged one another in the entrance of the gate, that few of so great a multitude got in: in which so great a presse and confusion of mindes, 800 persons were there by them that followed, trodden vnder foot, or thrust to death. The Emperour himselfe, for safeguard of his life flying with the rest, in that presse as a man not regarded, miserably ended his daies, together with the Greeke empire. His dead body was shortly after found by the Turks among the slaine, and knowne by his rich apparel; whose head being cut off, was forthwith presented to the Turkish tyrant: by whose commandement it was afterward thrust vpon the point of a lance, and in great derision carried about as a trophy of his victory, first in the campe, and afterwards vp and downe the city.

The Christians  
forsake the  
wals.

The Turks encouraged with the flight of the Christians, presently aduanced their ensignes vpon the top of the vttermost wall, crying victory; and by the breach entered as if it had been a great floud, which hauing once found a breach in the banke, ouerfloweth, and beareth down all before it: so the Turks when they had won the vtter wall, entered the city by the same gate that was opened for *Iustinianus*, and by a breach which they had before made with their great artillery; and without mercy cutting in pieces all that came in their way, without further resistance became lords of that most famous and imperial city. Some few there were of the Christians, who preferring death before the Turkish slavery, with their swords in their hands sold their liues deare vnto their enemies: amongst whom, the two brethren *Paulus* and *Troilus Bochiardi* Italians, with *Theophilus Palaeologus* a Greeke, and *Ioannes Staurus* a Dalmatian, for their great valour and courage, deserue to be had in eternall remembrance: who after they had like lions made slaughter of their enemies, died in the midst of them, embued with their blood, rather oppressed by multitude, than by true valour overcome. In this fury of the Barbarians, perished many thousands of men, women, and children, without respect of age, sex, or condition. Many for safeguard of their liues, fled into the Temple of Sophia, where they were all without pity slain, except some few reserved by the barbarous victors, to purposes more grievous than death it selfe. The rich and beautifull ornaments and jewels of that most sumptuous and magnificent Church (the stately building of *Iustinianus* the Emperour) were in the turning of a hand, pluckt down and carried away by the Turks; and the Church it selfe built for God to be honored in, for the present conuerted into a stable for their horses, or a place for the execution of their abominable and vspeakable filthinesse: the Image of the crucifix was also by them taken downe, and a Turks cap put vpon the head thereof, and so set vp and shot at with their arrowes, and afterwards in great derision carried about in their campe, as it had beene in procession, with drums playing before it, railing and spitting at it, and calling it, the God of the Christians. Which I note not so much done in contempt of the Image, as in the despighte of Christ and the Christian religion.

But whilst some were thus spoiling of the Churches, others were as busie in ransacking of priuat houses, where the miserable Christians were enforced to endure in their persons whatsoever pleased the insolent victors: vnto whom all things were now lawfull that stood with their lust, euery common soldier hauing power of life and death, at his pleasure to spare or spill. At which time riches were no better than pouerty; and beauty more than deformity. What tongue were able to expresse the misery of that time: or the proud insolency of those barbarous conquerours: whereof so many thousands, euery man with greedinesse fitted his owne vnreasonable desire: all which the poore Christians were enforced to endure. But to speake of the hidden treasure, mony, plate, jewels, and other riches their found, passeth credit; the Turks themselves wondered thereat, and were therewith so enriched, that it is a prouerbe amongst them at this day, if any of them grow suddenly rich, to say, *He hath bene at the sacking of Constantinople*: whereof if some reasonable part had in time bene bestowed vpon defence of the city, the Turkish King had not so easily taken both it and the city. But euery man was carefull how to encrease his own priuat wealth, few or none regarding the publicke state;

Constantinople  
won by the  
Turks.

state, vntill in fine, every man with his priuat abundance was wrapped vp together with his needy neighbor in the selfe same common misery. Yea, the security of the Constantinopolitans was such, that being alwaies environed with their mortall enemies, yet had they no care of fortifying of so much as the inner wall of the city (which for beauty and strength was comparable with the wals of any city in the world, if it had been kept well repaired) but suffered the officers which had the charge to see to the fortifying of the city, to conuert the greatest part of the money into their owne purses: as appeared by *Manuel Giagerus*, a little before a very poore man; and likewise by *Xeophitus*, who then hauing that office to see to the fortification of the city, had in short time gathered together seuentie thousand florins, which became all a worthy prey vnto the greedy Turks.

After that the barbarous common foldier had thus by the space of three daies without controlment taken his pleasure in the city (as *Mahomet* had before promised) and throughly ransacked every corner thereof; they then returned into the camp, with their rich spoiles, druing the poore Christian captiues before them, as if they had beene droues of cattell, or flocks of sheepe: a spectacle no lesse lamentable, than was the sacking of the city. It would haue grieved any stony heart to haue seene the noble gentlewomen and great ladies, with their beautifull children, and many other faire personages, who lately flowed in all worldly wealth and pleasure, to be now become the poore and miserable bondslaves of most base and contemptible rascals, who were so far from shewing them any pittie, as that they delighted in nothing more than to heape more and more misery vpon them, making no more reckoning of them than of dogs. There might the parents see the wofull misery of their beloued children, and the children of the parents; the husband might see the shamefull abuse of his wife, and the wife of her husband and generally one friend of another: and yet not able to mourne together (the least part of heauy comfort) being in the thraldome of diuers cruell masters, by whom they were kept asunder, like in few daies to be dispersed into diuers far countries, without hope that they should euer find release, or one see another againe.

*Mahomet so manifestly his faults at Constantinople with the blood of the Grecian nobility.*

The soldiery being all detired into the campe, *Mahomet* as a proud conquerour, with great triumph entered into the city of Constantinople, then desolate and void of all Christian inhabitants; and there after the manner of the Turkish Kings, made a sumptuous & royal feast vnto his Bassaes and other great captains: where after he had furcharged himselfe with excesse of meat and drinke, he caused diuers of the chiefe Christian captiues, both men and women (of whom many were of the late Emperors line and race) to be in his presence put to death, as he with his Turks sat banqueting; deeming his feast much more statelily by such effusion of Christian blood. Which manner of exceeding cruelty he dayly vsed, vntill such time as he had destroyed all the Grecian nobility that was in his power, with the chiefe of the late Constantinopolitan citizens. At which time also diuers of the Venetian Senators, with *Bajulus* their Gouvernor, and many rich merchants of Genua and other places of Italy, were in like manner murdered: so that of seuen and forty Senators of Venice which were there taken (whereof most part came thither by chance, bound for other places, but there vnluckily shut vp) some few found the fauour with exceeding great ransomes to redeeme themselves.

Amongst these noblemen thus lamentable executed, was one *Lucas Leontares*, or *Notarus*, commonly called *Kyr. Lucas*, or lord *Lucas*, but of late great Chancellor of Constantinople, a man of greatest account next vnto the Emperour himselfe: whom the Turkish tyrant seemed greatly to blame, that he being a man in so great credit with the late Emperour, perswaded him not in time to haue sought for peace vpon any condition, or els to haue yielded vp the city, rather than to haue run that extreme course of wilfull misery. He to excuse the matter, said, That the late Emperour his master was encouraged to hold out the siege, by the Venetians and citizens of Pera, from whom he receiued secret aid: as also by some of the greatest men about his own person: for proofe whereof, he drew out of his bosome the letters which *Caly. Bassa* had to that purpose written vnto the Emperour, and deliuered them to *Mahomet*, hoping thereby to haue found some fauour. But when he had said what he could, the eldest of his sons then liuing (for he had lost two elder in the time of the siege) was cruelly executed before his face, and the youngest refused for the tyrants lust: and after all this misery, had his own head struck off with the rest appointed for that daies sacrifice. Out of this generall calamity escaped *To. Iustinianus* the General, who with all speed fled at first to Pera, and from thence to Chios, where in few daies after

A after he died, of grief of mind (as was thought) rather than of his wound, being happy if he had honorably before ended his daies vpon the wals of Constantinople. *Isidorus* also the Cardinal and Legat from the Pope, disguised in simple apparell, and being of the Turks vnknown, redeemed himself for a small ransom, as if he had bin a man of none account, and so escaped. Whom if *Mahomet* had known, he had vndoubtedly bin made shorter by the head.

The glory of this famous City of Constantinople continued many hundred yeares, commanding a great part of the world; vntill that by ciuil discord and priuat gain it was by little and little soweakened, that the Emperors of later times, for the maintenance of their estate, were glad to rely sometime vpon one, sometime vpon another, yet still holding the state and title of an empire by the space of 1121 yeares, when as (Gods iudgment set apart) wonderful and shamefull it is to consider, how it was by this Turkish King *Mahomet* so quickly taken, and the Christian empire of the East there vtterly ouerthrown. Which hapned on the nine and twentieth day of May, in the year of our Lord 1453. *Constantinus Palaeologus* the son of *Helenus*, and last Christian Emperour, being then slain, when hee had reigned about eight yeares. Since which time it hath continued the Imperial seat of the Turkish Emperors, and so remains at this day.

The Porestars and citifens of Pera, otherwise called Galata, a city standing opposit against Constantinople on the other side of the haue, & then vnder the gouernment of the Genoa's, doubting to run the same course of misery with their neighbors, sent their Orators to *Mahomet* the same day that Constantinople was taken, offering to him the keyes of their gates, and so to become his subjects. Of which their offer *Mahomet* accepted, and sent *Zogranis* with his regiment to take possession of the city. Who coming thither, according to *Mahomet* his commandement, there established the Turkish gouernment, confiscated the goods of all such as were fled, and vsed the rest of the citifens which stayed, with such insolencie & oppression, as that their misery was not much lesse than theirs of Constantinople: & because it was doubted that the Genoa's might by sea giue aid vnto the citifens, if they should at any time seeke to reuolt, he caused all the wals and fortresses of the city which were toward the land, to be cast down and laid euen with the ground. Thus is the fatall period of the Greek empire run, and *Mahomet* in one day become Lord of the two famous cities of Constantinople and Pera; the one taken by force, the other by composition: at which time the misery of Pera was great, but that of Constantinople iustly to be accounted amongst the greatest calamities that euer hapned to any Christian city in the world.

*Mahomet* had of long time born a secret grudge against *Caly Bassa*, sometime his Tutor, for that by his means *Amurath* his father in the dangerous time of the Hungarian wars had again resumed vnto himselfe the gouernment of the Turkish kingdom, which he had before resigned vnto him, then but yong. But forasmuch as he was the chiefe Bassa, and had for many yeares ruled all things at his pleasure, to the general good liking of the people, during the reign of old *Amurath*, and was thereby grown to be of such wealth, credit, and authoritie, as no man had at any time obtained greater vnder any of the *Othoman Kings*; *Mahomet* in the beginning of his reign, before he was well established in his kingdom, durst not take reuenge of that injury (as he deemed it) but yet still kept it in remembrance, warily dissembling his deep conceived hatred as if he had quite forgot it. Neuertheles sometime (for all his warinesse) words fel from him, whereby the wary Courtiers (who as curiously weigh their Princes words, as the cunning Goldsmith doth his finest gold) easily perceiued the secret grudge that stuck in his stomack against the Bassa, and thereby diuined his fall to be at hand. So it happened one day, that as *Mahomet* was walking in the court, he saw a Fox of the Bassa's tied in a chain: which after hee had a while earnestly looked vpon, he suddenly brake forth into this speech; *Alas poor beast, hast thou no money to giue thy Master to set thee at liberty?* Out of which words curious heads gathered much matter concerning the Kings disposition toward the Bassa. This ominous surmising of the Courtiers (which oftentimes proueth too true) was not vnkown to the Bassa himself, but troubled him much. Wherefore to get himself out of the way for a season, more than for any deuotion, hee took vpon him to go in pilgrimage to visit the Temple of their great Prophet (as they term him) at Mecha, which amongst the Turks is holden for a right religious and meritorious work; hoping that the young Kings displeasure might in time be mitigated, and his malice asswaged. But *Mahomet* perceiuing the distrust of the Bassa, and

*Pera yielded to the Turks.*

*Mahomet notably dissembled his hatred towards Caly Bassa.*

whereof it proceeded, seemed to take knowledge thereof, and with good words comforted him up, willing him to be of good cheer and not to misdoubt anything, neither to regard the vain speech of foolish people, assuring him of his undoubted favour: and the more to put him out of all suspicion, continually sent him rich gifts, and heaped upon him new honors, as if of all others he had esteemed him most. Vntil that now at the taking of Constantinople, it was discovered by *Lucas Lcontares*, that he had intelligence with the late Emperour of Constantinople, and his letters produced. For which cause, or as the common report went, for the old grudge that the tyrant bare against him, as also for his great wealth, he was by *Mahomet* commanded apprehended and caried in bonds to Hadrianople; where after hee had with exquisite torments bin enforced to confesse where all his treasures lay, he was most cruelly in his extreame old age executed. After whose death, his friends and seruants (which were many, for he was a man greatly beloued in the Court) in token of their grief put on mourning apparel, so that in the court appeared a great shew of common sorrow: wherewith *Mahomet* being offended, caused proclamation to be made, that all such as did wear such mourning apparel should the next day appear before him: at which time there was not one to be seen about the Court in that heauy attyre, for fear of the tyrants displeasure.

*Mahomet placed his Imperial seat at Constantinople, & in worthily accounted first Emperour of the Turks.*

After that *Mahomet* was thus become Lord of the Imperial city of Constantinople, as is aforesaid, and had fully resolved there to place his Imperial seat, he first repaired the wals and other buildings spoiled in the late siege, and by proclamations sent forth into all parts of his dominions, gaue great priuiledges and immunities to all such as would dwell at Constantinople, with free liberty to exercise what religion or trade they pleased. Wherby in short time that great and desolat city was again wel peopled, with such as out of diuers forein countries resorted thither; but especially of the Iewish nation, which driuen out of other places, came thither in great numbers, and were of the Turks gladly receiued. So when he had established all things according to his hearts desire, he took upon him the name and title of an emperor, and is from that time not vnworthily repured for the first Emperour of the Turks.

Now among many fair virgins taken prisoners by the Turks at the winning of Constantinople, was one *Trene* a Greek born, of such incomparable beauty and rare perfection both of body & mind, as if nature had in her, to the admiration of the world, labored to shew her greatest skill; so prodigally had she bestowed upon her all the graces that might beautifie & commend that her so curious a work. This paragon was by him that by chance had taken her, presented vnto the great Sultan *Mahomet* himselfe, as a jewell so fit for no mans wearing as his own: by the beauty and secret vertues wherof, he found himself euen vpon the first view not a little moued. Neuertheles hauing his head as then full of troubles, and about al things careful for the assuring of the Imperial city of Constantinople, by him but euen then won, he for the present committed her to the charge of his Eunuch, and sent her away, so to be in safety kept vntill his better leisure. But those his troubles ouerblown, and his new conquests wel assured, he then began forthwith to think of the fair *Trene*; and for his pleasure sending for her, took in her perfections such delight and contentment, as that in short time hee had changed state with her, she being become the mistres and commander of him so great a Conquerour, and he in nothing more delighted, than in doing her the greatest honor and seruice he could. All the day he spent with her in discourse, and the night in dalliance: all time spent in her company seemed to him short, and without her nothing pleased: his fierce nature was now by her wel tamed, and his care of arms quite neglected: *Mars* slept in *Venus* lap, and now the soldiers might go play. Yea, the very government of his estate and empire seemed to be of him, in comparison of her, little or not at all regarded; the care wherof beeing by him carelessly committed to others, that so he might wholly himself attend vpon her, in whom more than in himself the people said he delighted. Such is the power of disordered affections, where reason ruleth not therein. But whilst he thus forgetful of himself, spends in pleasure not some few daies or months, but euen one whole year or two, to the lightning of his credit, and great discontentment of his subiects in general; the Janizaries and other soldiers of the court (mendesirous of imployment, and grieved to see him so giuen to his affections, and to make no end thereof, began at first in secret to murmur therat, and speak hardly of him; and at length (after their insolent maner) spared not openly to say, That it were wel don to deprive him of his government and state, as vnworthy thereof, and to set vp one of his sonnes in his stead. Which speeches

A speeches were now grown so rife, & the discontentment of the men of war so great, that it was not without cause by some of the great Bassa's feared, wherunto this their so great insolencie would grow. But who should tell the tyrant thereof, whose frown was in it self death: or who durst take in hand to cure that his sick mind; which distraught with the sweet, but poisoned potions of loue, was not likely to listen to any good counsell, were it neuer so wisely giuen: but as a man metamorphosed, to turn his fury vpon him who should presume so wholly (but contrary to his good liking) to aduise him. Vnhappy man, whose great estate and fierce nature was not without danger to be medled or tempered with, no not by them who of all others in so great a peril ought to haue bin thereof most careful, but were now for fear all become silent and dumb. Now amongst other great men in the court, was one *Mustapha Bassa*, a man for his good seruice (for that he was of a child brought vp with him) of *Mahomet* greatly fauoured; and by him also highly promoted: and he again by him also as his Soueraign no lesse honoured than feared. Who no lesse than the rest grieved to see so great a change in the grand Sultan, of whom they had conceiued no small hope of greater matters than were by him as yet performed; and moued also with the danger threatned vnto him by the discontented Janizaries and men of war: espying him at conuenient leisure to be spoken vnto, and presuming of the former credit he had with him, aduentured thus to breake with him, and to giue him warning thereof.

C How dangerous as thing it is for a subject or vassall, without leaue, presumptuously to enter into the secrets of his dread Lord and Soueraign, the wofull examples of others (most mighty *Mahomet*) haue so sufficiently warned me, as that were it not for the dutifull loyalty I owe vnto your greatnesse (far dearer vnto me than myne own life) I would not at this time aduenture my selfe vnto the hazard of your doubtfull acceptance of my faithfull speech and meaning, but with others keep silence, and in secret mourne together with my heauy thong his: which if I should in so great a danger both of your life and empire now do, without warning you thereof, I were to be accounted unworthy not onely those your great fauours and honours most bountifullly on me bestowed; but as a most vile traitor both vnto your state and person, to be of all men detested and abhorred. The life you haue of late led euer since the taking of Constantinople, as a man careless of his estate, and wholly wedded vnto his own pleasure, hath giuen occasion not vnto the vulgar people only (alwaies ready to say the worst) and souldiers of the Court, the garders of your person, but euen vnto the greatest Commanders of your Armies and Empire, to murmur and grudge, I dare not say, conspire against you. Yet pardon me (dread Soueraign) if I should so say, for that there is no man which with great discontentment maruellet not much to see so great an alteration in your heroicall disposition and nature: wherby you are become far unlike that noble *Mahomet*, who hauing ouerthrowne the Greek Empire, and taken the great city of Constantinople, promised both vnto himself and others, the conquest of Italy, and the sacking of Rome, the stately Seat of the ancient Roman Conquerors. You haue giuen your selfe over (as they say) for a spoil and prey vnto a poor simple woman your slave and Vassall, who with her beauty and allurements hath so bewitched your vnderstanding and reason, as that you can attend nothing but her seruice, and the satisfying of your most passionat and inordinat desires: which how much the more you cherish them, so much the more they torment and vex you. Enter but a little into your self (I pray you) and compare the life you now lead, with the like time heretofore by you spent in treading Honours steps, and you shall find a notable difference betwixt the one and the other. Had the noble *Othoman*, the first raiser of your house and family, so giuen himselfe over vnto pleasure, you had not now inhabited the countries of Bithynia and Galatia, with others mo along if the *Euxine*, by him conquered. Neither had his son *Orchanes* (the lively image of his father, and follower of his vertues) by leading this kind of life, triumphed over *Lycaonia*, *Phrygia*, and *Caria*, or extended the bounds of his Empire so far as vnto the streits of *Hellspontus*. What should I speake of *Amurath* his son, and successor in the Empire? who in person himselfe, first of the *Othoman* Kings passed over into *Enrop*, placed his Imperial seat at *Hadrianople*, conquered *Thracia*, *Bulgaria*, and *Rascia*. Yea *Bajazet* your great grandfather is in his misfortune more than you to be commended, as vanquished in field by mighty *Tamerlane*, with four hundred thousand horsemen and six hundred thousand foot, and not by a silly woman: comforting his mishap with the honor and greatnes of him by whom he was overcome. Neither may I with silence pas over your worthy grandfather, the noble *Mahomet*, who not contented to haue restored the shaking Empire, conquered also a great part of *Macedonia* euen to the *Iconian* sea, and carrying the terror of his armies over

into Asia, did greater matters against the Caramanians and others. As for your father Amurath. (of worthy memory) I cannot but to my great grieve and sorrow speake of him, who by the space of thirty years made both the sea and earth to quake under his feet, and with strong hand more than once vanquished the Hungarians, and brought under his subiection the Countreies of Phocia, Beotia, Attolia, with a great part of Morea; and to speak of him truly, brake euens the very heart and strength of the Grecians and other his fierce Enemies. Let all these most famous Conquests of your noble Progenitors, whose worthy praises (as eternall trophies of their honour, are dispersed into euery corner of the world, awake you out of this heavy lethurgy; wherein you haue too long slept, yea, let the remembrance of the conquest of this Imperiall City, by you to your immortall glory won, stir you up to greater things: and let it neuer be said of you, That you were able with your sword to overcome your greatest enemies, and not with reason to subdue your inordinat affections. I think that your greatest conquest, and suffer not your self, so great a conquerour, to be led in triumph by your Slaue. What auaileth it you to haue won Constantinople, and to haue lost your selfe? Shake off these golden fetters wherein the wily Greek hath so fast bound you: which at the first though it seem vnto you hard and painfull, yet shall you in time digest it, and make you to think it both good and necessary for your estate. Wean your selfe from your desires, and giue rest vnto your troubled thonghs. Which if you cannot do at once, strine by little and little to do it: pleasure groweth greater by the seldome vse thereof, and satiety bringeth loathsomnesse. Moderat your selfe therefore, and again take up Arms. Your Souldiers if they be not imployd abroad, will to your further trouble set themselves at work at home: Idleness maketh them insolent, and want of Martiall discipline corrupteth their manners. Herof proceedeth their inemperat and disloyall speeches, That if you will not lead them forth for the honour and enlargement of the Othoman Empire, as did all your most noble Progenitors, they will set up another that shall euene one of your own children. And what the common soldier foolishly faish, their great Commanders maliciously purpose: which what a confusion it would bring vnto the whole state of your Empire, together with the danger of your Royall person, I abhor to think. Wherefore it is time, it is now high time for you to shew your selfe, with the maiesty of your presence to repress their tumultuous insolencie before it break further out. Rebellions are by far more easily preuented, than in their heat appeased. The discontented multitude is a wild beaust with many heads, which once irraged, is not a little to be feared, or without danger to be tamed: yet do you but shew your selfe master of your owne affections, and you shall easily master them also. But what is fit for you to do, be seems me not for to say: yea pardon me I beseech you, that I haue thus much (contrary perhaps to your good liking) already said; prouoked (by what Diuine inspiration I know not) euene halfe against my will, to discover vnto you the secrets of my heart, and to lay open vnto you those things, which others knowing as well as I, do yet for fear keepe so close from you. And if I haue gon too far, or in any thing that I haue said forget my selfe, impute the same (my dread Soueraign) vnto the zeal of my loue and loyalty towards you, or vnto my fidelity so often by you tried, or to our antient education (the ground of your affection toward me) or to what els shall please you, rather than to my presumption, from which how far I haue alway bin, I appeal euene vnto your Majesties own knowledge.

Having thus said, he fell down at his feet, there to receiue his heavy doom of his so free speech, if it should be otherwise than wel taken of the angry Sultan: who all this while with great attention and many a stern look, had hearkned vnto all that the Bassa had said; for well he knew it to be all true, and that in so saying hee had but discharged the part of a trusty and faithfull seruant, carefull of his masters honor. But yet the beauty of the Greek was still so fixed in his heart, and the pleasure he took in her so great, as that to thinke of the leauing of her, bred in him many a troubled thought. He was at war with himself, as appeared by his often changed countenance: Reason calling vnto him for his honor, and his amorous affections still suggesting vnto him new delights. Thus tossed to and fro as a ship with contrary winds, and withall considering the danger threatned to his estate, if he should longer follow those his pleasures, so much displeasing to his men of war, he resolved vpon a strange point, whereby at once to cut off all those his troubled passions, and withal to strike a terror euene into the stoutest of them that had before condemned him, as vnable to gouern his own fo passionat affections. Whereupon with countenance wel declaring his inward discontentment, he sayd vnto the Bassa, yet prostrat at his feet:

Although thou hast vnreuerently spoken, as a slaue presuming to enter into the greatest secrets of thy

A thy Soueraign, not without offence to be of thee once thought vpon, and therefore deseruest wel to die; yet for that thou wast a child, and brought vp together with me, and hast euene bin vnto me faithfull, I at this time pardon thee; and before to morrow the Sun go down, will make it known both to thee, and others of the same opinion with thee, whither I be able to bridle myne affections or not. Take order in the meantime that all the Bassas, and the chief commanders of my men of war be assembled together to morrow; here I know my further pleasure. Whereof fail you not.

So the Bassa being departed, he after his wonted manner went in vnto the Greek, and solacing himself all that day & the night following with her, made more of her than euere before: and the more to please her dined with her; commanding, that after dinner thence should be attyred with more sumptuous apparel than euere she had before wore: and for the further gracing of her, to be deckt with many most pretious jewels of inestimable value. Whereunto the poor soul gladly obeyed, little thinking that it was her funerall apparel. Now in the meane time Mustapha (altogether ignorant of the Sultans mind) had as he was commanded, caused all the nobilitie and commanders of the men of war, to be assembled into the great hall, euery man much maruelling what should be the Emperours meaning therein, who had not of long so publicly shewed himself. But being thus assembled together, and euery man according as their minds gaue them, talking diuersly of the matter; behold, the Sultan entred into the palace, holding the fair Greek by the hand; who beside her incomparable beauty, and other the greatest graces of nature, adorned all with all that curiositie could deuise, seemed now to the beholders no mortal wight, but some of the stately goddesses, whom Poets in their extasies describe. Thus coming together into the midst of the hall, and due reuerence don by all there present; he stood still with the fair Lady in his left hand, and so furiously looking round about him, said vnto them; I vnderstand of your great discontentment, and that you all murmur and grudge, for that I overcome with myne affection toward this so fair a paragon, cannot withdraw my self from her presence: but I would faine know which of you is so temperat, that if hee had in his possession a thing so rare and precious, so lonely and so fair, would not be thrice aduised before he would forgo the same? Say what you thinke; in the word of a Prince I giue you free liberty so to do. But they all rapt with incredible admiration to see so fair a thing, the like whereof they had neuer before beheld, said all with one consent, That he had with greater reason so passed the time with her, than any man had to find fault therewith. Whereunto the barbarous prince answered, Well, but now I wil make you to vnderstand how far you haue bin deceived in me, and that there is no earthly thing that can so much blind my senses, or bereaue me of reason, as not to see and vnderstand what becometh my high calling: yea I would you should all know, that the honor and conquest of the Othoman kings my noble Progenitors is so fixed in my breast, with such a desire in my self to exceed the same, as that nothing but death is able to put it out of my remembrance. And hauing so said, presently with one of his hands catching the fair Greek by the hair of the head, & drawing his falchion with the other; at one blow strook off her head, to the great terror of them all: and hauing so done, said vnto them, Now by this iudge whether your Emperour is able to bridle his affections or not. And within a while after, meaning to discharge the rest of his choler, caused great preparation to be made for the conquest of Peloponnesus, and besieging of Belgrade.

E At the same time that the barbarous Turks tooke the Imperiall City of Constantinople, Thomas and Demetrius Palaologi, brethren to the late vnfortunat Emperour Constantinus, gouerned a great part of Peloponnesus, one of the most famous prouinces of Grecia, which in forme of a leaf of a Plane tree, is almost in manner of an Isle, inuironed with the seas Ionium and Aegium, which running far into the land on either side thereof, separateth the same from the rest of Grecia by two great bayes; leauing but a streit neck of land, called of the Greeks Isthmus, in bredth about fise miles, which was sometimes by the Grecians, and afterward by the Venetians, fortified by a strong wall, and fise great Castles: neer vnto which place stood the great and famous city of Corinth. This prouince is in length 175 miles, and almost as much in bredth; wherein are contained the countreies of Achaia, Messenia, Lacedemonia, Argolica, and Arcadia, with many famous great Cities and very goodly hauens, wherein it farre exceedeth all the other prouinces of Grecia. These two princes, Thomas and Demetrius, greatly dismayed with their brothers disaster fortune, began now so far to despair of their own estate, that vpon the first brute thereof they were about presently to haue fled by sea into Italy. And as it commonly falleth out, that one euill happeneth not alone; euene so at the same time it fortuned, that

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that the Albanians rose in arms against the said two Princes their Soueraigns, and vnder the leading of their rebellious captain *Emanuel Cataczenus*, grievously troubled both these poor Princes. These Albanians were a rough and hardy kind of people, which living after the manner of the rude Scythian people, by feeding of cattel, had of long time planted themselves in Peloponnesus, differing from the natural Greeks both in their manner of living & language; which diuersitie was no small cause that they oftentimes spurned, as now, against the government of the Grecian princes. In this extremity the two distressed princes not well knowing which way to turn themselves, sought for peace at *Mahomet's* hands, offering to become his tributaries. Of which their offer he willingly accepted, as an induction to the full conquest of that country; and sent *Turachan* gouernor of Theffalia, one of his greatest men of war, with an army into Peloponnesus, to aid those princes against the Albanians; by whose help the masterful rebels were in short time discomfited, and the country of Peloponnesus quieted; yet so, that it is now become tributary to the Turkish King.

These two princes, *Demetrius* and *Thomas* (the last of all the Christian princes that reigned in Peloponnesus) having lost their liberty, liued a few yeares as the Turks vassals, paying such tribute as they had before promised. During which time many displeasures arose betwixt the two brothers, being both jealous of their estate, and desirous by all plausible means to win the hearts of their subjects one from another. Whereby it came to passe, that whilst they both desired to become popular, they weakened their own credit, and had not their subjects at such command as best stood with the safety of their state. Neuertheles, as soon as they understood that the Christian princes of the West were making great preparation against the Turk, and that *Calixtus*, the third of that name (then Bishop of Rome) had already put a fleet of Gallies to sea, which did great spoil vpon the borders of the Turks dominions; they vainly persuading themselves that the Turks would in short time be again driuen out of Grecia, refused to pay any more tribute to the Turkish King, or to keepe league any longer with him. Vpon which occasion *Mahomet* with a puissant army came down and first besieged Corinth; and afterwards entering into Peloponnesus, took diuers strong towns, and destroyed the Country before him: forcing the two princes for safeguard of their liues to fly, the one to Mantinia, and the other into the strong city of Epidaurus, now called Ragusium. The poor Princes destitute of such aid as they expected, and altogether vnable to withstand the power of the mighty Tyrant, began to sue for peace: which he, having now spoiled their Country, granted, vpon condition, that all such places as he had already taken, should be still his own; and also, that the city of Patras, with the Country adioyning, should be deliuered vnto him; and that for the rest the said princes should pay vnto him a yearly tribute. Which hard conditions the poor princes, now in danger to lose all, were glad to accept of; whereupon a peace was for that time againe concluded.

In his return hee took the City of Athens in his way, which he not long before had taken from *Francus Acciarol* by composition (by means of *Omares* the son of *Turachan* one of his great captains) promising to giue him the country of Beotia with the city of Thebes in lieu thereof. This *Francus* was nephew to *Nerius* sometime prince of Athens, and had of long time bin brought vp in the Turks court, as one of *Mahomet's* minions, and was of him (as was supposed) intirely beloued. But when he had receiued the dukedom of Thebes in exchange for his princely state of Athens, he was shortly after, as if it had bin in great friendship, sent by *Mahomet* to *Zoganus* his Lieutenant in Peloponnesus: by whom he was at first curteously entertained; but afterwards being about to depart, he was (according as *Mahomet* had before commanded) suddenly stayed, and when he least feared, cruelly murdered.

About 3 yeares after the peace before concluded betwixt *Mahomet* and the two brethren, *Mahomet* perceiving that the Christian kings and princes had combined themselves against him, with a purpose to driue him out of Grecia; thought it now high time, and much for the assurance of his estate, to root out the smal reliques of the Grecian Empire which yet remained in Peloponnesus in the aforesaid two Princes of the Imperiall blood, *Thomas* and *Demetrius*: whereunto hee saw a fair occasion presented, forasmuch as those two brethren were at that time at great variance betwixt themselves, neither payd him such tribute as they had before promised. Herupon he with a strong army came to Corinth, where *Arjanes* a nobleman of great authority and power in that country, whose sister *Demetrius* had married, came to him from

*Thomas & Demetrius* rebell against *Mahomet*, and after by him spoiled of part of their Dominion.

*Mahomet* came thither in to Peloponnesus

A from the prince his brother in law, attended vpon with many gallant Gentlemen his followers, of purpose to aid him against the other Prince *Thomas*, nothing fearing any harm to haue bin by the Turk intended against himselfe or his brother in law *Demetrius*, whom they both reckoned as their friend. But when *Mahomet* was entred into Peloponnesus, and came to Tegea, he caused the said *Arjanes* with all his chiefeft followers to be laid hold vpon and cast into bonds; knowing (as it seemed) no man for friend which might any way hinder his ambitious designs.

*Demetrius* hearing what was hapned to *Arjanes*, fled to Sparta, now called Mizithra; whither *Mahomet* in few days after came & laid siege to the city. But the poor prince considering that he must needs at length fall into his hands, went out of the City, and humbly submitted himself with all that he had into his power. Which sowl pleased the Turkish tyrant, that he curteously receiued him, comforted him, and promised in stead of Sparta to giue him other lands and possessions of like value elsewhere: neuertheles he committed him to safe custodie, and caried him about with him as his prisoner, vntil he had finished those wars. After he had taken Sparta, he besieged Castria, where he lost diuers of his lanizaries; for which cause when he had taken the City, hee put all the souldiers therein to the sword, and cut all the Captaines ouerthwart in two pieces. From thence he marched to Leontarium, called in antient time Megalopolis, which he took, with another city called Cardicea, whither they of Leontarium had before conueyed their wiues and children as vnto a place of more safety. There he cruelly put to death all the inhabitants of those Cities, men, women, and children, in number about six thousand, of whom he left not one aliue: and yet not so satisfied, he commanded the very beasts and cattel of those places to be killed. Many cities of Peloponnesus, terrified with the dreadfull example of their neighbours, forthwith yeilded themselves; and amongst others, Salvarium a great and strong city of Arcadia, where he caused all the inhabitants, men, women, and children, to the number of ten thousand, to be cast into bonds, looking for nothing but present death: all which he afterwards commanded to be sent Captiues to Constantinople, and with them peopled the suburbs of that City. After that, he by the counsel of *Demetrius* sent one of his Captains called *Iosua*, with certain companies of Greek soldiers, vnto the strong city of Epidaurus, to command him in the name of the prince to deliuer vnto him the city, with the princes wife and daughter, which lay there. But the Gouernor trusting vnto the strength of the city, refused to deliuer the same; yet suffering the Princeesse and her daughter to depart out of the city, being willing to go to her husband; whom the Captain having receiued, returned, and presented them vnto *Mahomet*: by whose commandement they were sent into Beotia, there to attend his return to Constantinople; and an Eunuch appointed to take charge of the yong Lady, who had so warmed *Mahomet's* affection, that he took her afterwards to his wife.

At this time he also subdued the most part of Achaia and Elis, by *Zoganus Bassa* his lieutenant: whither he came not long after himself, and laid siege to the city Salmenica, which for lack of water was at length yeilded vnto him: but the castle was by the space of a whole year after valiantly defended against the Turks left to besiege it, by Prince *Thomas*, of whom *Mahomet* afterwards gaue this commendation, That in the country of Peloponnesus he had found many slaues, but neuer a man but him. This valiant Prince seeing the miserable ruine of his country, and the state thereof utterly forlorn; after he had most notably indured a yeares siege in the castle of Salmenica, got to sea, and so arriued in Italy. Where travelling to Rome, hee was honorably receiued by *Pius secundus*, then Bishop there, who during his life allowed him a large pension for the maintenance of his state. Thus *Mahomet* having thrust both the Grecian princes out of their dominions, and subdued all Peloponnesus (excepting such strong towns and castles as bordering vpon the sea coast, were yet holden by the Venetians) left *Zoganus Bassa* his lieutenant to gouern that new conquered prouince, himself returning with great triumph to Constantinople, carying with him Prince *Demetrius*, with his wife & daughter, and many other noble prisoners. But after he was come to Hadrianople and placed in the Royall seat, he removed the Eunuch from the fair yong lady, and took charge of her himself. As for *Demetrius* her father, hee gaue to him the City of Anem, with the Custom arising of the salt there made, as a pension for him to liue vpon. Thus this most famous and populous country of Peloponnesus fel into the Turkish thraldom about the year of our Lord 1460, seven yeares after

*Demetrius* submitted himself to *Mahomet*.

*Peloponnesus* subdued by the Turks.

after the taking of Constantinople. Which I haue here together set downe, as it is reported by them who liued in that time, and in the same countries: omitting of purpose other great occurrences of the same time (which shall in conuenient place be hereafter declared) to the intent that the fall of that great Empire, with the common misery of the delicate Grecians, might appear vnder one view; which otherwise being deliuered by piece-meal, as it did concur with other great accidents, according to the course of the time, would but breed confusion, and require the Readers great attention.

The Christian Princes, especially such as bordered vpon the dominions of the Turkish tyrant, were no lesse terrified than troubled with the subuersion of the Constantinopolitan empire: for they saw by the continuall preparations of the Turk, that his ambitious desires were rather increased, than in any part satisfied with so great & late victories. Wherefore they with all carefulnes fortified their frontier towns, and provided all things necessary for defence of themselves, and for repelling so mighty an enemy. Among the rest, *George* the old Despot or Prince of Serbia (whose dominions of all other lay in most danger of that tempest) speedily mustred his men of war, fortified his strong cities, placed his garisons, and left nothing vndon that he thought needfull for defence of his Country: for hee had many times before to his great losse indured the fury of the Turkish Kings, although hee were joined to them in the bonds of neereff alliance. And hauing thus politiquely let all things in order at home, in person himself took his journey into Hungary, from thence to craue aid against such time as he should haue need. But the Hungarians, especially *Huniades* (who then bare greatest sway in that kingdom) hauing before had sufficient trial of the vncertaintie and light faith of that aged prince, who had so often fashioned himself according to the occurrences of the time, that he was accounted neither right Turk, nor right Christian; refused to promise him any aid, but left him to his own fortunes: wherewith he returned discontented, and full of indignation. But shortly after he was come home, he died of a hurt receiued in a skirmish with *Michael Zilaga*, gouernor of Belgrade, whose brother *Ladislaus* he had but a little before treacherously murdered, as he was traouelling by wagon to Belgrade with his said brother *Michael*, who at the same time hardly escaped. This was the end of the Despot of Serbia, when he had liued 90 years; in which time of his long life he had plentifully tasted of both fortunes. A man assuredly of great courage, but of a maruellous vniquiet nature: by profession a Christian, yet a great friend vnto the Turks, whom he many times stood in great stead: a deep dissembler, and double in all his dealings, wherby he purchased that credit, that he was not of any of his neighbor Princes whilst he liued, either loued or trusted; and after his death of his subiects so detested, that the people of that country euen at this day in their Country songs stil term him the faithles and graceles despot. *Lazarus* his yongest son succeeded after him, hauing deprived both his elder brethren *Stephen* and *George* of the gouernment: for *Amurath* the Turkish King had put out their eyes long before, of purpose to make them vnfit for the gouernment of so great a country: yet these blind princes found means to fly away from him to *Mahomet*, carying with them a great masse of mony; and so incited him against *Lazarus* their brother, that to keep friendship with the tyrant, he was glad to promise him a great yearly tribute. But within a few months after, *Lazarus* died, the last Christian prince that reigned in Serbia. After whose death great troubles arose in Serbia for the soueraignty; the blind brethren still crauing aid of *Mahomet*, with whom they then liued: and the desolat Widow of *Lazarus*, putting her selfe with her three sons, *John*, *Peter*, and *Martin*, into the protection of the Hungarians; by which means with much trouble she held her state for a season: vntil such time as that the Seruians, seeing small assurance in that kind of gouernment, and weary of the harms they daily receiued from the Turks, yeelded themselves with their country vnto the obedience of the Turkish Sultan *Mahomet*, who for euer vnited the same vnto his empire as a prouince therof, and so it remains at this day.

Now was *Mahomet* by the continuall course of his victories grown to that height of minde, that he thought no prince able to abide his force, neither any enterprise so great, which hee was not of power to bring to passe: wherefore he ceased not on euery side continually to vex and trouble the princes whose countries bordered vpon his. But aboue others, his heart swelled most against the Hungarians, for that by them his Auncestors had been more troubled, and their state more indangered, than by any or all other the Christian Princes. Wherefore

The death of  
George Despot  
of Serbia.

Serbia yeelded  
to the Turks

A fore he resolved now to take them in hand, which thing hee had from the beginning of his reign greatly desired. And because the city of Belgrade, standing vpon the great riuer of Danubius, was accounted the key of that country, he determined there to begin his wars, and by taking therof to make an entrance into the heart of Hungary. Herupon he leuied a great army of 150000 of his best souldiers; in whom hee reposed such assured trust and confidence, that he accounted the city already as good as taken, and a faire way made into Hungary. So ready are we to promise to our selues the things we earnestly desire. For the better accomplishment of these his designes, he had provided in readines a fleet of 200 ships and gallies, which he sent vp the riuer of Danubius, from Vidina to Belgrade, to the intent that no reliefe or aid should be brought vnto the city out of Hungary, by the great riuers of Danubius and *Sauus*, wherupon the city of Belgrade standeth. With this fleet he kept both those riuers so strictly, that nothing could be possibly conueyed into the city by water: and not so contented, sent part of his said fleet farther vp the riuer of Danubius, and so landing his souldiers in many places, spoiled the countries all along the riuer side. Shortly after he came with all his forces by land, and incamped before the city: wherunto at his first comming hee gaue a most fierce assault, thinking to haue taken them vnprovided. But finding greater resistance than he had before imagined, & that the Hungarians were ready to skirmish with them without the walls, he began to proceed more warily, and intrenched his Army, and to provide for the safety therof, by casting vp of deep trenches and strong rampiers against the sudden sallies of his enemies: and after, planting his battery, began most furiously to shake the Walls with his great Artillery. By the fury wherof he ouerthrew a part therof, and laid it flat with the ground: which the defendants with great industry and labor speedily repaired, by casting vp of new fortifications and rampiers, in such sort as it was rather stronger than before.

In the mean time *Huniades* (not to be named without the addition of a most worthy Captain) being then Generall for the Hungarians, sent a fleet of ships and gallies well appointed with all warlike prouision, down the riuer Danubius from Buda, which incounting with the Turks fleet, took 20 sail of them, and so discomfited the rest, that they were glad to run themselves aground neer vnto the Kings camp. All which were by *Mahomet*s commandment presently set on fire, because they should not come into the power of the Hungarians. By this means the Christians became masters of both the riuers Danubius and *Sauus*, and so at their pleasure by water conueyed all things into the City, needfull for the defence therof. *Huniades* also himself with five thousand valiant souldiers, and *Jo. Capistranus* a Minorit Frier (by whose perswasion forty thousand voluntary Christians out of Germany, Bohemia, and Hungary, were come to that War) entred into the City that way with their souldiers and Followers.

*Mahomet* resolutely set down for the winning of the City, had with continuall batterie made the same at length faultable; and so determined the next day to giue a generall assault, appointing which part of the wal euery Colonel with his regiment should assail. But as they were with great diligence and greater stir preparing all things needfull for the next daies seruice, it fortuned that *Carazias Bassa*, *Mahomet*s Lieutenant General in Europ, and his best man of war, was by chance slain with a great shot out of the town. With whose death *Mahomet* was exceedingly troubled, as with an ominous token of the euil which afterward ensued vnto him and his whole army. For all that, prosecuting his former determination, the next day early in the morning he commanded the assault to be giuen, and with the dreadfull sound of Trumpets, drums, cornets, and other instruments of war, brought on the Ianizaries to the breach; who as courageous soldiers fiercely assailed the same, and without any great resistance entred both there and in diuers other places of the City, reckoning the same to be now their owne. For *Huniades* hauing before stored euery corner of the City with his most valiant and expert soldiers, had taken order, that the defendants vpon the first charge of the Ianizaries should forsake their stations, and as men discouraged retire toward the City, of purpose to draw the fierce enemies faster on to their greater destruction; and vpon a sign giuen to set vpon them afresh, and to repair to their former places of defence: which was accordingly done, so that as soon as the Ianizaries, with other of the Turks most forward souldiers, were in great numbers entred, vpon the retrying of the defendants, & the sign before appointed in the city giuen, the defendants, as men quickly changed, turning again, fiercely charged the Turks which were entred,

Belgrade be-  
sieged by the  
Turks.

The Turks fleet  
ouerthrown by  
the Christians.

Carazias Bassa  
slain.

Belgrade af-  
faulted.

The Turks notably repulsed.

tried contrary to their expectation : and the valiant *Huniades*, at the same time issuing out on every side with his most resolute souldiers, so oppressed the Turks, that few of them that were entered escaped with life, but were there in the city either slain or taken prisoners ; and the rest with exceeding slaughter beaten from the walls. Presently after, *Huniades* in this confusion of the Turks, strengthened with the souldiers that came with *Capistranus* the Friar, made a sally out of the towne, and set upon the Turks appointed for the defence of the great ordnance, which was with such resolution performed, that the Turks were glad with great slaughter to forsake their charge, and to leaue the ordnance to their enemies.

The Turkish tyrant sore troubled and thorowly chafed with the losse of his great ordnance, courageously charged the Hungarians afresh, to haue recovered the same againe : but was so valiantly repulsed by *Huniades*, and so beaten with the murdering shot out of the city, that he was glad when he had got him out of the danger thereof into his trenches. *Huniades* also retiring turned the ordnance he had lately won, vpon the Turks campe, and with the same did them no small harme.

In this hurle, a great part of the Christian army (which then lay on the other side of Danubiu) was speedily transported ouer the riuer ; and making no stay in the city, joynted themselves with *Huniades*, then lying without the walls of the city. Who notably strengthened with this new supply, assailed the Turks trenches, as if he would euen presently haue entered their Camp. At which his presumption the proud Tyrant (neuer before so braued) disdainig, went out of his trenches, & valiantly incountring him, beat him back again to the great ordnance ; from whence he was again by the Christians driuen to his trenches. Which manner of doubtfull and dreadfull fight was on both sides notably maintained vntill the day was almost spent : Victory with indifferent wings houerig somtime ouer one side, somtime ouer the other.

Mahomet being wounded, was carried away for dead.

In these hot skirmishes and conflicts, *Chasanes* captain of the Ianizaries, with many other valiant men were slain. And *Mahomet* himselfe performing the part as well of a courageous soldier, as of a worthy chieftain, was so sore wounded vnder his left pap, that hee was taken vp for dead, and carried into his pavilion, to the great discomfort of his whole army. But coming again vnto himselfe, and considering that he had in that siege lost his whole fleet, his great ordnance, with most part of his best soldiers, & yet in no possibility of the town, secretly in the night arose with his army, and in great silence shamefully departed, still looking behind him when the Hungarians should haue pursued him into Serbia, or haue troubled him vpon his way toward Constantinople. At this siege (besides many of his best Captaines and chief commanders) were slain 40000 of his best soldiers. The losse he there sustained was so great, & so stuck in his mind, that euer after during his life, when he had occasion to speak of that siege, he would shake his head and sigh deeply, & many times with that he had neuer seen that city, wherat both he and his father had receiued so great dishonour. Many were of opinion, that if *Huniades* had there had his horsemen on that side of Danubius, to haue presently pursued the fearfull enemy, that the whole Army of the Turks might haue there bene ouerthrown. This notable victory was obtained against the Turk the sixt of August, Anno Dom. 1456.

The death of the most famous Captaine Huniades.

Shortly after, this most valiant and renowned captain *Huniades*, worthy of immortal praise, died of a hurt taken in these wars ; or as some others write, of the plague, which was then rife in Hungary : who when he felt himselfe in danger of death, desired to receiue the Sacrament before his departure, and would in any case (sick as he was) bee carried to the Church to receiue the same, saying, It is not fit that the Lord should come to the house of his seruant, but the seruant rather to go to the house of his Lord and master. He was the first Christian captain that shewed the Turks were to be overcome, and obtained more great victories against them than any one of the Christian Princes before him. Hee was to that barbarous people a great terror, and with the spoil of them enriched his country : and now dying, was by the Hungarians honorably buried at Alba Iulia, in S. Stephens Church. His death was greatly lamented of all good men of that age.

*Mahomet* the Turkish Emperor, no lesse desirous to extend his Empire with the glory of his name, by sea than by land ; shortly after the taking of Constantinople put a great fleet to sea, wherewith he surprised diuers Islands in the *Ægeum*, and hardly besieged the City of Rhodes.

A Rhodes. At which time *Calixtus* the third then Bishop of Rome, aided by the Genoa's (for the grudge they bare against the Turks for the taking of Pera) put to sea a fleet of 16 tall ships and gallies well appointed, vnder the conduct of *Lodovicus* Patriarch of Aquileia, who therewith scoured the seas, and recovered again from the Turks the Island of Lemnos, with diuers other smal Islands therabout, and incountring with the Turks fleet neer vnto the Island of Rhodes, at a place called the Burrow of S. Paul, discomfited them, sunk and took diuers of their gallies, and forced them to forsake the Rhodes. After which victory at sea, he for the space of three years, with his gallies at his pleasure spoiled the frontiers of the Turks dominions all alongt the sea coast of the lesser Asia, and wonderfully terrified the effeminate people of those countries ; and so at length returned home, carrying with him many prisoners and much rich spoil.

After that *Mahomet* was thus shamefully driuen from the siege of Belgrade, and his fleet at sea discomfited (as is before declared) hee began with great diligence to make new preparations against the next spring, to subdue the Isles of the *Ægeum*, especially those which lay neer vnto Peloponessus. But whilst he was busie in those cogitations, in the mean time Embassadors from *Vsun-Cassanes* the great Persian King arriued at Constantinople, with diuers rich presents sent to him from the said King. Where among other things they presented to him a pair of playing tables, wherin the men and dice were of great and rich pretious stones of inestimable worth, and the workmanship nothing inferior to the matter : which the Embassadors for ostentation said that *Vsun-Cassanes* found in the treasures of the Persian King, whom

C he had but a little before slain and bereft of his kingdom, and had there bin left long before by the mighty conqueror *Tamerlane*. Together with these presents they deliuered their Embassage, the effect wherof was, That those two mighty princes might join and liue together in amity. And that whereas *David* the Emperor of Trapezond had promised to pay vnto *Mahomet* a yearly tribute, inforced therunto by *George* his Lieutenant in Asia, he should not now look for any such thing, forasmuch as that empire after the death of the emperor then liuing, should of right belong vnto *Vsun-Cassanes* in right of his wife, who was the daughter of *Calo-Ioannes* the elder brother of *David* the Emperor, then liuing ; and further required him from that time not to trouble or molest the said Emperour his friend and neer allyance ; so should he find him his faithful and kind confederat : otherwise it was (as they said) in his choice, to draw vpon himselfe the heavy displeasure of a most mighty enemy. *Mahomet* before enuying at the rising of the Persian King, and now disdainig such peremptory requests, little differing from proud commands, in great choler dismisset the embassadours with this short answer, That hee would ere long himselfe bee in Asia, to teach *Vsun-Cassanes* what to request of one greater than him self. This vnkindnes was the beginning and ground of the mortall Warres which afterwards ensued betwixt these two, then the greatest Princes of the East, as shall bee hereafter more at large declared. The Embassadors being departed, and *Mahomet* his fleet of 150 sail ready to put to sea, he altd his former determination for the Islands of the *Ægeum* (which after the losse of Constantinople had for the most part put themselves vnder the protection of the Venetians) and commanded his admiral with that fleet to take his course thorow the streits of Bosphorus into the great Euxine sea (now called the Black sea ; and so sailing along the coast, to come to anchor before Sinope, the chief city of Paphlagonia, there to expect his comming thither with his army by land. This great city of Sinope stands pleasantly vpon a point of the main which runs a great way into the Euxine, somtime the metropolitane city of that prouince, but as then, with Castamona, and all the Country therabout, was vnder the government of *Ismael* a Mahometan prince, vpon whom *Mahomet* had now bent his forces, for no other cause than that he was in league with *Vsun-Cassanes* the Persian King. Now with great expedition had *Mahomet* leuiued a strong army, and passing therewith ouer into Asia, was come before he was looked for, to Sinope. *Ismael* seeing himselfe so suddenly beset both by sea & land in his strongest city, although he wanted nothing needfull for his defence, F hauing in his city four hundred peeces of great artillery, and ten thousand soldiers, yet doubting to be able with that strength to endure the siege, offered to yeeld vp the city to *Mahomet*, with all the rest of his Dominion, vpon condition that hee should freely giue him in lieu thereof the City of Philippopolis in Thracia, with the Country thereunto adjoyning. Of which his offer *Mahomet* accepted : and so taking possession of Sinope, with the strong city of Castamona,

1461  
Vsun-Cassanes King of Persia sends Embassadors with presents to Mahomet.

Mahomet inuaded Ismael Prince of Sinope.

mona, and all the rest of the princes territory, sent him away with all his things to Philippopolis, as he had promised. This *Ismael* was the last of the honourable house of the *Assendians*, who had long time reigned in Heraclea and Castamona in Pontus. From Sinope he marched on forward with his army to Trapezond. This famous city standeth also vpon the side of the Euxine or black sea in the country of Pontus, where the Emperors of Constantinople had alwaies their deputies, whilst that empire flourished & commanded the East part of the world as far as Parthia: but after it began again to decline (as all worldly things haue but their time) one *Isaac* (whose father Emperor of Constantinople, the Constantinopolitans had for his cuill gouernment slain) flying to Trapezond, took vpon him the gouernment of that city, with the Countries of Pontus and Cappadocia, with many other great prouinces, and was at the first called the King of Trapezond: but after hee was well established in the gouernment, both he and his successors took vpon them the name and title of emperors, which they maintained equally, if not better, than the late Constantinopolitan Emperors, and therefore are of most accounted for Emperors. He that then reigned was called *Dauid Comnenus*; which most honorable family of the *Comneni* had long time before reigned in Constantinople; and out of the same were many other great princes descended, who ruled in diuers places of Macedonia, Epirus, and Grecia. *Mahomet* comming to Trapezond, layd hard siege vnto the same both by sea and land for the space of 30 daies, and burnt the suburbs thereof, as he had before at Sinope. The fearfull Emperor dismaied with the presence of so mighty an enemy, & the sight of so puissant an army, offered to yeeld vnto him the city with his whole empire, vpon condition that hee should take his daughter to wife, and deliuer vnto him some other prouince which might yeeld vnto him such yearly profit as might suffice for the honorable maintenance of his state. *Mahomet* perceiuing the weaknes of his enemy by his large offers, refused to accept thereof, and attempted by force, to haue taken the city, which not sorting to his desire, the matter was again brought to parly: where after long debating to and fro, it was at last agreed vpon, That the Emperor vpon the faith of the Turkish King for his safe return, should in person meet him without the city, if haply so some good atonement might bee made betwixt them. Whereupon the Emperor following the Turks faith before solemnly giuen for his safe return, as was before agreed, went out of the City to meet him, in hope to haue made some good agreement with him. But as soon as he was come out, *Mahomet* according to the damnable and hellish doctrine of his false prophet (That faith is not to be kept with Christians) presently caused the Emperour to be cast into bonds, and so to be detained as prisoner. Which when it was bruted in the city, the citifens vtterly discouraged, without further resistance yeelded themselves with the city into his power.

Trapezond  
besieged by  
Mahomet.

Trapezond  
yeilded to  
Abu Turks.

*Mahomet* now Lord of Trapezond, entring the city, took prisoners the Emperors daughter, with all the rest of his children and kindred, and all such of the Nobility as he found within the city; whom he caused forthwith together with the Emperour, to be sent by sea as it were in triumph to Constantinople. Of the rest of the citifens he chose out so many as he pleased for his own seruice, and appointed eight hundred of the Christian children, in whom appeared most towardlines, to be brought vp for Ianizaries: many also of the other Citifens were sent Captiues to Constantinople: the beautiful women and virgins he diuided amongst his friends and men of war, certain chosen paragons of whom he sent as presents to his sons. After he had thus taken his pleasure in the city, and left none there but the basest of the people, he put a strong garison of his Ianizaries into the castle, and a great garison of common soldiers into the city, appointing his Admiral to gouern the same. The rest of the emperors strong Towns, discouraged with the taking of Trapezond, and the miseries thereof, in short time submitted themselves vnto the Turkish thraldom, wherein they haue euer since most miserably liued. So *Mahomet* in the space of a few months hauing reduced that empire into the form of a prouince, returned in great triumph to Constantinople; when hee had in this expedition subdued Paphlagonia, Pontus, and a great part of Capadocia, with some other prouinces neer vnto the Euxine sea. When he was come to Constantinople, he sent the Emperour with his children prisoners to Hadrianople. But afterwards vnderstanding that the Persian Queene, the wife of *Vsun-Cassan*, sought means to get some one of her vnckles children, whom by the power of her husband he might, if it were possible, aduance vnto her fathers empire; hee sent for *Dauid* the wofull Emperour to Constantinople, and there cruelly caused him, with

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A all his sonnes and kinsmen, to be put to death; and to the vttermost of his power rooted out all that most honourable family of the *Comneni*, excepting *George* the Emperors youngest sonne, who at his first comming to Hadrianople turned Turke: whose sister (the emperors daughter) *Mahomet* afterwards tooke to be one of his concubines. This Christian empire was by the Turkish tyrant *Mahomet* thus miserably subuerted and brought to nought in the yeare of our Lord 1461.

The ruine of  
the empire of  
Trapezond.

1462

Mahomet se-  
keth to ouer-  
wladus Prince  
of Valachia.

The yeare following, which was the yeare 1462, *Mahomet* hauing intelligence, that *Wladus Dracula*, Prince of Valachia, his tributary, was resolved to cast from him his obedience, and to ioyne himselfe vnto the Hungarians, his mortall enemies; thought it best to proue if he could by policy circumuent him, before he were altogether fallen from him. For which purpose he sent *Catobolinus* his principall secretary vnto him to bring him vnto the court, promising him greater fauors and promotions from the Emperour, than he had as yet at any time inioyed: and by the same trusty messenger, he commanded *Chamuzes Bassa*, Gouverneur of Bidina and the country lying ouer against Valachia, on the other side of Danubius, to do his vttermost deuoir for the entrapping of *Wladus*: promising him great rewards if he could bring the matter to effect. Whereupon *Chamuzes* deuised with the secretary, that when he had done his message to the Prince, and with all his cunning perswaded him to take that journey vpon him, he should secretly before hand giue notice vnto him of the certain day of his returne backe againe from the Prince: at which time it was like, that *Wladus* would in courtesie of himselfe bring the secretary well on his way, being a man of so great account in the court, or at lestwise not refuse so to do, being thereto requested by the secretary: at which time the Bassa secretly passing ouer Danubius with certaine troupes of horsemen, and lying close in ambush vpon the way, should suddenly set vpon the Prince, and so either take him, or else kill him. The plot thus laid, and every circumstance agreed vpon, the secretary held on his way; and comming to the Prince, forced his wit to perswade him to go to the court: sometime cunningly extolling the great opinion that *Mahomet* had of his fidelity & valor; and otherwhiles feeding him with the hope of great honors and princely preferments he was to receiue at the Emperors hands. But when he had said what he could, he obtained no more of the wary Prince, but good words again, and that he would in courtesie condukt him on his way to the side of Danubius: whereof the secretary by speedy messengers gaue *Chamuzes* intelligence: who secretly passing ouer Danubius with certain troupes of horsemen, and riding a good way into the country, lay in ambush vpon the way whereby the Prince and the secretary must needs passe: according as was before appointed, the secretary accompanied with the Prince, put himselfe vpon the way, and at the very prefixed time came to the place where *Chamuzes* lay in ambush with his horsemen: who suddenly arising, & on euery side assailing the Prince, slew diuers of his men before they were well aware of his comming. But *Wladus* being a man of great courage, and better appointed than the Bassa had supposed (for he went alwaies attended vpon with a strong gard of valiant and stout men) so receiued *Chamuzes* and his Turkes, that he slew many of them, and at length after a hard conflict took him with the rest prisoners: whose hands and feet he caused to be cut off, and their bodies afterwards to be thrust vpon sharp stakes set fast in the ground, to the terror of all that saw them: and did the Bassa so much honor as to hang him and the secretary vpon a gibbet a great deale higher than the other Turks. And not satisfied with this reuenge, presently gathered his forces, and passing ouer Danubius into the Turks domiaions, burnt all the country before him along the sea side, killing man, woman, and child, without mercy: after which great spoyle & slaughter made, he returned again to Valachia. The report of this news being brought to *Mahomet*, set him in such a choler and rage, that he commanded the great Bassa *Mahomet*, which first told him thereof, to be cruelly whipt: which seruile punishment in that tyrannicall gouernment hath vsually bin inflicted euen vpon the greatest Princes of the court, vpon the least displeasure of the tyrants, especially if they be not naturall Turks born; accounting the rest in their anger but as their base and contemptible slaues, as well appeareth by the wofull end of many, euen of the greatest of them. But when he vnderstood by most sure aduertisements that all was as the Bassa had before reported, or rather worse, it is not to be in words expressed into what a rage he fell: the spoyle of his country grieved him much, but the shamefull death of the secretary his Embassador, and of *Chamuzes* the Bassa, tormented his heart, and filled him with indignation & desire of reuenge. Wherefore with all speed possible

Chamuzes Bassa  
& the Turks  
secretary hang-  
ed.

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he assembled his soldiers and men of war, out of all parts of his dominions to Philippopolis, and had in short time raised such an army, as the like he had not at any time employed since the winning of Constantinople. At the same time also, he sent his Admirall with 25 galleys, and 150 saile of other small vessels by the Euxine, to enter the river Danubius, and there landing his men, to joine his forces with the prince of Podolia: who for a grudge he bare against *Wladus*, had promised to ayd the Turke against him. When all things were now in readines, he marched with his army from Philippopolis, and passing ouer Danubius, entered into Valachia, before which time, the Admirall had landed his men, and with the help of the Podolians, had burnt the city of Prailaba, the greatest towne of trade in all Valachia; and was besieging Cebium, called in antient time Lycostomos: where after they had lien a while and received some losse, they left the siege and departed, the Podolian backe againe into his country, and the Admirall to his fleet.

*Mahomet* being got ouer Danubius, burnt the villages, draue away the cattell, and made havoc of all that came in his way. As for prisoners, he tooke but few; for the Valachies before his coming, had retired their wiues and children, and all that were vnfit for warre, either into their strong cities, or into the refuge of great and thick woods (whereof there is in that country plenty) or else into the high and rough mountaines where they were in more safety than in any their strongest holds; and all such as were able to beare armes, followed the Prince, who euer kept the woods and mountaines, still following the Turke army so neere as he possibly could with safety; and many times cut off such as stragled any thing far abroad from the army, into the country; yet neuer durst shew himselfe in plaine field, being indeed but a handfull in comparison of the Turke multitude. *Mahomet* to small purpose roaming vp and downe the country at his pleasure, staid neuer long in one place, and making no reckoning of such a weak enemy as durst neuer shew himselfe, pitched his tents still in the open plaines, and so lay with his army in great security, not entrenched at all. *Wladus* by his espials vnderstanding of this the manner of *Mahomet's* encamping, came in the dead time of the night, & with all his power furiously assailed that quarter of the Turke camp where the Asian soldiers lay, and slew many of them in their tents; the rest terrified with the suddenesse of the Alarm, fled out of their tents for refuge vnto the European soldiers: the Prince following them at the heeles, and entering into that quarter of the camp also, did there great harme, and struck such a generall terror and feare into all the Turke army, that they were euen vpon the point to haue wholly forsaken their tents and betaken themselues to flight. Yea *Mahomet* himselfe, dismayed with the terror of the night and tumult of his camp, and fearing lest the Hungarians had ioyned their forces with the Prince; not knowing which way to turne himselfe, had vndoubtedly fled, had not *Mahomet Bassa*, a man of great experience in martiall affairs, perswading him otherwise, and by generall proclamation made through the camp, That no man should vpon paine of death, forsake the place wherein he was encamped, staid the flight; and with much ado enforced them to make head against the prince. *Wladus* perceiuing the Turke now to begin to stand vpon their guard, and to make resistance; after great slaughter made, returning, tooke the spoyle of the tents forsaken by the Asian soldiers, and vpon the approach of the day, again retired with victory into the woods. As soon as it was day, *Mahomet* appointed *Haly-Beg* with certaine companies of select souldiers, to pursue the Valachies: who ouertaking part of the Princes army, tooke a thousand of them prisoners, and put the rest to flight: all which prisoners were by the tyrants command, presently put to the sword. From that time *Mahomet* every night entrenched his army, and caused better watch and ward to be kept in euery quarter of his camp, than before.

A most horrible  
spectacle.

As he marched along the country, he came to the place where the Bassa and the Secretary were hanging vpon two high gibbets, and the dismembred Turke, impaled vpon stakes about them: with which sight he was grievously offended. And passing on farther, came to a plaine containing in bredth almost a mile, & in length two miles, set full of gallows, gibbets, wheels, stakes, and other instruments of terror, death, and torture; all hanging full of the dead carcases of men, women, and children, thereupon executed, in number (as was deemed) about twenty thousand. There was to be seen the father, with his wife, children, and whole family, hanging together vpon one gallows; and the bodies of sucking babes, sticking vpon sharp stakes; others with all their limbs broken vpon wheels, with many other strange & horrible kinds of death.

A death: so that a man would haue thought, that all the torments the Poets feigne to be in hel, had bin there put in execution. All these were such as the notable, but cruell prince, jealous of his estate, had either for iust desert, or some probable suspicion, put to death; and with their goods rewarded his souldiers: whose cruel manner was, together with the offender to execute the whole family, yea sometimes the whole kindred. *Mahomet*, although he was by nature of a fierce and cruell disposition, wondred to see so strange a spectacle of extreme cruelty: yet said no more but that *Wladus* knew how to haue his subiects at command. After that, *Mahomet* sent *Iosephus*, one of his greatest Captaines, to skirmish with the Valachies, who was by them put to the worse: but by the coming in of *Omares* the son of *Turachan*, they were againe in a great skirmish ouerthrowne, and two thousand of their heads brought by the Turke vpon their launces into the Kings camp: for which good seruice *Omares* was by the King preferred to be Gouvernour of Thessalia.

Two thousand  
of the Vala-  
chies slaine.

When *Mahomet* had thus traced Valachia, and hauing done what harme he could, saw it to be to no purpose, with such a multitude of men to hunt after his flying enemy, which still kept the thick woods or rough mountaines: he returned againe to Constantinople, leauing behind him *Haly-Beg* with part of his army, to prosecute that war: and with him *Dracula* the younger brother of *Wladus*, who was also called *Wladus*, as a stake to draw the Valachies into rebellion against the Prince. This *Dracula* the younger, was of a little youth brought vp in *Mahomet's* court, and for his comely feature of him most passionately affected, which inordinat perturbation so preuailed in the intemperat nature of the lasciuious prince, that he sought first by fair words and great gifts to corrupt the youth; and not so preuailing, attempted at last to haue forced him; wherewith the noble youth being enraged, drew his rapier, and striking at him to haue slain him, grievously wounded him in the thigh, and therupon fled. Neuertheless being drawne backe againe to the court, and pardoned, he was afterwards reconciled to the King, and so became his *Ganimede*; and was of him long time wonderfully both beloued and honored, and now set vp for a stake (as is before said) for the Valachies his countrymen to gaze vpon.

It fortuned, that after the departure of the king, diuers Valachies came to *Haly-Beg* the Turkish Generall, to ransom such friends of theirs as had bin taken prisoners in those wars, and were yet by him detained: to whom the younger *Dracula* by way of discourse declaring the great power of the Turkish Emperour, and as it were lamenting the manifold and endles miseries of his native country, cunningly imputed the same vnto the disordred gouernment of his cruell brother, as the ground of all their woes: assuring them of most happy and speedy redresse, if the Valachies, forsaking his fierce brother, would cleaue to him as their soueraigne, in speciall fauour with the great Emperour. Which speech he deliuered vnto them with such liuely reasons, and in such effectuall termes, that they there present, perswaded by him, and others by them, in short time all, as if it had been by a secret consent, forsooke *Wladus* the elder brother, and chose *Dracula* the younger brother to be their prince and soueraigne. Who ioyning vnto him the Turke forces, by the consent of *Mahomet* tooke vpon him the gouernment of that warlike country and people; yet holding the same as the Turkish tyrants vassalle, the readiest way to infidelity. *Wladus* seeing himselfe thus forsaken of all his subiects, and his younger brother possessed of his dominion, fled into Transilvania, where he was by the appointment of the Hungarian king, apprehended and laid fast in streit prison at Belgrade, for that he had without iust cause (as it was laid to his charge) most cruelly executed diuers Hungarians in Valachia: yet such was his fortune, after ten yeares hard imprisonment, to be againe enlarged, and honourably to die in battell against his antient enemies the Turke.

The death of  
*Wladus*.

*Mahomet* returning out of Valachia to Constantinople, sent the same fleet which hee had vied in his late warres, into the *Ægeum*, to take in such Islands as being before vnder the Constantinopolitan empire, had vpon the losse of the city put themselues vnder the protection of the Venetians; but especially the Isle of Mitylene, called in antient time Lesbos: pretending that *Nicholam Cateulius* Prince thereof, did harbor the pyrats of Italy and other places; and also bought of them such prisoners, and other booty, as they continually tooke from the Turke at sea, or alongst the sea coast, out of many places of his dominions: pretending also the chastising of the said Prince, for that he had by treacherie slaine his eldest brother, and so vnjustly taken vpon him the gouernment. His fleet thus set forward, hee himselfe with a

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small

Misylene besic-  
red.

*Methylene yielded to the  
Turks.*

small army passed over into Asia, and came by land to Possidium a city of Ionia over against Mitylene. From whence he embarked himselfe over the narrow streits into the Island, whereafter he had once landed his army, he in short time overran the whole Island, and miserably spoiled the same, leading away all the inhabitants thereof into captivity; who shortly after were sold at Constantinople like flocks of sheepe, and from thence dispersed into all parts of his dominions. After he had thus harried the country, and left nothing therein vnspoyled, he besieged the Prince in the city of Mitylene, whereof the Island now taketh name: and with his great ordnance continually battered the same by the space of 27 dayes (in which time many sharp assaults were also giuen by the Turks, whereby the defendants were greatly diminished and wasted. The Prince perceiuing himselfe not able long to hold out, offered to yeeld vp the city, with all the strong holds in the Isle, vpon condition that *Mahomet* should therefore giue vnto him some other prouince, of like value to the Island: which his offer *Mahomet* accepted, and by sollemne oath bound himselfe for performance of that he had promised. Whereupon the Prince came out of the city, and humbled himselfe before him, excusing himselfe for the receiuing of the men of war (wherwith he was charged) as done for no other purpose, but that they should forbear to spoyle his owne country, much subiect to their fury: vtterly denying that he had at any time bought, or shared, any part of such prizes as had by those pyrats by sea or land bin taken from the Turks. With which his excuse, *Mahomet* seemed to be reasonably well contented, and with good words cheered him vp neuer the lesse as soon as the city, with all the other strong holds in the Isle, were by the Princes meanes deliuered into his hands, he no longer made reckoning of his Turkish faith, but cruelly caused many of the chiefe citizens of Mitylene to be put to death, and three hundred pyrats, whom he found in the city, to be cut in two peeces in the middle, so to die with more paine. And when he had placed conuenient garrisons in euery strong hold in the Isle, he returned to Constantinople, carrying away with him the Prince, and all the better sort of the inhabitants of Mitylene, that were left aliue, together with all the wealth of that most rich and pleasant Island, leauing it almost desolate, none remaining therein more than his own garrisons, with a few of the poore and basest people. *Mahomet* after he was arriued at Constantinople, cast the Prince *Nicholas* & *Lucius* his cousin (whose helpe he had before vsed in killing of his elder brother) into close prison: where they seeing themselves euery houre in danger of their liues, to win fauor in the tyrants sight, wickedly offered to renounce the Christian Religion, and to turn Turks. Which *Mahomet* vnderstanding, caused them both to be richly apparelled, and with great triumph to be circumcised, and presently set at liberty: yet still bearing in minde his old grudge, he shortly after, when they least feared any such matter, clapt them both fast again in prison, and there caused them to be most cruelly put to death. A iust reward for their bloody murtherers and Apostacy, who to gaine a little longer life, were content to forsake God.

1464 Shortly after it fortun'd, that *Stephen* king of *Bosna* (in antient time called *Mæria Superior*) who supported by the Turkish Emperor, had wrongfully obtained that kingdome against his owne brethren , refused now to pay such yearly tribute as hee had before promised : for which cause *Mahomet* with a strong army entred into *Bosna* , and layd siege vnto the City of *Dorobiza* : which when hee had with much adoe taken , he diuided the people thereof into three parts , one part whereof he gaue as slaues vnto his men of war, another part he sent vnto *Constantinople*, and the third hee left to inhabit the City. From *Dorobiza* he marched to *Iaziga*, now called *Iaica*, the chiefe city of that kingdome, which after foure moneths siege was deliuered vnto him by composition: in this city he took the Kings brother and sister, prisoners, with most of the nobility of that kingdome, whom he sent as it were in triumph vnto *Constantinople*. The other lesser cities of *Bosna* following the example of the greater, yielded themselues also. But *Mahomet* vnderstanding that the King of *Bosna* had retired himselfe into the farthest part of his kingdom, sent *Mahometes* his chief *Bassa* with his European soldiers to pursue him : wherein the *Bassa* vsed such diligence, that he had on euery side so inclosed him before he was aware, that he could by no means escape, which was before thought a thing impossible. So the King for safegard of his life was faine to take the city of *Clyssa* for his refuge : where he was so hardly laid to by the *Bassa* , that seeing no other remedy, he offered to yeeld himself vpon the *Bassa's* faithfull promise by oath confirmed, that he should be honorably

**A** bly vsed, and not to receiue in his person any harme from the Turkish Emperour. Whereupon the Bassaes oath to the same purpose was with great solemnity taken; and for the more assurance conceiued in writing, signed by the Bassa, and so deliuered to the king: which done, the king came out of the city and yeelded himselfe. The Bassa hauing thus taken the king prisoner, carried him about with him from place to place, and from city to city, vntill he had taken possession of all the kingdome of Bosnia, and so returning vnto his master, presented vnto him the captiue king: who was not a little offended with him, for that he had vnto him so farre engaged his Turkish faith. But when the poore King thought to haue departed, not greatly fearing further harm, he was suddenly sent for by *Mahomet*: at which time, he doubting the worst, carried with him in his hand the writing wherein the Bassaes oath for his safety was comprised:

**B** neuertheless, the faithles tyrant, without any regard therof, or of his faith therein giuen, caused him presently to be most cruelly put to death, or as some write to be slaine quicke. Thus was the Christian kingdome of Bosnia, subuerted by *Mahomet* in the year 1464: who after he had at his pleasure disposed thereof, &c reduced it to the forme of a Prouince, to be (as it is at this day) gouerned by one of his Bassaes; in great triumph returned to Constantinople, carrying away with him many a woful Christian captiue, and the whole wealth of that kingdome.

*Mahomet* following the example of his father *Amurath*, had from the beginning of his reign by one or other of his great Bassaes or expert captains still maintained war against *Scanderbeg* the most valiant and fortunate King of Epirus: the greatest part whereof, although it did in the course of time concur with the things before declared, and might by peace-meale have been amongst the same in their due time and place inserted; yet I have of purpose for divers reasons wholly referred them for this place: first, for that I would not interrupt the course of the history before rehearsed, with the particular accidents of this war: and then, for that the greatest heat of this hereditary war, delivered as it were from hand to hand, from the father to the son, hapned not long after this time, when as *Mahomet* having conquered the kingdom of Bosnia, had surrounded a great part of *Scanderbeg's* dominion; wherein he had respect also unto the Readers ease, who may with greater pleasure and content, and lesse paines also, view the same together, than if it had bin dispersedly scattered and intermedled with the other greater occurrences of the same time. In which discourse I will but briefly touch many things well worthy of a larger treatise. And if forgetting my selfe, I shall in some places happen to stay something longer than the Readers haist would require, yet I hope, that the zeale and love he beares unto the worthy memory of most famous Christian Princes, together with the shortnesse of the history, in comparison of that which is thereof written in iust volumes by others, shall easily excuse a larger discourse than this: But againe to our purpose.

*Mahomet* in the beginning of his reigne sent embassadors to *Scanderbeg*, offering him peace, so that he would grant to pay vnto him such yerely tribute as his father *Amurath* had in his life time demanded: which embassage the crafty tyrant sent rather to proue what confidence *Scanderbeg* had in himselfe, than for any hope he had to haue his demand granted. This dishonorable offerred peace *Scanderbeg* scornfully reiected, and so returned the Embassadors as they came: and presently vpon their departure entred with his horsemen into that part of the Turke dominion which bordereth vpon Epirus: and when he had wasted the country, returned home laden with the spoyle thereof. In reuenge of which despight, *Mahomet* shortly after sent *Amel* one of his bestemen of war, with 12000 horsemen into Epirus, to requite *Scanderbeg* with the like spoyle of his people & country. But *Scanderbeg* vnderstanding by his espials of the Turks comming, lay close in ambush with 6000 souldiers vpon the great mountaine *Modrisa*,ouer which the Turks must of necessity take their way: and as they were about by night to haue passed ouer that rough and steep mountaine, and were with much difficulty almost got vp to the top thereof, they were suddenly charged by *Scanderbeg*: his footmen, who hauing the aduantage of the place, made great slaughter of the Turks, and draue them downe the mountain againe; at which time their horses flood them in no stead at all, but were rather vnto them an hindrance in that neuer and troublesome ground. Now when the Turks were come to the foot of the mountaine, they were in that great feare and disorder againe fiercely assailed on the one side by *Scanderbeg*, & on the other side by his nephew, called also *Amel*, who before the Turks comming had placed himselfe with their horsemen in places of most aduantage: so that the Turks hardly best, and forced on euery side, were in short time ouerthrowne and put to flight.

The great war  
between Maho-  
met and Scan-  
derbeg, are at  
large written  
by Marinus  
Barletius in 13  
books, De vita  
& gestis Scan-  
derbegi, from  
whence this hi-  
story is taken:  
and were done  
between the  
years 1450.  
and 1467.

**Vide Martini**  
**Barlerium, lib.**  
**de vita & gestis**  
**Scande bevi.**

In this conflict seven thousand of the Turks were slaine, and *Amesa* Generall of the Turks army with diuers other captains taken, whom *Scanderbeg* sent prisoners to Croia: for ioy of this victory at *Scanderbegs* returne, great triumph and feasting was made at Croia: during which time, *Scanderbeg* caused *Amesa* the Turke, with the rest of the Turkish captains, to be enlarged, to be petakers of that ioy, whereof they against their wills had given the occasion; and afterwards fed them with all kind of courtesie during the time of their abode. This *Amesa* requested of *Scanderbeg*, that he might send a messenger to Constantinople, to certifie *Mahomet* how the case stood with him and the rest, whom haply he might think to haue bin slain in the battell; and to procure from him their ransom: which his request *Scanderbeg* easily granted, and set down their ranfome at thirteene thousand Duckats. The news of this ouerthrow sore grieved the Turkish tyrant, but afterwards when he saw the remainder of his army without their Generall and leaders, hauing for most part lost their ensignes and armour, and also the messenger was sent from *Amesa*, he fell into such a rage that he denied to giue any thing at all for his ranfome: imputing all the losse to his treachery, folly, or cowardise. Howbeit he was afterwards perswaded by his Bassaes, and other great courtiers, *Amesa* his friends, to think better of the Generall, of whose faithfulness and valor he had of long time had great experience, and also to send his ranfome: by denying whereof, he should, (as they said) discourage his other Generalls and captains, who by chance of war might hap to fall into the like danger. By whose perswasion *Mahomet* sent an Embassador to *Scanderbeg*, with the ranfome demanded, and other great presents also. Vpon receipt whereof, *Amesa* with the other captains were set at liberty, and sent with safe conuoy out of Epirus. All the money sent for the Turks ranfome, *Scanderbeg* diuided amongst his captains and souldiers.

This late receiued ouerthrow filled the proud tyrant with desire of reuenge, so that he determined forthwith to send another army into Epirus: the leading whereof, diuers of his great and most expert captains ambitiously fought for. For *Mahomet* had promised great rewards and most honourable preferments to him whose hap it should be to vanquish *Scanderbeg*. Among the rest, one *Debreas* (a man for his forwardnesse and courage, in great fauor with his soueraigne) by great suit obtained to haue that charge: promising with exceeding confidence vnto *Mahomet*, to make a beginning of better successe in his warres of Epirus, than others thither by him before sent: for the accomplishment whereof, he required to haue no greater power than was sent the yeare before. But after that *Amesa* was returned to the court, & had with long discourse set forth the vertues and valor of *Scanderbeg*, with the inuincible courage of his souldiers, *Debreas* became more temperate in his speech, and was contented to receive a new supply, so that he had vnder his charge fourteene thousand soldiers: with which army he marched towards Epirus, and was come to a place called Pologus, where he lay with his army encamped in a plain in great security, fearing no danger, for that he was not as yet in the enemies country, neither as he supposed, neere the enemy. Of all this preparation, and of the coming of *Debreas*, *Scanderbeg* had intelligence, and being resolved not to expect the coming of the Turks into Epirus, made choice of six thousand of his best horsemen, with whom he marched with as much speed as was possible into the enemies country, & came by night vnto the plain where the Turks lay, hoping to haue bin vpon them before they were aware, and so to haue ouerthrowne them, wherein he was much deceived: for by the light of the Moone (which then shined all night, he was by the Turks in time descried, yet the suddenness of his approach with the strangeness of the attempt, exceedingly dismayed the whole army of the Turks. But *Debreas* mindfull of the promise he had made vnto his Lord and Master, with cheerfull words encouraged his souldiers, and presently sent out certain troupes of light horsemen, to receiue the first charge of the enemy, vntill he might set his whole army in order of battell. Bewixt these troupes, & others sent out by *Scanderbeg*, began a sharp skirmish; both the armies standing fast, as beholders, carefully expecting the euent thereof. But *Scanderbeg* doubting, that if his soldiers should in his first encounter be put to the worst, it might tend to the great discouraging of the rest of his army, seconded his men with other fresh troupes vnder the leading of *Moses* and *Amesa*: by whose coming in, the Turks were forthwith beaten back, and chased euen to their main battell. In the heat of which chase, *Moses* forgetting himselfe, had with great danger in following on too fast, bin inclosed by the Turks, had not this fury bin in good time stayed by *Amesa*: for which ouersight, he was afterward blamed by *Scanderbeg*, that he could not with greater

*Debreas* first with 14000 horsemen to invade Epirus.

A skirmish betwixt the Christians and the Turks.

A greater moderation vfe his good fortune; commending such forwardnesse in a priuat souldier, but not in so great a commander. When *Moses* and *Amesa* had thus put the Turks to flight, *Scanderbeg* brought on his whole army, and fiercely assailed the Turks, yet troubled with the discomfiture of their fellowes. *Debreas* on the other side, with cheerfull speech, and his owne valor, so encouraged his souldiers, that *Scanderbeg* was there notably resisted, and his fortune as it were at a stand: vntill that *Musachius*, with certain troupes of resolute men, drawne out of the left wing of *Scanderbegs* army, gaue such a fierce charge vpon the side of the Turks army, that he brake their ranks, & sore disordered that part of the army: which when *Debreas* perceived, he withdrew himselfe out of the front of the battell wherein he had valiantly stood against *Scanderbeg*, and came to the place where *Musachius* had disordered the battell, and with such courage cheered vp his troubled souldiers, that his onely preference and valor seemed to be the very life and heart of his whole army. Whilst *Debreas* was thus busied against *Musachius*, *Scanderbeg* in the meane time with might and maine still charged the front of the enemies army: who now in the absence of their Generall began to lose their order & to giue ground, making no such resistance as before. At which time, *Moses* forcibly breaking into the midst of them, took one of their ensignes, which he threw back among his followers: wherewith they encouraged, so pressed vpon their enemies, without regard of danger, that the Turks being therewith discouraged, and their battell disordered, were almost ready to turne their backs and to fly. *Debreas* seeing all in danger to be lost, hasted with all speed vnto the place where he saw most perill, and did what was possible to haue restored the battell, and encouraged his souldiers: where pressing in among the foremost, he was by *Scanderbeg* himselfe encountred hand to hand, and so by him slaine: with whose fall the whole army discouraged, without further resistance fled. *Moses* pursuing them on the one side, and *Musachius* on the other, with furious hand slew more in that chase than were slaine in the battell. Of the Turks were slaine in this battell 4120, and some prisoners taken, but of the Christians few or none: so that for the good fortune thereof, *Scanderbeg* accounted it a victory giuen. All the spoyle taken from the enemy, together with the prisoners, was by *Scanderbeg* equally diuided among the souldiers. Vnto *Moses* he gaue *Debreas* his horse and armor: and vnto *Musachius* a prisoner, which by his port and behaviour seemed to be a man of some account. This Turke agreed with *Musachius* vpon a ranfome of 200 duckats, and presently vpon agreement made, drew forth the money out of a little bag which he had kept secretly about him, and offered it to *Musachius* for his ranfome, who receiuing the money, told the Turke, that he must prouide another ranfome, forasmuch as that money was his owne before by law of armes, as taken with his person. The Turk on the other side alledged for himselfe, the agreement already made, with the payment of the full sum agreed vpon. This controuersie was brought before *Scanderbeg*: who with great pleasure heard them both what they could say: *Musachius* laying hard for another ranfome, and the Turke for his liberty vrging the agreement. Who when they had both said what they could for themselves, *Scanderbeg* smiling, told them, that they both contented for that which was in right his, & neither of theirs: for the prisoner with the money were both mine (said he) at the first taking of him, since which time I haue giuen to you *Musachius* the prisoner, which I knew, but not the money which I knew not of: neither doth the concealing thereof make it yours (said he to the Turke) who had by law of arms lost your selfe, together with all that you had about you. After he had thus pleasantly discoursed of the matter, and brought them both in doubt, he awarded to *Musachius* the money he agreed for, and to the Turke his desired liberty: who glad thereof, and hauing also receiued his horse and armor of the gift of *Scanderbeg*, departed, speaking all the honor he could of so noble a conqueror. After this victory *Scanderbeg* with great triumph returned againe to Croia:

When *Mahomet* understood that *Debreas* was slaine, and his army ouerthrowne, he became exceeding melancholy, but after he saw so many of his souldiers returned as had been sufficient to haue restored a lost battell, he was so highly displeased with that cowardise, as that hee could not endure the sight of them. The death of *Debreas* grieved none more than the King himselfe: for the captains generally either enuid at his hardinesse, or else hated his insolvency. *Amesa* among the rest took no small pleasure, that his proud successor had taken part of his euill fortune, and so in part eased his former infamy. The great Bassaes and men of war seeing their soueraigne so desirous of reuenge, offered to spend their liues in that seruice: whose forwardnesse

The battell betwixt *Scanderbeg* and *Debreas*.

*Debreas* slain by *Scanderbeg* and his army ouerthrowne.

A pleasant controuersie betwixt *Musachius* and a Turke for his ranfome.

wardnesse he seemed not to refuse: howbeit he had in his mind already plotted another manner of reuenge. He was not ignorant, what great matters his father *Amurath* had brought to passe, by sowing discord among the Princes of *Græcia*: which foule practise hee purposed now to put in practise himselfe. There were at that time many famous chieftaines of *Epirus*, of *Scanderbeg* both beloued and trusted; among whom, he was in hope to find some one who for desire of wealth or promotion, might be allured to giue some desperate attempt against the life or state of *Scanderbeg*. Of all others, *Moses Golemus* of *Dibra* (a man honourably descended) was most inward with *Scanderbeg*, and for his prowes and experience in martiall affaires, of all men accounted the best captain in all *Epirus*, next vnto *Scanderbeg* himselfe; him, the crafty tyrant most desired to alienate from *Scanderbeg*, as fittest to serue his purpose, & easiest without suspicion to be dealt withall, because he commonly lay with a strong garrison in *Dibra*, vpon the very frontiers of *Epirus*. Wherefore he directed his letters vnto the Governour of *Sfetigrade*, commanding him by all means he could possibly deuise to withdraw *Moses* from *Scanderbeg*, and not to spare for any gold or golden promises wherby to allure him: promising also vnto the Governour himselfe great preferments, if he could win him. Vpon receipt of which letters, the Governour began forthwith carefully to deuise, how he might best attempt the matter he had in charge; where after many deuises, he at last thought vpon a shrewd headed fellow, one of the Christians which dwelt in *Sfetigrade*, whom for that he was a Christian, he might without suspet use as an instrument in so dangerous and important an action. This Christian the governour called vnto him, and after he had with great gifts and large promises won him to vndertake the matter, he sent him away, fully before armed with plenteous instructions, full of treason and deceit. When this subtil messenger was come vnto *Moses*, and vnder pretence of great and secret matters of importance, had obtained to speak with him in priuat; he after some discourse had of matters well worth the hearing, began at length vnder the couert of faire glozing words, to vtter his payson: shewing vnto him (as a messenger from the Governour) the great and good opinion the Turkish Emperour had of long time conceiued of his valour and prowesse: for which cause his herioicall nature could not but honor him, although he were his enemy; and therewith also maruell, that hee being a man of that worth, could be contented to be commanded by *Scanderbeg*, whose state was by him chiefly ypholden whereas if he would dowisely, and changing his affection, follow *Mahomet*, an Emperour of greatest magnificence and power, he should quickly in his Court find such honourable entertainment, as were to be preferred before the state of *Scanderbeg*: or if the soueraignty of *Epirus* his native countrey did better please him, he might easily be thereunto aduanced, by ioyning his owne endeuor vnto *Mahomet's* great power. It pleased *Moses* wel to heare his own praises (a thing incident to haughty minds) and he liked well that he was so fauoured of the Turkish Emperour: but the hope of the kingdom of *Epirus*, began to work in him new conceits, and moued him more than at the rest: such is the force of ambitious thoughts, that they make a man forget all things faue themselves: so glorious a thing it is to stand in the highest places for all that, *Moses* neither in word or countenance made any semblant of liking, or disliking the message. Which the wily messenger taking for a secret consent, and heartily glad that he had bin so well heard; not desiring as then any further answer, craued leave to depart: promising in short time to returne to him againe. After the departure of this messenger many troubled thoughts began to arise in the mind of *Moses*: his mirth was changed into melancholy, and the cheerfulness of his countenance was abated, his hauty thoughts were, his solitary companions, and the imagined kingdom the Idol he in secret worshipped, so that in short time, he seemed to the wiser sort as a man altogether metamorphosed. Some were so bold, as for to ask the cause of the messengers comming: vnto whom he answered, That he was one, from whom he receiued intelligence of matters concerning the good of the state: which his word was holden for true, for who durst once mistrust *Moses*? Whilest he thus was tossed, up and downe with his owne thoughts, as a ship with the billows of a wrought sea, the same stile messenger, according to his promise came againe; and for his more credit, in secret brought with him such Presents as well might seeme to haue been sent from the great Turke, with his message better framed than before. Of all which that was sent, *Moses* is reported to haue receiued nothing but the worst, which was, the very treason it selfe. And so returned the messenger with answer, that he could not but in good part accept of the Turkish Emperours great fauor; and for

The crafty proceeding of the Turkish messenger.

Moses corrupted.

A for the rest of his requests, whatsoeuer he should chance to doe therein, hee should not from thenceforth find him any great enemy: commanding the messenger at his departure, no more to repaire vnto him about that matter, for feare of suspition.

B After that, it chanced that *Scanderbeg* came into *Dibra*, to see how all things stood there, and to consult with *Moses* for the besieging of *Sfetigrade*; which city it grieued him to see in the possession of the Turks. *Moses* to auert *Scanderbeg* from that enterprife, wherein he must of force be driuen to shew himselfe, told him, That he vnderstood of late by a certaine messenger which came to him out of *Sfetigrade*, that the city was so well stored by the Turks, of all things necessary for the defence thereof, that it were but lost labour to attempt any thing against the same: wherefore he aduised him rather to besiege *Belgrade* (not that *Belgrade* which is situated vpon the riuer of *Danubius*, but another of the same name in the confines of *Epirus*, then holden by the Turks, but distant from *Sfetigrade* about an hundred and forty miles of the taking whereof, there seemed to be more hope. By this persuation, *Scanderbeg* resolved with himselfe to make prouision for the besieging of *Belgrade*. And soasmuch as his souldiers of *Epirus* alwaies vsed to the field, were not so fit for the besieging of townes, hee thought it good to pray ayd out of *Italy*, from his old friend *Alphonfus* King of *Naples*, with whom he had of long time bin acquainted, and vnto him much beholden. Wherefore he sent two of his noblemen embassadors vnto him, with certain rich Presents, and familiar letters of this purport.

Scanderbeg craueth ayd of Alphonfus king of Naples.

C Our souldiers of *Epirus*, know only how to fight with men, and them to vanquish: with wals they know not how to deale. You *Italians* (as I vnderstand) haue skill in that kind of seruice, and take pleasure therein: wherefore now at this present, I haue need of your help and cunning. I here be certaine townes of our enemies in *Epirus*, yea almost in the heart of our kingdom, which eye sore I haue of long desired (if it pleased God) to take out of my sight: but being occupied with continuall wars, had no leisure till now, happily to attempt any thing against them. This time I haue chosen as most fit, to satisfy my desire, both for the seasonableness of the time of the year, and for that *Mahomet* spareth me leisure; whose fury I haue twice calmed. You vnderstand in few words, what I haue need of: all other things are almost in readines, and we only look for your help. Lend me such souldiers as know how to fight asur off, I meane harquebussiers and canoniars, for of others we haue store plenty. But happy is *Apulia*, my *Alphonfus*, vnder thy government D from whence men fit for all seruices may be drawn, as out of a most plentifull treasury. Whensoever we haue requested men fit for seruice, either in peace or war, you haue beautified both our court and camp. By you the kingdom of *Epirus* hath bin sometime supported with ciuill policy, and warlike strength: all sorts of people, of what condition soeuer, yea every corner of *Epirus* soundeth forth thy praise, both at home and abroad. But for mine owne part, I do so louingly embrace your kindnes, and so firmly retain the remembrance of your deserts toward me, that some time I wish you that fortune (although in so doing I may seem unkind) which (as the commons saying is) prouoeth, but getteth not friends: to the intent, that you might by some more certaine prooffe know, how much I am to you deuoted.

E When *Scanderbeg* had sent away his Embassadors, he with all diligence began to prouide things necessary for the siege of *Belgrade*: wherein he had purposed also to haue vsed the seruice of *Moses*. But he now in heart a traitor both to his prince and country, and a friend to *Mahomet*, found many excuses to stay at home in *Dibra*; alladging first, that it was to be thought that so soon as the Turkish king should heare of the siege of *Belgrade*, he would inuade some part of *Epirus*, thereby to withdraw his enemies from the siege: and then, that no part of all *Epirus* lay neerer to the Turks, or more in danger than *Dibra*; and that therefore he could not do any better seruice, than to see vnto the safety of that countrey, long before committed to his charge, and in which also most part of his living lay. These his excuses, proceeding indeed from deep treason, were yet neuertheless thought reasonable, and he for his prouident care highly commended: and authority giuen him with new supplies to augment the garrison vnder his command, as time and occasion should require.

F By that time that *Scanderbeg* had fully made his preparation for the intended siege, the embassadors before sent to *Alphonfus*, were returned into *Epirus*, and with them such ayd as *Scanderbeg* had before requested, and a great deale more; For *Alphonfus* fearing the greatnes of the Turkish

Alphonfus sendeth ayd vnto Scanderbeg.

Turkish Emperor, in what he could furthered *Scanderbeg* his actions, reckoning Epirus nor about 60 miles distant from his dominions, to be the strongest wals of his kingdome in Apulia (as not many yeres after, it by profe appeared, when as the Turks hauing taken Otranto, put all Italy in no small feare.) With this aid he also wrote louing letters to *Scanderbeg*, thanking him for his presents, and for the good opinion he had of him, willing him to make as bold of all his things, as of his owne. But when he came to make mention of the soldiers he had sent, *Alphonsus*, after the manner of his pleasant nature, merily wrote vnto *Scanderbeg*, That he had sent him Italian souldiers which could according to his desire, fight well both with men and wals, but better with women: and that therefore the Epirots were best to take heed, that they whose help they required for fight afar off, proued not also good warriours at hand at home in their houses. The great commendation *Scanderbeg* had giuen of the King, was by him referred vnto the exceffe of his loue, and by the King requited with like.

*Scanderbeg be-  
sieged and dis-  
tributed Bel-  
grade.*

*Scanderbeg* now furnished with all things needful, set forward, and according to his former determination, came and encamped before Belgrade, with an army of 14000 good souldiers: & in short time had so distressed the city, that the Turks were glad to take truce with him for sixteen dayes, which time expired, they promised to deliuer the towne, if they were not before relieved. Vpon conclusion of this truce, *Scanderbeg* encamped himselfe vpon an high hill, neer vnto the city, with three thousand horse, and a thousand foot: and appointed *Musachius* and *Tannusius*, with the rest of his army, to remoue farther off into a large plaine, where they might encamp themselves in a more wholsom and fresh aire, in that hot season of the yeare, during the time of the truce. At which time he appointed also 25 scouts to keep continuall watch vpon the top of the highest mountaine, to discover a far off the coming of the enemy, and to giue warning thereof to the camp, by making a fire vpon the mountaine by the negligence of which watch, *Scanderbeg* receiued a great ouerthrow, as hereafter followeth.

The news of the siege of Belgrade was brought vnto *Mahomet*, at such time as he was ready to haue passed into Asia against the Emperour of Trapezond: which great enterprise hee was loth to giue ouer, for the reliefe of Belgrade; and yet to lose that city vnto *Scanderbeg*, grieved him much: wherefore he resolved with himselfe so to doe the one, as that he would not altogether neglect the other. And so holding on his intended journey into Asia himselfe, with such fortune as is aforesaid, he sent *Sebalias* one of his great Bassaes, with forty thousand horsemen to relieue Belgrade, promising him great rewards if hee could bring him *Scanderbeg* either aliue or dead. This Bassa was of the Turks accounted for a wary capitaine, but not so courageous, alwaies more politick than forward: he hauing receiued his charge, set forward with all speed possible, no lesse carefull of that he was commanded, than was *Mahomet* himselfe, and by great journies came on so fast, that he still prevented the fame of his coming, and by his forerunners intercepted, or rather (as some write) corrupted the watch which *Scanderbeg* had before placed vpon the mountains, so that no signe was giuen vnto the campe of the enemies, as was expected. By meanes whereof *Sebalias* with all his power were vpon that part of *Scanderbeg's* army, which lay in the plaines, before they were well aware of his coming: so that most part of them had not so much leisure as to bridle their horses, or to put on their armor, In which so sudden a feare, *Musachius* armed himselfe, and put his souldiers in such order, as the shortnesse of the time and the enemies approach would permit; doubting much, whether it were better to fight or to flie: but seeing no lesse danger in flight than in fight, he resolutely receiued the enemies charge, as a man desirous before hand to reuenge his own death: and at length (seeing his men slaine about him by heaps, and that courage must needs giue place vnto fortune) fiercely attempted to haue broken through the midst of his enemies, and so to haue fled to the mountain where *Scanderbeg* lay: but he was so beset, that no way was possible to be made; wherefore resolving there to die, he desperately fought to the great admiration of his enemies, vntill that he, with all there with him, were every man slaine. *Tannusius* on the other side, after he had giuen diuers braue attempts to haue rescued his cousin *Musachius*, finding by proofe, that he could do him no more good therein but to become the wofull companion of his death, exhorted all the rest yet left, for safegard of their liues to flie: in which doing, most of them were slaine, for the Bassa's great army so filled all places thereabout, and so eagerly pursued the victory, that it was almost impossible any way to escape. *Scanderbeg* lying vpon the

*Musachius  
slain, and the  
Epirots put to  
flight.*

A mountaine, and seeing the ouerthrow of most part of his army, was about many times to haue descended from the hill, to haue holpen them in what he might, or els to haue there died with them: but yet stayed, being thereto earnestly requested by his other most expert capitains, and persuaded, not desperately to thrust both himselfe and them all into the manifest perill or assured death.

*Scanderbeg  
seeth his men  
slain, and is not  
able to relieue  
them.*

*Sebalias* hauing slaine *Musachius*, and put *Tannusius* to flight, followed the chase with the greatest part of his army, so that few were left in the great plain, except such as stayed to rifle the dead. *Scanderbeg* taking that opportunity, came down from the hill whereon he stood, with his foure thousand souldiers, and in a moment slew all such Turks as he found in his way: and after following in the taile of the Turks army, cut off a great number of them, and brought a generall feare vpon the whole army: insomuch, that *Sebalias* perceiuing that he gained not so much in chasing of *Tannusius*, but that he lost more in the reuiew of his army, by the pursuit of *Scanderbeg*, left the chase, and turned vpon his fierce enemy: where after a sharp skirmish begun, the wary Bassa feearing in the maintaining of that disordered fight to haue the victorie wrung out of his hands by *Scanderbeg*, caused a retreat to be sounded, so to call together his dispersed souldiers, and in better order to encounter his daungerous enemy. *Scanderbeg* in the meane time hauing assembled the remainder of his army, valiantly againe encountered the Turks, who thought in this battell to haue made an end of the warres in Epirus: and with his owne hand slew *Achmat* and *Barach*, two valiant souldiers of the Turks; which like stout champions had before sworne vnto *Mahomet* the death of *Scanderbeg*, if they should chance to meet with him. In this last skirmish a great number of the Turks were slaine: but night drawing on, *Sebalias* retired with his army to a mountaine neere vnto the city, and *Scanderbeg* likewise to another almost two miles off: and in the dead time of the night rising with his army, returned in safetie into Epirus, leauing strong garrisons vpon all the streit passages as he went, for feare least the Bassa proud of this victory, should forthwith breake into Epirus. This was the onely and greatest ouerthrow that *Scanderbeg* had hitherto receiued of the Turks: wherein he lost two thousand horse and three thousand foot (most part wherof were of the Italians sent from king *Alphonsus*) together with his tents and great artillery, and about eighty of his men taken prisoners. And of the Turks were also slaine three thousand.

*Scanderbeg slayeth by night in-  
to Epirus.*

The next day *Sebalias* perceiuing that *Scanderbeg* was retired, commanded the bodies of the slain Turks to be sought out and buried: but of such Christians as they yet found, breathing, the Turks cut off their hands and feet, and so left them among the dead. The head of *Musachius* and of many other the slain Christians, which by their armor or apparell were thought to be of the better sort, were by the commandement of *Sebalias* cut off; which because hee could not for the distance of the place, and heat of the weather, without great annoiance carry with him to Constantinople, as the barbarous manner of the Turks is, he caused them to be slaine, and stuffed with chaffe, and so to be carried as the vaine trophies of his victory. Afterwards, when he had repaired the battered wals of Belgrade, and put a new supply of seven hundred fresh souldiers into the city, beside the old garrison therein before, and set all things in good order, he returned with great triumph to Constantinople. And the more to set out the glory of his victory, at such time as he entered the city, he first caused the captiue Christians to be led in chains before him; after whom were borne the ensignes taken from the Christians, with the aforesaid heads thrust vpon lances, and after them all the spoyle: last of all came *Sebalias* himselfe with his souldiers, as great conquerors, and was of the people receiued with such applause and ioy, as if he had conquered some great kingdome. No man was now spoken of but *Sebalias*, his praises were in euery mans mouth, he was the onely man (as they said) that did shew that *Scanderbeg* was to be overcome, no preferment was now thought too great for him, or reward sufficient to counteruaile his desert. The poore Christian captiues were afterwards for the most part sould: of the rest, some were aliue thrust vpon sharp stakes, some hanged on yron hooks, some otherwise cruelly at the victors pleasure tortured to death.

*Moses* lately before corrupted by the practise of the Gouvernour of Stetigrade, hearing of the great losse *Scanderbeg* had receiued at Belgrade, thought it now a most fit time for his reuolt. But forasmuch as the fact, in the nature of it selfe foule, seemed euen to himselfe the doer thereof, a great deale fouler and more dishonorable, for that he had therein no complices: he thought good, if it were possible, to allure some others into the fellowship of his treason, so to

diminish

diminish the infamy of himself, in communicating the same with many, and to appeare with greater credit before the Turkish tyrant, than if he should as a contemptible fugitive come alone. Wherefore vpon the bad news from Belgrade, he seemed at the first very penſiue, and much to lament the misfortune of *Scanderbeg*, and the common misery of the country of Epirus, with many words amplifying the same: and then on the contrary part, setting forth to the vttermost the force and power of the Turkish Emperour *Mahomet*, thereby to strike a greater terror and distrust into the minds of them with whom he was conuerſant: but to such as were more secret and inward with him, he discovered the great affection and fauour the great Emperour *Mahomet* had of long borne him, with the large offer of his gifts & preferments, assuring them of the like also, if they would conſorme themſelues vnto his appetite, seeking hereby so much as he could, to allure them into the participation of his most execrable treason: yet when he had said what he could, he found none but a few of the baser sort of the common soldiers, which were willing to hearken vnto him or to follow him. When *Moses* saw how much he had laboured, and how little preuailed, fearing to be discovered, he fled by night to Sfetigrade, accompanied with a few base fellows, and easily obtained the Gouvernours passe, with safe conduct to Constantinople, where he arriued a little before the returne of *Sebalus* from Belgrade, and was of *Mahomet* both ioyfully received and honourably entertained.

When *Scanderbeg* vnderstood that *Moses* was thus reuolted, at the first report thereof he was so troubled with the ſtrangenes of the fact, that he stood speechles as a man astonied: but after he had paused a while, & vpon further enquiry had found it out to be true, he according to his heroical disposition, said no more, but that he could easily haue *Moses* excused, for that he was carried away with the violence of such fortune as might haue alienated the mind of a right constant man. And when diuers of his friends (according to the maner of the world) with hard speeches seemed to aggravate his offence: he could not abide to heare the same, but commanded them to hold their peace, and no more to vse such speeches: wishing that all treason and euill fortune were together with *Moses* gon out of Epirus. Vpon this news *Scanderbeg* accompanied with *Ameſa* his nephew, and a troupe of horsemen, presently entred into the countrey of Dibra, and there with all care caused most diligent enquiry to be made, if any could be found partakers of the conspiracy with *Moses*. But finding none, he much reioyced in the fidelity of his ſubiects, & hauing ſet al things in good order in that prouince, returned himself to Croia.

*Moses* remaining in the Turks court, ceased not to ſolicit *Mahomet* to proceed in his wars against *Scanderbeg*, promising to do therein great matters, euen to the ſpending of his life in that ſervice. But the crafty tyrant thinking it not good to trust him too far before he had further triall of him, delaied him off to the next Spring, pretending that the yeare was too farre ſpent to begin wars. In the mean time he caused all *Moses* talke, his behavior and actions, to be diligently obſerued and noted; and oftentimes himſelfe diſcourſed with him concerning the managing of that war: all which he did eſpecially to ſound the depth of *Moses* his thoughts. And finding nothing in him but the most assured and vndoubted ſignes of a mind deuoted to his ſervice, and altogether eſtranged from *Scanderbeg*: in the beginning of the Spring he committed to his charge the leading of ſeeteen thousand horsemen for the inuading of Epirus, such men as *Moses* himſelfe ſhould make choice of: for a great number he required not for the vanquiſhing of *Scanderbeg*. These ſouldiers although they detested (so few in number) to enter that ſatall countrey of Epirus, as men faire warned by other mens harms, yet heartened on by the opinion they had conceiued of their new Generall, and the hope they had by his means to find friends in that countrey to ioync with them, were the willinge to go. So *Moses* furnished with a notable army, and all warlike prouiſion he could deſire for the deſtruction of his countrey, and blinded with the imagination of a kingdome, ſet forward, & marching through Thracia and Macedonia, forgetting the loyalty due vnto his Soueraigne, and the loue he ought to haue borne vnto his natieue countrey, came and entred into Dibra.

*Scanderbeg* by his eſpials vnderſtanding of the comming of *Moses*, as alſo what ſtrength he was of, ſtood not now vpon any policy againſt him who had of long bin priuy to all his ſtratagems, but was ready euen at his first entrance with true valour to encounter him. As both the armies ſtood ranged in order of battell, a meſſenger came from the Turkes campe, to know of *Scanderbeg*, if any one of his army durſt to proue his fortune hand to hand againſt one of the Turks, before the beginning of the generall battell. By which meſſenger anſwer was returned, That

Mahomet ſent  
deth *Moses*  
with ſeeteen  
thouſand ſouldiers  
to inuade  
Epirus.

- A That the challenge ſhould be accepted. The name of the Turke which made this braue challenge was *Ahemaze*, a man for his valour and courage of great name amongſt the Turks. Vpon this proud challenge, *Zacharias Groppe*, a gentleman of no leſſe reputation among the Chriſtians, haſtily ſtept forth before *Scanderbeg* (as if he had bene afraid to haue bene preuented by ſome other) and requested, that he might be the man to abate the Turks pride. *Scanderbeg* embracing him, commended his noble mind, and wiſhing him good fortune, gaue him leaue to carry with him into the field the first honour of the Chriſtian army. As he was arming himſelfe, his companions and fellowes in armes ſtanding about him, wiſhed vnto him not more courage or ſtrength than he had, but onely the fortune of *Maneſſi*. Vpon his armor he put on many rich jewels and ornaments, the allurements or rather the reward of the enemy, if hee could vanquiſh him. The Turkish champion was no ſooner come into the plain betwixt both armies, and made ſhew of himſelfe in great brauery, as if his march had yet bin ſcarcely found; but he ſaw *Zacharias* come forth brauely mounted, and ready to charge him: to whom *Ahemaze* calling aloud, ſaid there would be time enough for him to haſten to his death, and therefore requested to talke with him before. So when he had learned of him both his name and place, he propounded ſuch like conditions of the combat, as had bin long before deſeried by *Maneſſi*: whereof *Zacharias* in no better fort accepted. In few words it was agreed vpon betwixt them, That each of them ſhould abide his owne fortune, without any helpe or aid of others; and that the victor ſhould haue full power ouer the body & ſpoile of the vanquiſhed. Thus agreed, they withdrew themſelues one a good diſtance from another, and with their Launces charged, ran together with ſuch force, that with the violence of the encounter they brake their Launces one vpon the other, and were both horſe and man ouerthrowne. But vnhorſed, they nimble recovered themſelues, and with their ſcimitars ſiercely aſſailed the one the other on foot. Fortune it ſhould ſeem had determined to beautifie that combat with variety, ſtanding a great while indifferent to both. After many ſturdy ſtrokes giuen, without any hurt don, by reaſon they were ſo ſtrongly armed, it fortuneth that both their ſwords were beaten out of their hands: then grappling together with their bare hands, as if they had bin two vnarmed wreſtlers, after long ſtrugling till they were both almoſt out of breath, *Zacharias* ouerthrew the Turke, and lying vpon him, with his dagger, aboue the gorget thruſt him into the throat, and ſlew him: and ſo riſing vp, with the ſword that first came to his hands, cut off the Turks head: at the ſight whereof the Chriſtian army gaue a great ſhout for joy, to the great diſcomſiture of the Turks. To be ſhort, *Zacharias* deſpoiling the Turk of his armor, and what els he thought good, returned loded with the ſpoile of his enemy, and preſented vnto *Scanderbeg* the proud Turks head: for which he was of him afterwards moſt honourably rewarded.

Into this place yet reeking with the blood of the laſt ſlaine Turke, came *Moses*, and with a loud voice challenged *Scanderbeg* hand to hand; thinking indeed that he would not haue aduentured his perſon: but when he ſaw him ready to come forth, he ſhamefully forſooke the place, and returned with ſhame enough into his army.

- Preſently after, both the armies vpon ſignall giuen ſet forward, and ſo began to joine battell: where at the first onſet *Scanderbeg* ſo valiantly charged the vauward of the Turks army, that they were glad to giue ground: which *Moses* perceiving, releued them with new ſupplies, and riding now here, now there, with his preſence and courage reſtored the battell, in many places almoſt loſt. Howbeit, the Epirots encouraged with the beginning of their good fortune, ſtill preuailed vpon their enemies, and after great ſlaughter made, came to the ſtrength of their battell: where *Moses* had placed moſt of his beſt ſouldiers, as his moſt assured and laſt refuge: in this place the Turks fought with exceeding courage, and *Moses* warily obſeruing in what part of the battell *Scanderbeg* himſelfe was, directed his moſt forces againſt him, of purpoſe, if poſſibly he might to haue ſlaine him; whereof he miſſed but a little: for a couragious ſouldier of the Turks by chance encountering with *Scanderbeg*, with his horſemens ſtaffe bare him quite backward vpon his horſe, in ſuch forcible manner, that the Turks for joy gaue a great ſhout, thinking verily that he had bin ſlain: but *Scanderbeg* recovering himſelfe again, & chafed with ſuch an vowed diſgrace, furiously aſſailed the ſame Turke with his ſword, and after a great fight ſlew him. A great part of the Turks army being already ouerthrowne by them that had the leading of the wings of *Scanderbegs* army, diuers of the common ſouldiers thruſt the heads of the ſlaine Turks vpon the points of their ſpeares, in token of victory, to the great aſtoniſhment

A combat betwixt a Turke and a Chriſtian.

The battell betwixt *Scanderbeg* and *Moses*.

ment of the Turks: and now joyning themselves with *Scanderbeg*, more fiercely charged the maine battell of the Turks than before. Neuertheles, *Moses* encouraging his soldiers, did what was possible for a man to do, and euen with his owne valour a great while staid the course of the victory: vntill he seeing the ground about him couered with the dead bodies of his best soldiers; and that there was no remedy but that he must either fly, or there die; turned his backe and fled. In which flight many of the hindermost of the Turks were slaine: as for *Moses* himselfe, he escaped by waies to him well knowne, onely with foure thousand men, the poore remainder of so great an army: the rest, to the number of about eleuen thousand, all choise men, were slaine: whereas of the Christians were not past an hundred lost, and about eighty wounded. Of all the Turks that were taken, only one was sau'd, who being a man of good account, had yielded himselfe to *Zacharias*, and was afterward ranomed; the rest were all by the common souldiers, without pittie tortured to death, in reuenge of the cruelty by them shewed at Belgrade: *Scanderbeg* himselfe not knowing thereof, or winking thereat.

*Moses condemned of the Turks.*

*Moses* with the rest of his discomfited army, lay still a while vpon the borders of Epirus, and would faine haue persuaded them, after the departure of *Scanderbeg*, to haue followed him againe into Epirus, to haue surprised the garrison left in Dybra, in number not about 2000; promising to bring them vpon the same garrison, before they should be aware of their coming. But the Turke hauing him now in contempt, were about by generall consent to forsake him, and to return home. And so *Moses* seeing no remedy, returned with them to Constantinople, with countenance as heauy as if he had bin a condemned man now carried to the place of execution: and the Turks which had not long before had him in great admiration, expecting that he should haue ended the wars in Epirus, began now to disgrace him as fast, and to speake all the euill of him they could deuise. Yea the tyrant himselfe (although he could blame nothing in the man, but his fortune) was so highly offended with him for the losse of his army, that he had vndoubtedly put him to most cruell death, had not the great Bassaes, and others neere about him, persuaded him otherwise, saying, That in so doing, he should alienate the minds of all others from revolting vnto him, or attempting any great thing for his seruice. So was he by their mediation pardoned his life; but withall, so disgraced, that he had little or nothing allowed him afterwards for his necessary maintenance: all which despightfull contumelies he outwardly seemed patiently to beare; but was inwardly so tormented with melancholy and griefe, that he could neither eate nor drinke: the remembrance of the foule treason committed against his Prince and country, was day and night before his eies; and the disgraces of the Turks court inwardly tormented him with intollerable griefe: the sight of the tyrant (who measured all things by the euent) filled his heart with secret indignation; and to return againe to his naturall Prince, of whom he had so euill deserued, he was ashamed; sometime the clemency and princely nature of *Scanderbeg*, whom he knew of old, slow to reuenge, and easie to be intreated to forgiue, heartned him on to thinke of returne; and by and by, the consideration of his foule treason ouerwhelmed him with despaire. Thus with contrary thoughts plunged to and fro, tormented with the vnspokeable griefs of a troubled conscience, not knowing what to do, purposing now one thing, and by and by another, at last he resolved to forsake the insolent tyrant, and to submit himselfe to the mercy of *Scanderbeg*; wishing rather to die in his country for his due desert, than to liue with infamy, derided in the Turke court. Resting himselfe vpon this resolution, one euening he got secretly out of the gates of Constantinople, and traouelling all that night and the day following before he rested, by long and weary iournies, came at last vnto his native country of Dybra. The garrison soldiers beholding their old Governour all alone, full of heauinesse, as a man eaten vp with cares; moued with compassion, and forgetting the euils he had bin the occasion of, receiued him with many tears and friendly embracings, and brought him to *Scanderbeg*, who by chance then lay not far off. *Moses* comming vnto him with his girdle about his necke, in token that he had deserued death (as the manner of that country was) found him walking before his tent, and there with heauy cheere falling downe vpon his knees at his feet, submitted himselfe vnto his mercy, and with great humility and signes of repentance, craued his most gracious pardon. Which his request *Scanderbeg* presently granted, and taking him vp by the hand embraced and kissed him, in token he had from his heart forgiuen him: and within a few daies after, caused all such things of his as were before confiscated, to be againe restored vnto him; with all such offices and promotions

*Moses flyeth from Constantinople.*

A tions as he had before inioyned: and by open proclamation commanded, That from thenceforth no man should either publicly or priuately speake of that *Moses* had trespassed. *Mahomet* vnderstanding that *Moses* was returned againe into Epirus, and honoured of *Scanderbeg* as in former time, was much grieved thereat, and fumed exceedingly: first, for that he had at all trusted him; and then, that he had so let him slip out of his hands: being verily persuaded, that all that *Moses* had done, was but a finenesse of *Scanderbeg* to deceiue him.

B Shortly after that *Moses* was returned into Epirus, *Mahomet* by like practise allured vnto him *Amesa*, *Scanderbeg* his nephew; promising to make him king of Epirus in his vncles stead. For by that meanes, the crafty tyrant thought it a more easie way to draw the minds of the people of Epirus from *Scanderbeg* vnto him descended of the Princes blood, than to *Moses*, or to any other stranger he should set vp. *Amesa* vpon this hope of a kingdom, fled to Constantinople: and because he would cleere the mind of the tyrant from all suspicion and distrust, he carried with him his wife and children, as the most sure pledges of his fidelity. This *Amesa* was of stature low, and the feature of his body not so perfect as might sufficiently expresse the hidden vertues of his mind: he was of courage haughty about measure; subtil, and of a pregnant wit; wonderfull painfull, and thereto courteous and bountifull (the chiefe means whereby aspiring minds scale away the hearts of men) whatsoeuer he got of himselfe, or had by the gift of his vnkle, he diuided it amongst his souldiers or friends: he was very affable, and could notably both couer and dissemble his affections: for which things, he was about all others both beloued and honored of all the people of Epirus, next to *Scanderbeg* himselfe. At his first comming to *Mahomet*, he filled not his eares with great promises and vaine praises of himself, as had *Moses*; but only excusing his owne reuolt, laboured to persuade him, That he had for just causes left his vnkle, with a desire now faithfully to serue him. And to that purpose spake vnto him as followeth:

If it should please thee, (most noble *Mahomet*) to call to remembrance the old injuries, and ancient displeasures by vs committed against thine imperiall Majesty: we might seeme, rather to haue come hither to receiue the just gerdon of our euill deserts, than vpon any hope of honour or preferment. For what could haue bin done more in disgrace of the Ottoman Empire, than that you haue seene long since done by vs, in the most dangerous time of the Hungarian war; rather of a malicious and set purpose, than for that we were just enemies? Whereas in the same perfidious course, I my selfe being a helper and partaker therein (for now no excuse is to be pretended for our doings, more than repentance) your fathers army was betrayed at *Azoraua*, and the kingdom of Epirus by great treachery wrested out of your fathers hands; the only cause of so many calamities, and of so much bloodshed. But vaine is this feare, and our suspicion needlesse, with so wise and mercifull a Prince; especially for that my yeres then greene, and youth prone vnto the harme of it selfe, and a mind not resting vpon his owne resolutions, deceiued me. I beleened mine vnkle (for the ignorant beleene many things) and allured with the desire of sovereignty (the proper disease of that age) and too much credulous, I forsooke you and followed his promises, but discretion growing with yeres, I haue by little and little perceiued both the sly perfidious dealing of mine vnkle, as also that my reuolt from you was more hurtfull vnto my selfe than to any other. *Scanderbeg* recovered, and also enlarged the kingdom of Epirus; but not without my great labour and helpe. I expected long time, that he should haue giuen me, if not my fathers whole inheritance, yet at least some part thereof, as a small reward of my so great trauell and danger. Not long after, he married a wife, and hath begot a young heire, a new successor in his kingdom: vnto me for shame of the world, because I should not altogether leade a priuate life, he hath assigned a base corner of Epirus; where he enjoying the rest, I might leade a poore and contemptible life. In this case I had much adoe to bridle my affections, and could neuer digest that injury: yet the iniquity of the time, with the insolent disposition of the man, compelled me to smother up my thoughts, and to make faire weather, least finding some suspicion, he should craftily haue intrapped me, as he did of late George Strelie his sisters sonne; whom wrongfully charged with fained furnishes, he hath almost deprived of all his possessions. I would willingly haue fled vnto the feet of your highnesse, I would gladly haue for saken my ingratefull vnkle with the stains of his infamous kingdom; but that the remembrance of the old rebellion, and many injuries since done, did make me afraid: vntill that now (God I thinke so appointing it) I came most gladly, following your most royall faith and promise. You had scarcely beckned vnto me, you had scarcely inuited me, hauing of long intently waited euery occasion,

*Amesa his first speech vnto Mahomet.*

occasion but straightway I came with such speed, as if I would have flowne: I lingred not, I expected not either Scanderbeg or his euill hap, or your more prosperous successe, as of late did Moses; least I might thereby justly seeme either for feare or regard of some eminent danger, rather to have provided for mine owne safety than to have embraced your magnificence. Neither haue I left any thing for you in me to suspect, nor any cause wherefore I should desire to returne againe into Epirus: here are present most sure bonds of my loue, and faithfull pledges of my loyalty. Behold (worthy Mahomet) you haue whatsoeuer is deare vnto me, yea whatsoeuer nature could giue, pleasing vnto men in the course of mans life. These haue I brought vnto thee, which should with violence haue bene taken from an enemy: such pawnes as might assure thee of the faith of a most doubtfull man. More than this, haue I brought nothing: for in so great speed and secret departure, I could not haue regard of my substance. And if I might haue had time to haue trusted vpon my trash as leisure; yet I know not how, I should haue thought it a kinde of businesse, to haue brought with me any part of the poore reliques of mine old fortune: especially vnto thee, of all other the richest. And my fidelity I lay downe before thee, for any thing greater I haue not: and if thou desire of me any other bond for more assurance, I refuse not whatsoeuer your highnesse shall appoint: for I came not hither to set downe covenants and agreements of my selfe, but to receiue them from you. I dare not promise to vanquish mine vncla, and so subdue Epirus with an army of fifteen thousand men: the misfortune of Haly-Bassa and other your Generals, yea and the late and rare victory of Sebalias, with great bloodshed gained, may serue for examples. In me you shall neither want diligence nor faithfull seruice: as for other things concerning the course of this war, and for the reuenge of the injuries by you receiued; you being a Prince of power invincible, and of a most deepe judgement, are not to be aduised by me your vnskillfull vassalle.

Amesa honourably entertained by Mahomet.

Amesa and Scanderbeg with his captains, how the Turks were to be withstood at their coming to Paris.

This speech of Amesa seemed vnto Mahomet free from all dissimulation, forasmuch as he knew most part thereof to be true; and his wife and children brought vnto his presence, confirmed the rest. Wherefore commending his good affection, he appointed him honourable entertainment, referring other matters vnto a further time.

Vpon the approach of the Spring, Mahomet desiring nothing more than to be reuenged vpon Scanderbeg, entered into consultation with his great Bassaes, concerning the inuasion of Epirus: vnto which counsell Amesa was by Mahomet admitted, and his wicked deuise for the destruction of his country, of all others best liked. After the matter had been long to and fro debated, it was concluded, that Isaac the great Bassa of Constantinople, should with an army of fifteen thousand be sent against Scanderbeg, and Amesa with him, hauing the charge of five thousand horsemen: and the Bassa to proclaim Amesa King of Epirus; thereby to persuade the Epirots, that Mahomet inuaded Epirus rather for the displeasure he bare against Scanderbeg, and for the aduancement of Amesa, than for any ambitious desire he had to take vnto himselfe that kingdom.

Great was the preparation for this war, and the expectation thereof greater. Flying fame had in short time filled euery corner of Epirus with the report of these newes; adding thereto (as the manner is) a great deale more than was true. Whereupon Scanderbeg without delay sent for his great captaines and men of war into Dybra, where that tempest was first to be expected: and when they were all assembled, he declared vnto them the greatnesse of the danger, and what he thought thereof himselfe as followeth:

A notable speech of Scanderbeg vnto his captaines, how the Turks were to be withstood at their coming to Paris.

Amongst all other things which God hath left to vex and grieue the minds of men in so great variety of worldly affaires, we see (right worthy souldiers) these two the greatest, Hope, and Feare. The first a more comfortable thing, and proper to courageous minds (I may not say) of light beleefe: the other a thing of more discretion and safety, which although it vse to defer the desires of men, yet hath it power at length exceedingly to cure and season the same. Hereupon it is easily to be gathered, That the great chieftaines of former times haue gained more honour and greater victories, by fearing all that was to be feared, than others in shew more hardy, which feared nothing. Hereupon the great Carthaginienian captaine used to call Q. Fabius (whom the Romans euer thought too slow and too fearefull) his great enemy: but Terentius Varro he called a greater enemy vnto his owne country and the people of Rome, than to himselfe. But wherefore do I wrongfully call that Feare, which might more truely be called Discretion, or wholesome policy? Call it as you will, it is not much materiall: but this one thing no man can deny, That thereof hath

A hath risen the ancient discipline of war, and the old seuer government of martiall affaires. This aduised carefulnesse cherissheth and nourissheth Hope it selfe, it doth nothing rashly, it hath eyes before, behind and on both sides; it weigheth in indifferent ballance things past, present, and to come. You may now perceine to what end my speech tendeth. I would first confer with you, and know your opinions, before I determine any thing of the order of this war; that either I might yeeld vnto your opinion, or else you (as you haue alwaies hitherto done) to mine. You heare now with your eares, what preparation, what warlike prouision is daily made against vs. Lo, the great Bassa of Constantinople, all the flower of Europe, and whole strength of the Othoman Kingdome knocketh at our gates. I want not courage (neither euer did) to proue my fortune against him, not without your honour: But I thinke it better to vse policy and wary heed against so great an enemy, than our wonted force and courage. That notable overthrow of Haly-Bassa, so many great victories by vs achieved, our minds by so many good haps confirmed, persuade me to thinke that we haue both courage and strength to encounter him in plaine battell: but the vnertaine cuncts of war, and fortune neuer sufficiently knowne, maketh wise men to forget what is past, and to feare that is to come. It was neuer proper to any man, it was neuer given by inheritance, alwaies to overcome; new occurrences require new correspondents: neither may you, for that you conquered yesterday, presume to assure your selfe to diuide the spoile of your enemies to day. Victory is like a travelling, and goeth hither and thither, not resting long in a place: and although it be for most part both gotten and kept by courage and discretion, yet oftentimes, when you haue most carefully and politickly disposed of all things, the fortune and chance of war haue therein a great sway. I was wont to require (I remember it well) onely valour and courage in my souldiers, contemning all externall accidents and fortunes haps; if you did promise vnto me courageous minds, I assured you of all good hap and prosperous successe: but that losse we receiued at Belgrade (the remembrance whereof my mind feareth, and alwaies abhorreth to thinke vpon) hath much changed my former cogitations, and made me to deeme far otherwise of worldly matters, and the vn certainty of fortune. What if that day had bene longer? or Sebalias of more courage? might not the state of Epirus haue that day bin utterly overthrowne? We were then rather by God preserved, than by any thing that was in our selues: what remained more, but that we should like cowards haue yeelded our selues to haue bene bound of the conquerors? The night defended vs, yea, euen God himselfe defended vs, who tooke from them both policy and force, and gaue vs time to breath and escape away. We were then but as a prey, expecting but the coming of the victor: Howbeit he tooke nothing from vs, he carried little or nothing away with him, being too much carefull to keepe the honour he had already gained, and peradventure in feare of them of whom he was not without cause most feared. I speake not this of purpose to terrifie any of you, but rather to admonish you, and to consult with you, how so great preparations may be frustrated and overthrowne, and some notable victory by vs achieved, without the price of our blood, or the losse of such things as we haue. The number of our enemies is great, and so great, as vntill this day we neuer saw in Epirus greater, except at such times as they came to besiege our cities, and to denoue vs all. Now if we shall meet them in the plaine fields in a set battall, the event thereof will be doubtfull, many of vs must needs fall, many of vs must die (I would I might be a false Prophet) before so great an army will either fly or be overcome, your victory shall be mingled with teares, and the heauinesse of the conqueror not much unlike the sorrow of the conquered. Was it but a few that we lost at Belgrade? is that losse so to be reconered? What flower of Chivalry, hardly to be in many yeares restored: how many worthy men were there slaine? Epirus must needs in short time be vnpeopled, if we shall so desperately onely seeke for such glorious victories. Wherefore if we will do well, we must so fight to day, as that we may fight to morrow also. Neither are our enemies and we in like case. The losse of forty or fifty thousand is lesse vnto the Turkish tyrant, than the losse of an hundred of you is to me. We are in all but few; and therefore carefully to be kept: which if we regard not for our owne sakes, yet let vs doe it for our wiues and children, whose welfare and liberty dependeth of our liues: I know the number of you, I know your faces and countenances, and almost euery one of your names, which maketh me also more carefull of your health. And yet I would not refuse to try the whole fortune of this battell in plaine field, if we might thereby end all the wars against the Turks for euer; if I were in hope so to finde an end of our labours and trauels hereafter, I would gladly aduenture my life with yours, for the perpetuall quiet and peace of our posterity: but a new enemy alwaies ariseth, and we must still looke for new wars. When this Isaac is gone, another Isaac will ere long come in his place: we shall be alwaies exercised with new warres, and inclosed with new dangers: It is the destiny of Epirus (as farre as I can see) and we our selues are borne thereto. Wherefore we must gather our wits together, we must well husband our forces, and so diuide our patrimony, as that we may

alwaies haue something to content our creditors, when they shall abance to come vpon vs. Yet shall God (no doubt) giue an end also vnto these troubles: for extremity cannot be of long continuance, and your selues shall at length take rest: yea, the strong and puissant enemy, wearied with so many vaine attempts, will at last haue enough thereof, and leaue off his perpetuall hatred against vs: then shall it be to you no small pleasure to remember so many labors and dangers past. Thus haue I declared vnto you the commodities and incommunities ensuing the victory in plaine battell. But what if we be vanquished? Where haue we any hope of reliefe left? From whence may we expect helpe? Will the bloody enemy, inflat with victory, expect whilest we againe recover our strength and encounter him againe with new forces? No, he will pursue vs and chase vs so long as any of vs are left: and hauing ouercome us, will poure out the rest of his fury vpon our townes and countrey, then subject to his injury. But some of you peraduenture will say, that they are by policy to be overtaken, and not to be met in open field: of which opinion I also am my selfe; yet happily differ from you in the time of doing the same. Then I thinke it best to deceiue them, when they thinke they cannot be deceiued: when as they being as it were in possession of a supposed victory, like men ouerjoyed, shall cast no perill. Now they come euen from the gates of Constantinople, full of distrust, prying into euery corner, as men before warned by others harmes, and so many dreadfull examples of their fellowes: Besides that, they haue with them my gracelesse nephew and domesticall foe Amesa, who will teach them to foresee and shun such snarers as in times past he with vs was wont to lay for them. Wherefore we must now tower vp vnto the height of some notable and strange policy, whereby both our countrey may be from danger preserved, and also some great victory, without our owne bloodshed (which seldom chanceeth) obtained: which is the maintenance of our antient glory and renouwe, we haue to this day by many most notable victories gained: but time and space, and the sight of the enemy, shall furnish vs with this deuise. Now (that my discourse may come to the purposed end) first of all, all things subject either to the fury or victory of the enemy, are to be remoued out of the way; all people, of what age, sex, or condition soener, are to be brought out of the country into places of safety; and then, our townes are to be furnished with strong garrisons, and all other necessary provision, against all the chances of fortune. Besides, who knoweth the secret desires of the tyrant? or whether he himselfe (of long time desirous of reuenge, and thirsting after our blood) will follow the Bassa at the heels, or no. Perhaps I may beleue and feare more than is needfull, but it is good to feare all that may be feared, that we may indeed feare nothing. If all things shall thus be set in order, if there shall nothing be left in the fields or in the villages, that may enrich feed, or feare our enemies, and which may withdraw our care and thoughts from our enemies, vndoubtedly we shall be victors. And if you will be ruled by me, and follow my direction in these wars, I will assuredly deliuer your enemies into your hands to be slaine at your pleasure; and (by the leaue of God) will make the name and valour of the Epirots more terrible vnto the Turke, than euer it hath bin in the time of our ancestors. I flatter not my selfe, I deceiue you not: if any thing may be promised in worldly actions, thus I assure you of, and this will I take vpon me. But these things are better done than said. In the meane while, to spend no more time in longer talke and discourse (than which, no greater losse can be to soldiers) let euery one of vs take a part in this charge, for the good disposing of all things, and how to withstand the enemy. I will not command any thing to others which I will not my selfe do: I will refuse nothing, or reckon any thing base, which may tend to the common honour or profit of vs all.

This speech of Scanderbeg was well liked and joyfully receiued of all the hearers, so that many besought him to manifest to them how he purposed to proceed in those wars: whereunto he with cheerfull countenance answered, That it was enough for him, if they did but beleue him, promising himselfe in person to be in the most dangerous actions as far as any of them; wherewith they rested contented. And presently dispatching his lieutenants into diuers parts of his kingdom, as he thought most conuenient, provided, that all things were in short time conueiued out of the country into the strong townes and other places of refuge. No come, no cattell, or other things of any worth was left in the country, but all left desolate, in like manner as was before at the coming of the great King Amurath to the siege of Croia.

By this time Isaac the great Bassa was come into Epirus, accompanied with Amesa: and as he marched, still sent before him his scouts and espials, carefully to view euery corner of the country, for feare to be entrapped as others before him had bene; directed in his journey for most part by Amesa. Scanderbeg had in readines such an army as he had purposed to vse against his

The Epirots re-  
moue all their  
things out of  
the country in-  
to the strong  
townes before  
the coming of  
the Turke.

A his mighty enemy, but lay with six thousand horsemen only in shew, as if he had determined with them to haue giuen them battell, but meaning indeed nothing lesse. For as soone as the Bassa was come in sight, he with those horsemen, according as he had before appointed, as if he had bin discouraged with the very sight of the Turks, turned his backe and fled. And because he would not giue them any occasion to suspect it to be done for some policy or sennesse, and so to make them more carefull, he fled not into the mountains or woods, as his wonted manner was, but directly toward Lyssa, a town of the Venerians standing vpon the sea coast, as if he had quite despaired of the keeping of Epirus, and fled thither for refuge. The Bassa seeing him fly, was glad thereof, and sent certain troupes of horsemen to pursue him, and diligently to marke which way he tooke: but encamped himselfe with his army in the plaines of Dibra, neere vnto Orontium, where Scanderbeg lay before: and there rested his army, weary of long trauell, expecting the returne of his horsemen, sent after Scanderbeg. But vpon their returne, when it was for a certainty reported by them, That Scanderbeg with an handfull of men was fled out of Epirus, and not an enemy to be seene, the Turks began to reioyce, and proudly to triumph, that they had without any losse driuen the enemy out of the country; yet much grieved, that they could nowhere find any thing to satisfie their greedy desires: for why, all things were so cleane gon, as if the country had bin swept against their coming, which might haue been a sufficient cause for them to haue distrusted some great matter, but they flattering themselves, supposed all this to be done for feare of them, vpon extreme desperation: such is the fraile condition of men, to lose strength of body, common fence, yea, their reason and vnderstanding, when some great mischiefe is appointed for their ouerthrow or destruction. The Bassa seeing the enemy fled, and now no cause of feare, consulted with his chiefe captains, what were now best to be done: Amesa still perswading him not to remoue, but there to stay a time, and to expect the farther euent of matters. But the greater number, whose opinion preuailed, said it was better to go farther into the country, and to take the spoile thereof before the country people should conuey away all their substance into places of safety, as they had done there in Dibra, and leaue them nothing but the bare ground and empty cottages. By this perswasion, the Bassa early next morning in good order set forward, commanding by generall proclamation, that no man vpon paine of death should breake his array or straggle from the army. Yet before he set forward, he called Amesa vnto him, whom after he had highly commended, and with great vehemency inuayed against Scanderbeg, he with the great applause of the whole army in the name of Mahomet created him King of Epirus. That day he marched not far, by reason of the great heat: for it was then about the midst of Iuly. Yet when he had well wearied himselfe with that daies trauell, finding neither enemy nor any thing else worthy to be accounted in any part of a victory, he encamped at night, keeping diligent watch, and sending forth his scouts euery way, but especially towards Lyssa. The next day, which was the third day after the Bassa's coming into Epirus, he set forward againe, and came at length into Æmathia, and there encamped that night.

Amesa is by the  
Bassa created  
king of Epirus.

When Scanderbeg (flying for feare, as the Turks supposed) was gone a great way out of their sight towards Lyssa, and come euen to the borders of his kingdom, he there staid all the rest of that day. And a little before the going downe of the Sun, he with a few select horsemen departed from the army, and with painfull trauell got vp to the top of the high mountains, from whence a man might by day well discouer all the plains of Æmathia. There he appointed one Peicus Emanuel, a politicke and valiant gentleman, with certaine horsemen to marke diligently which way the enemy held, and by certain secret and appointed waftings and signes, to giue knowledge thereof to the army. After such order taken, he returned himselfe, and came againe to the campe after midnight. And presently rising with his army, and fetching a compass about, came vndiscovered, and secretly encamped himselfe as neere as he could vnto the mountains where his scouts lay, with eagles eis waiting for the least moving of the enemy. The Bassa desirous to get as far as he could into the country, before the heat of the day, began early in the morning to set forward, and came to the plains of Pharfalia, through the world spoken of for the great battell in them long time before fought, betwene the two most famous chieftaines Caesar and Pompeius: and now once more to be made famous, by the slaughter of the Turks. Here the enemy finding some stragling cattell, & other small things which the country people had in their hasty flight left behind them, set to seeking after booty, & as men without

feare

be buried, together with their horses; which he did not for any regard of them, but that their loathsome carcases should not infect the country: and after that, returned in great triumph to Croia. By the way as he went, the country people, which were before for feare of the Turks fled into the woods and mountaines in great multitudes, met him, as he did others also out of the cities, whose mouths were all full of his worthy praises. Before him went the captive Turks with their hands bound behind them, excepting such as were enforced to carry the Turks ensignes. Next vnto them followed the great Bassaes rich pavilion, in such manner supported by the soldiers, as if it had bin in the field. Then came Scanderbeg himselfe with the Turkish Sanzacke, and Amesa following him; for Amesa had with great and humble suit obtained of his vncle, that he might not as he well deserved, be carried bound among the other captiues. Last of all came Scanderbeg his victorious souldiers in goodly order, euery man leading a spare horse taken from the enemy, and loaded with spoile. So when he was come to Croia, and there of his subjects joyfully receiued, he brake vp his army, and gaue euery man leaue at his pleasure to depart. The Sanzacke, and Amesa were committed to safe keeping, vntill further order was taken for them. Amesa afterwards was for his treason worthily condemned to perpetuall prison, and by an Embassadour from Scanderbeg sent vnto King Alphonsus to Naples, there to be kept in durance; and with him was also sent an honourable Present of part of the spoile taken from the Turks, in token of the victory. What became afterwards of this Amesa, concerneth not much the course of our history; yet to satisfie the desirous, I thinke it not amiss with him to stray a little out of the way.

When Amesa had remained a yere in prison at Naples, Scanderbeg vnderstanding of the death of Alphonsus, by his Embassadour requested of Ferdinand his son, to haue Amesa restored to him againe. By which meanes he was brought backe againe into Epirus, and cast in prison at Croia; but not in such streight manner as before: for Scanderbeg according to his accustomed clemency, began now to forget the injury to him before done; and at last ouercome with the continuall supplication and tears of his nephew, pardoned him his life; and restoring him to his former liberty, receiued him also into his former fauour. But Amesa remembring what pledges of his loyalty he had left with Mahomet at Constantinople, and fearing what would become of his wife and children, if he should hastily vse that his liberty, giuing his vncle most humble thanks, brake vnto him his mind concerning that matter, as followeth:

The speech of  
Ameſa to  
Scanderbeg.

Whereas you of your owne gracious goodnesse onely, without any desert of mine, haue regarded my life and welfare, it becometh me also to be carefull for the life of others: lest whilst I receiue your exceeding bounty with too much desire of mine owne health and honour, I do at this present, by this same benefit of yours, cast away them, whom I haue long since by mine owne treachery vndone. Mine unfortunate and guiltlesse Wife is with Mahomet, my little and innocent children are with him also: these yet liue, and shall liue, so long as the tyrant shall thinke, that I liue in heart his; but when he shall once perceiue by this your gracious dealing, that I am fallen from him, the cruel creditor will forthwith cut and rend in pieces the pledges of my faith, and their innocent blood shall pay the guilt of their Fathers offence. Wherefore the Othoman tyrant is of me by some deuice to be deceiued, that I may in the meane time preserve those pledges, vntill I may by some fit occasion afterwards redeeme the same. I will by your leaue this night take my flight out of Croia, as if I had broken prison, and escaped against your will, and so fly vnto Mahomet, making the greatest shew I can of my wonted loue and loyalty towards him: not omitting to heare, or speake vnto that credulous King such things concerning your estate, as I was wont in my better fortune: that hauing so cleared my selfe of all suspicion, which he perhaps hath conceiued by reason of my captivity and long stay with you, I may at length, with my Wife and Children, so escape from him: wherein you may helpe me much, if you shall openly make shew as if you were grieved with my escape, and seeme to be highly offended with the keepers of the prison for the same. In the meane time, whilst I shall stay in the tyrants court expecting some fit time for my escape, I will stand you in stead of an intelligencer, so that your enemy shall not to my knowledge either attempt or goe about any thing against you, which shall be kept from your hearing or knowledge.

Scanderbeg refused to grant whatsoeuer he had requested, but said vnto him:

Ameſa

A Amesa, since we haue granted you life, with all the good things thereunto belonging, we will not prohibit you to vse that our gift to your most good, and to the preservation of them who for succ may most justly call vpon you, as debitor vnto them, for their welfare and liberty. Goe thy waies, proceed, take thy time and occasion as it seemeth vnto thee best; and at length reforme thy selfe, whilst thou yet hast sufficient time and space. We now beleue you in all things, and well like of this your deuice: Amesa, you shall herein deceiue no man but your selfe, if you shall longer follow the faith and court of the barbarous King, whereas like danger is both of body and soule both to thee and shine. Whensoever thou shalt returne vnto vs, thou canst not do vs a greater pleasure: and in what regard thou hast heretofore been with vs, in the same thou shalt be with vs againe.

The death of  
Ameſa.

B The same night Amesa by secret order from Scanderbeg, escaped both out of prison and out of Croia: and in the morning it was all ouer the city, that he was gone, and the keepers sharply rebuked for their negligence. He comming to Constantinople, easily persuaded Mahomet, that he was by chance escaped, with all things else that he told him: yet was he not for all that, so well graced of him as before; nor for any distrust he had in the man, but for the euill successe he had in the former wars. Now whether Amesa neglected his promised returne, or could find no opportunity to performe the same, is vncertaine: but certaine it is, that shortly after he died at Constantinople, poisoned as was thought by the commandement of Mahomet, who could no longer indure the sight of him, whom he reckoned the author of that notable querthrow receiued in Emathia. This was the wofull end of this noble and valiant man, well worthy of remembrance, had not his haughty thoughts soared too high with the desire of Soueraignty.

When Mahomet vnderstood in what manner Isaac Bassa was ouerthrowne, and his army discomfited, he was therewith much grieved, and justly blamed the Bassaes security: yet such was his credit with his Soueraigne, that the matter was in better sort passed ouer than was supposed it would haue been. Neuertheless, Mahomet in reuenge thereof would willingly haue employed all his forces vpon Scanderbeg, if his more vrgent affaires would haue so permitted. For at the same time, besides that great warres began to rise betwixt him and the Venetians (which continued for many yeres after) he was certainly informed, That the Christian Princes were making a strong confederation against him. At which time Mahomet disdaining openly to sue for a peace at Scanderbegs hands, cunningly practised by such as were sent to redeem the prisoners, & also by the Sanzack himself, to persuade Scanderbeg to require peace of him, assuring him, that if he did but aske it, it would for a long time be easily obtained. Which thing Scanderbeg (well acquainted with the Turkish policy, vtterly refused to do. Wherefore Mahomet for the defence of his countries bordering vpon Epirus, sent two of his most expert captains, Sinan and Hamur, with each of them 14000 soldiers into Macedonia, expressly charging them not to enter at any time or vpon any occasion, into Epirus, or by any means to proooke Scanderbeg: which his commandement they so well obserued, that the Epirots by the space of almost two yeres enjoyed the fruits of peace, although there was no peace at all concluded. So that the remembrance of old injuries wearing out with time, at length by the mediation of the same captains, a peace for a yere was agreed on betwixt Mahomet and Scanderbeg.

A peace for a  
yere concluded  
betwixt Ma-  
homet and Scan-  
derbeg.

E In which time he passed ouer into Apulia, and there notably aided King Ferdinand against the French, the proceedings wherein, as not pertinent to our history, I of purpose passe ouer. After that the time of the peace before concluded was expired, all things now going well with Mahomet as he desired, he resolved according to his wonted manner to trouble the quiet estate of Scanderbeg: and so sending a new supply of souldiers to Synan-beg, who then lay with a strong garrison vpon the frontiers of Epirus, commanded him with all his power to make wars vpon Scanderbeg. Synan accordingly, with an army of 20000 men entered into Epirus, where he was forthwith encountered by Scanderbeg, and his army vtterly ouerthrowne, so that but few escaped by flight with Synan himself. Presently after he sent Asam-beg, another of his captains, into the same seruice, with an army of thirty thousand, whom Scanderbeg also in plaine battell vanquished at Ocrida; in which battell Asam himselfe was fore wounded, and finding no way to escape, was glad to yeeld himselfe prisoner to Scanderbeg, by whom he was courteously vsed, and afterwards set at liberty. Iussim-beg following Asam with eighreene thousand into Epirus, was set vpon by Scanderbeg also, and hauing lost part of his army, was glad

glad by speedy flight to saue himselfe with the rest. After all this, *Caraza-beg*, an old capitaine G and a man of great experience (who had bin a great commander, & a companion with *Scanderbeg* in the time of old *Amurath*) requested of *Mahomet*, that he might proue his fortune against his old acquaintance *Scanderbeg*, assuring him of better successe than before. The long and approved experience of this old leader put *Mahomet* in such hope of good speed, that he gaue present order for the leuying of such an army as *Caraza* had requested, and for ten thousand more than he had at the first required. With this strong army, in number almost forty thousand, *Caraza* set forward, having before filled the minds of men with the expectation of some greater matter to haue bin by him done. *Scanderbeg* vnderstanding certainly that *Caraza* was coming, stood more in doubt of the man than of his power: and therefore assembled greater forces than he had vsually done before: and to welcome him, sent two thousand of his best and most expert souldiers secretly into the enemies countrey; who lying in ambush amongst the woods and mountaines, whereby *Caraza* must needs passe, suddenly set vpon foure thousand horsemen (the forerunners of *Caraza* his army) who marching disorderly, and fearing no such matter, were in a trice ouerthrown, and most part of them flaine: those few that escaped fled backe againe to the army, as if they had come in post to bring tidings of some hasty news to the Generall. With which so vnfortunat a beginning, *Caraza* was so discomfited, that if he might for shame, he could haue bin content to haue returned againe and gone no farther: yet for his honours sake holding on his way, he came into Epirus; where whilest he was (after the manner of old men) long in resolving what course to take, he was vpon the sudden assailed by *Scanderbeg*, before he could well put his men in order of battell. At which time there fell such a vehement shower of raine, that both the armies were glad to retire before any great hurt was done. Three daies together it rained continually (for it was about the latter end of Autumne) all which time *Scanderbeg* ceased not in one place or other to trouble the Turks camp: so that the old Generall, partly distempered with the extremity of the weather, which for the violence thereof he tooke to be ominous; and more discouraged with the restlesse attempts of *Scanderbeg*, rose with his army, and retiring back by the same way he came, returned to Constantinople. Where he was well derided of *Mahomet*, that hauing promised so much, had performed so little: yet afterwards was againe by him in some sort commended, for that he had with lesse losse looked vpon *Scanderbeg* than other Generals before sent against him.

*Mahomet* perceiuing that *Scanderbeg* was not to be subdued but with such forces as he was not then at leisure to imploy on him, thought it not amisse to proue if he could by faire speeches & glorious shewes of fained friendship get within him, and so bring him to confusion: for which purpose he sent vnto him an Embassador with rich presents, and letters of this purport:

Sultan Mahomet, Lord and Emperour of the East and of the West,  
and of all parts of the World, vnto *Scanderbeg*, Prince of  
Albania and Epirus, fendeth greeting.

The letters of  
Mahomet to  
Scanderbeg.

I thinke, friend *Scanderbeg*, that no acquaintance can be greater, or friendship more firme, than that which hath growne of long and mutuall conuersing and liuing together, and especially if the same haue taken beginning from childhood and tender years, as you know it hath done betwixt vs two; who haue of long time, euen from our childhood, liued together in great love and friendship, when as you first lay as hostage in my fathers court. Wherefore beloued *Scanderbeg*, when as I call to remembrance all those things, with others, wherewith our youthfull years were then delighted, and being mindfull also of all these things which you haue oftentimes done for the advancement of our Empire and Kingdome, and for the glory of the Othoman family, I cannot chuse but embrace thee with singular zeale and affection. For I take God to witnesse, that nothing could chance more welcome or pleasing vnto me in my life, than to haue thee with me, and for a while to enjoy thy company. Neither needst thou to feare any thing to come vnto me, for that my souldiers without my knowledge or commandement haue of late broken in and spoiled thy Kingdome: which thing, as reason required, was vnto me exceedingly displeasing: neither did it any whit offend me, that they were by thy forces vanquished and overcome, and so received the iust reward of their euill deserts, and that all things fell out with thee according to the equity of thy cause, and as thy heart could haue desired. But to let these things passe, the remembrance of our old love and friendship perswadeth me to come to agreement, and to joyne together with thee in a perpetuall league

A of amity: to the intent that our antient acquaintance and familiaritie, which by reason of long absence is almost worn out, may again take life, increase and be confirmed. Of which peace let these be the capitulations, if they shall seem vnto you reasonable: for I know it belongeth vnto him that requireth not the peace, so appoint the conditions of the same. First, we require you freely and peaceably to suffer our Armies to passe thorow your kingdome, for the besieging of the cities and invading of the countries subiect vnto the Venetians our enemies. Then, To deliuer vnto vs your son Iohn in hostage, whom we will alwaies vse as one of our own naturall children. And afterwards, That our Merchants and men of trade may peaceably come and trauell into all parts of your Kingdome with their Merchandise, and there freely and safely vse their negotiation. Last of all, That your self in person may at your pleasure safely and without all fear repair vnto vs, and in like manner return againe. In which things if you will yeeld vnto vs, I promise vpon the faith of a King to grant vnto your Kingdome a sincere peace, with perpetuall tranquillitie; and that there shall not be any more deare vnto me than your self; and wil neuer to the utmost of my power permit your kingdome to be infested or molested by any of our subiects or others. What-sooner you shall further receiue from vs by the mouth of our Embassador *Mustapha*, you may thereto giue full credence. Fare you well.

From our Imperial Palace at Constantinople, the 10 of May, 1461.

*Scanderbeg* hauing receiued these letters, and wel considered of the same, returned him answer as followeth:

C The Soldier of CHRIST IESVS, *George Castriot*, otherwise  
called *Scanderbeg*, Prince of the Albanenses and Epirots, vnto  
*Mahomet* Prince of the Turks, greeting.

Y Our Letters (most Magnificent) are deliuered vnto vs, wherein you write of your exceeding love and singular affection toward vs, confirmed as you say by old acquaintance, which being grown up betwixt vs, and by tract of time firmly rooted, and as it were into nature conuerted, shall alwaies retaine his force and strength. But forasmuch as it seemeth good vnto you to awake the same, hauing a long time and many years lien as it were asleep; and to make a motion that we should enter into a certain new league and confederation, wherof amongst other conditions of the League by you propounded, this is one, That your Forces may freely passe through my Kingdome to invade the Venetians. Vnto this your request, worthy *Mahomet*, it standeth neither with equitie nor with myne honor to consent, for so much as the Venetians are myne especiall good friends and confederats. And for that you desire to haue my son Iohn with you in hostage, for the better assurance of the peace betwixt vs; I should peradventure do it (most Noble *Mahomet*) if fatherly affection would giue me leaue. But since I haue no more but him, and hee as yet a tender childe; it is not for the good of either of vs, to haue him now taken from vs, when as he ought of vs to be most tenderly cherished, and carefully instructed. As for that you requested concerning your Merchants, That they may freely and safely traffique into my Kingdome, I can be content to yeeld thereunto, and wish heartily that there might be a free intercourse of our Merchants indifferently with their commodities into both our Kingdoms. Further, Where as you earnestly perswade mee, boldly and without fear to come vnto you, that by such interview and personall presence, our great desire, grown of long absence, might be the better satisfied: in this thing (most excellent Prince) I cannot but praise your most honorable disposition, and commend your good nature; and would therefore boldly follow your persuation, if my other vrgent affairs, and the gouernment of my kingdome would so permit. But what shall I doe? my son Iohn (as I said before) but little, and as yet unfit to gouern; and my people (as you know) loue alwaies to haue something to do; being by nature a fierce and restless nation, whom I myself haue much a do to rule and gouern. For all that, I will come vnto you according to your desire, expecting only a more commodious time. So fare you well.

From our Camp the 30 of May, 1461.

When *Mahomet* had receiued these Letters, and wel perused the same, he writ to him again in manner following:

LI

Sultan

*Scanderbeg* his  
answer to  
*Mahomet* former  
Letters.

Sultan Mahomet, Emperour of all the parts of the World,  
vnto Scanderbeg Prince of the Albanenses and  
Epirots, greeting.

Mahomet's let-  
ters to Scan-  
derbeg, for the  
concluding of a  
perpetual peace  
between them.

**Y** Our Letters we haue receiued by our Embassadour Mustapha, wherein you giue vs to understand, That you like of none of the conditions of peace by vs propounded, but only that concerning our merchants and men of trade, that they might freely and at their pleasure vse their traffique and trades with their merchandise to and fro, and vpon this condition only you grant vs peace. This your offer wee accept of, and all the rest of your excuses we willingly admit: wherefore I promise vnto thee, my loving Scanderbeg, and will perform all that thou dost require, and vpon that resolution rest, and wil so long as I liue obserue and keep a sincere and inuolable peace with thee for euer, except thou first giue cause for the violating of the same. And for that purpose haue wee with our vniuersall and Imperiall Seal signed these our Letters, which we by our Embassadour Mustapha haue sent vnto thee, as thereby confirming to thee this perpetual peace. Wherefore you also (if you be so content) may subscribe, and with your Seal confirm this of ours; that in like manner may haue also your like consent and agreement. And would further, That you would command knowledge therof to be made by open proclamation through all your kingdome, as I will in like manner cause to be done through myne. And for the more manifestation of this my loue toward you, I would also that you should understand, That of myne own meer motion and bounty, I do freely giue vnto you all those things which you by force of arms haue taken from my father in Albania and Epirus, so that you may possesse and enioy the same as if they had alwaies bin yours and your Ancestors. Wherefore I giue, grant, and confirm vnto thee and thy heirs, all the right, title, or interest, which I heretofore had therein, and from henceforth will alwaies account and repute thee as a Prince of Albania and Epirus, and so call thee. And as I haue promised thee in the faith of a King, will neuer hereafter with wars molest thee or thine, except thou thy self giue cause therof. Wherefore after you haue with your seal confirmed these things, you may commend them to our faithfull Embassadour Mustapha, to be by him brought vnto vs, to whom I would you should in all things giue full credit. So fare you well, and render vs loue for loue.

From our Imperiall Palace at Constantinople, the 22 of Iune, 1462.

A peace con-  
cluded betwixt  
Mahomet and  
Scanderbeg.

Vpon receit of these letters a peace was concluded betwixt Mahomet and Scanderbeg & the same by publique proclamations solemnly published through both their kingdomes, to the great reioicing of many. Which peace was for a season faithfully kept on both sides, vntill that the Turks lying in garrison vpon the frontiers of Epirus, began after their wonted manner again to fetch preys and booties out of the country. Of which iniuries Scanderbeg by Letters complained to Mahomet: who answered, that he was altogether ignorant therof, and seemed to shew to be much offended with the insolencie of the doers therof, and forthwith caused many things to be again restored. By which means the peace before concluded, was still as before continued.

A little before the conclusion of the aforesaid peace, great wars began to arise betwixt the Turks and the Venetians, who all this while being in league with the Turkes, peaceably followed their traffique and trades of merchandise, little or nothing at all regarding their neighbors harms and miseries, vntill that now the flame and fire began to take hold vpon their own houses, and as it were to waken them out of a dead sleep. For Mahomet after he had subverted the empire of Constantinople, and driuen Thomas and Demetrius the Emperors brethren out of Peloponnesus (now called Morea) rested not so contented, but by his lieutenants and other great captains disturbed the quiet of the Venetians, who then held in their possession, Methone, Corone, Neapolis, Argos, with diuers other strong towns in Peloponnesus standing vpon the sea coast. And now it chanced that about this time, Ioshue, Mahomet's lieutenant in Peloponnesus, had by the treason of a Greek priest, vpon a sudden surprised the city of Argos, and Omares another at his great Captains, hauing first spoiled the Countrey about Naupactum (now Lepanto) entred farther into the territory of the Venetians about Methone & Corone, making hauock of all that came in his way. With which injuries, plainly tending to open war, the Venetian Senators being much troubled, sat oftentimes in counsel, deliberating with much care, what course to take in a matter of so great importance. Some being of opinion,

that

**A** that it were best to send Embassadors to Adahomet, so to make proof if the matter might by fair means be redressed. Others contrariwise deemed it to no purpose so to do; forasmuch as such great and manifest outrages, nothing differing from plain hostility, could not possibly be don without the Tyrants knowledge and expresse command. After the Senators had often met together, and with many great reasons debated the matter to and fro, and yet for all that concluded nothing (as in consultations of great matters with a multitude, it most commonly falls out to be a harder matter, and to require longer time to bring the multitude vnto some certain resolution, than it is afterward to performe the action) in this to great a diuersitie of opinions concerning so weighty a cause, at length one Vitor Capella, a noble Gentleman and graue Senator, stept vp in the midst of the Senat, and there frankly deliuered this notable

**B** speech vnto the rest, concerning the matter propounded, as followeth:

I haue before this, at other times by long experience often noted (most noble Senators) that in all our greatest consultations of matters concerning our common state, some are alwaies so addicted, or rather wedded to their own conceits, that they can hardly with patience endure to heare the reasonable opinion of others contrary to their own, the chief cause of our slow resolutions. Wherefore I haue thought good briefly at this time to call vpon you for resolution, forasmuch as I see we must of necessity take up arms, be we neuer so loth or unwilling: for to my understanding, you do but betray the State, in delaying the time to make present war vpon the barbarous enemy. Yet many principal men among vs aduise vs to beware that we do not rashly or vnadvisedly determine of matters of so great consequence; and think it requisite that we should send embassadors vnto the Tyrant to expostulate with him his vnjust dealing in breaking his faith and league; and withall to request him to obserue the conditions of the peace before agreed vpon, if haply he may rather by persuation than by arms be moued to change his purpose: and if by this means nothing may be obtained, then at length they think it necessary to resolve to make war vpon him. They alledge further, that if we shall attempt war, our cities in the continent, bordering vpon the Ionian in Peloponnesus, with diuers others of ours in the firm land, will not be able to hold out long, but for want of necessities must needs perish with the first of the trouble. Besides that, if these places shall be wasted and spoiled, great losse (as they say) shall ensue thereby vnto most of vs in priuat: The greatest motive (perhaps) wherefore they think it most conuenient to defer the wars, and for that purpose to send our Embassadors vnto him, of which Embassage first by your leave a few words. At such time as these our Embassadors, men of great wisdom and reach, not long since came vnto him, he had of them no regard, but dallying off the time with fraudulent, deceitfull, and glosing speeches, did indeed such things to the contrary as we least hoped. Wherefore I cannot well deuise (if we should send them or such others againe) what especial thing of all that we then gaue them in charge, they should now propound vnto him, hauing already said what is to be said: except they should say, That whereas we are not of sufficient strength and power to wage war against him, we would be glad to decide the matter by talk, and by that simple means to redresse our injuries; and vpon the matter, so shew our selues prest and ready to fall to agreement with him, according as shall stand with his good pleasure and liking. Truly this were good plain dealing, but it will not serue our turn. Argos is already taken from vs, and he maketh open war vpon vs: wherein hee doth but proue our courage, and try how long we will put up these injuries: if we will quietly digest these, he will then confidently and without fear proceed further. But if we shall (as best becometh vs) valiantly resist him, he shall be glad of such rest as we will giue him; and when he knoweth not well which way to turn himself, that he as glad as we to lay down arms, and to seek for peace: whereas if we shall do otherwise, I fear we shall repent our selues when it will be too late. It is reported, That as soon as he was come into Peloponnesus, he went himself in person vnto Eubœa, to view the city of Chalcis: and going a second time out of Peloponnesus, he founded the depth of the passage, and came within sight of the city, of purpose to haue assaulted it, if he had found opportunitie: at which time he himself rid ouer that streit of the sea betwixt Bœtia and Eubœa, and curiously viewed in what place he might most conueniently passe ouer with his Army to besiege the city. Verily these are the most manifest signes of war, whereby any man may sufficiently proue, that he hath long since resolved, so soon as he is ready, to make war vpon vs. Whilst wee are yet dreaming in the midst of our long consultations, he will proceed in the wars he hath begun, and cutting vs short, augment his own dominions. Then will he blame his Lieutenants and Captains as authors therof, but still be doing that best serueth his purpose. And whilst no man opposeth himself against him, his power daily increasing, he will do the best he can suddenly to swallow vs up, being vnprovided. For he may easily raise great forces,

The notable  
speech of Vi-  
tor Capella, to  
persuade the  
Venetians to  
take up arms  
against Ma-  
homet.

L 2

that by sufferance of others maketh himself of great strength there where he had before no footing. Shall we then say that we have no wars with this encroaching Tyrant? Some I know feed themselves and others also with vain hopes, saying, That he will never turn his forces upon us, nor ruin our estate, although he might at ease do it: Wherefore (say they) let us refrain from wars, and use our peace and quietness, yet omitting nothing in the meantime that shall be needfull for our safety. But forasmuch as it plainly appeareth unto all men, by that which is before said, that he hath already indeed proclaimed war against us, invading our countries, surprising our cities, and killing our people: Whether think you it more expedient or profitable for us to sit still and suffer our dominions to be taken from us, or rather by open war to make the barbarous King know the greatness of our power and strength? For if we shall enter into open war, we being in arms sufficiently provided against all events, and with careful eye attending all his attempts, shall easily avoid both himself and all his deuses. Who if he be suffered to runne still on forward with his prosperous success, people will daily more and more fall unto him, in hope to live the better as his friends. For which cause I think it better to prefer an honorable war before a doubtfull peace. As for delay, it hath hurt many great States, and our selves most of all; whereby we have in some sort betrayed the Empire of Greece, with the wofull Emperor himself, when as this Tyrant battered the walls of Constantinople: for our traffique was much holpen by the Grecians, whom we then left to themselves. After that we desisted and rejected the pittifull complaints of the Princes of Peloponnesus, who with tears craved our aid: and now we see that famous country lost, and fallen into his hands through our sloth and negligence. Of late, when as the King of Bosnia humbly requested our aid, and promised fully to requite our carcase, and whatsoeuer els we should do in his behalf, we suffered his kingdom to be lost, and himself to be cruelly murdered by the Turks. For all these things of us thus neglected, we cannot escape the infamous repproach of the rest of the nations of Europ, but that we for the greedy desire of trade and filthy gain, have forsaken, and for our parts betrayed whole kingdoms and nations, agreeing with us both in maners and religion; and to have stood still and looked on, untill they were subdued and brought into thralldom by the Turks. Wherefore in few words to shut up the matter, if we should ioyne in league with the Hungarians, and enter into arms, we should be able to keep our own: whereas if we shall use delays, and hunt after peace, we shall in short time see that he will suddenly denounce us, being unprovided, and wrest from us all our provinces and territories which border upon him. And therefore it is in my opinion best to send our Embassadors into Hungary, with a great masse of money, to stir up that warlike nation into the fellowship of this war. And beside the navy we now have in readines, to put to sea as many more ships and gallies as we are able. The great Bishop also is not to be forgotten, but by all means to be drawn as a chief man into this War. Besides all this, we must do what we can to raise up rebellion against the Turk in Peloponnesus: which will be no hard matter to bring to passe. For if the Peloponnesians rise up in arms with one of their poor princes which revolted from the Turkish King, and forsaking all that they had, adventured themselves into all manner of peril and danger; what think you they will do when they shall see so great forces comming both by sea and land against the Turkish King? It woud be good also, that we should send two thousand Italian Horsemen into Peloponnesus, to animate the people. Who when they shall see us thus to proceed, will undoubtedly presently revolt from the Turks, and yeild themselves and their countrey unto us, from whence we may most commodiously vex and molest this Tyrant. For there is nowhere better entrance into his Kingdome, than by the way of Peloponnesus. So that ioyning in league with the Hungarians, we shall beset him on every side: they all along the river of Danubius, and we out of Peloponnesus. Let us not therefore sit still with our hands in our bosoms, suffering our countries to be taken from us, and our subiects made bondslaves to the Turks; but encouraging them by our example, animate them to take up arms, and valiantly to resist the cruel and barbarous Tyrant.

The Venetians  
take up arms  
against the  
Turks.

The greater part of the Senat moued with this graue Senatours speech, decreed without delay to make VVars, and to send their Embassadors to the Pope, the King of Hungary, and other the Christian Princes their Neighbors, to craue aid of them in these Wars against the Turks. According to this Decree, the Venetians for defence of their territory sent one Bartholdus Este a valiant Captain, with an Army into Peloponnesus: where at his first comming, he in short time recovered the City of Argos before lost. And departing thence, marched through the country with his army of fifteen thousand men, unto the streight of Corinth, called Isthmus. At which place Alovisius Lauretanus, Admirall of the Venetians (by appointment before made) did meet him: and there ioyning their forces together, with great labour

A in the space of fifteen daies fortified all that streit from the Ionian to the sea Aegeum, with a continual rampier and double ditch in length about five miles. In which work they used the help of thirty thousand men, and in doing thereof were much furthered by the ruins of the old wall before destroyed by Amurath. The Venetian Commanders having fortified this streit, incamped before Corinth, and laid streit siege vnto it: where at the second assault, Bartholdus the General desirous by his own forwardnes to encourage his soldiery, was in that assault grievously wounded with a stone cast down vpon him from the wall: of which hurt he shortly after died. Neuertheless the siege was still continued by Betinus Calcinatus, who succeeded Bartholdus in his place. But whilst the Venetians lay thus at the siege of Corinth, suddenly news was brought vnto the camp, That Mahomet was comming with a great army himself in person, to raise the siege, and to destroy the new fortifications at Isthmus. Whereupon the Venetians left the siege, with purpose to haue defended the late fortified streit: but after that it was certainly known that Mahomet was euen now at hand with an Army of fourecore thousand Turks, Betinus distrusting with his small number to be able to defend the streit against so puissant an army, left the place so lately before fortified, and with all his Army retired to Neapolis, there to keep the sea coast.

Shortly after, Mahomet without any resistance at all entred with a world of men by the streit into Peloponnesus; and when he had with the great slaughter of the country people romped vp and down about Argos, he came to Neapolis, and in most terrible maner assaulted the city twice, both which times he was notably repulged by the Venetians, and many of his men slain. Departing thence, he destroyed and wasted the country about Methone (now Modon) and Corone, and assaulted the city of Iuncum, but with no better success than he had before Neapolis. Wherefore Winter now drawing on, he returned again with his army to Constantinople.

After his departure, the Venetians spoiled all that part of Arcadia which was subiect to the Turk, requiting him with like injuries as he had don them before. Not long after, Lauretanus the Venetian Admirall had the Island of Lemnos deliuered vnto him by one Cominius a famous pyrat, who had surprised the same and taken it from the Turks; but distrusting how he should be able to keep the same, deliuered it ouer vnto the Venetians. Shortly after, Frisius Iustianus a great Magnifico among the Venetians, was sent to succeed Lauretanus their Admirall: but whilst he was scouring the Aegeum with a fleet of 32 great gallies, Andreas Dandalus General of their forces at land, inconsiderately incountring with the Turkes horsemen between Mantynia and Pythene, was by them ouerthrowen and slain, and with him diuers other gentlemen of great account: in which skirmish fifteen hundred of the Venetians were slaine together with their General. And as fortune is neuer more constant than in mischief, so at the same time Frisius General at sea, landing his men in the Island of Lesbos, besieged the city of Mytelene, and gaue therunto two great assaults, wherein he lost five thousand men: And vnderstanding that the Turks fleet was comming to relieue the city, raised the siege and sailed into Euboea, and from thence passed ouer into Peloponnesus, where he shortly after died with sorrow and grief of mind. In whose place the Venetians sent another famous Captaine called Iacobus Lauretanus.

The Venetians well considering the great power of the Turkish Emperour, labored by their Embassadors to draw as many of the Christian Princes as they could into the fellowship of this war, but especially the Great Bishop, by whose means they were in good hope to be greatly strengthened. The second of that name was then the Great Bishop; who at first answered the Venetian Embassadors, That he must take away the little Turke, before he had anything to do with the great: meaning thereby Sigismundus Malatesta Prince of Ariminum, whom he deadly hated, for that he took part with the French against the Aragonians. Howbeit the wars in Italy being well appeased, and Pius still solicited by the Venetians, made great preparation against the Turks; giving it out, that he would in person himself go vnto those Wars; and by his authority (then much regarded) procured great aid out of Germany, France, Spain, and other Countreies also farther off. At which time also voluntary men in great number resorted out of all parts of Christendome, into Italy, ready to adventure their liues in those Religious Warres. At the same time also the Venetians had with much ado by the working of Paulus Angelus Archbishop of Dyrrachium, persuaded Scanderbeg to re-

The Venetians  
enter into con-  
federatio with  
other Christian  
Princes against  
the Turke.

nounce the league which he had before made with the Turke, and to enter into Arms again; which he presently did, and spoiled the borders of the Turkes Dominions next unto him. Wherewith Mahomet was no lesse troubled, than with all the rest of the great preparation of the Christian army, which Mahomet feared might tend to the utter ruin of his Kingdome. So dreadfull was the name of Scanderbeg among the Turks. Wherfore thinking it most convenient for his affairs to reconcile him if it were possible, by his ambassador sent for that purpose vnto him as followeth.

**Sultan Mahomet, Emperor of the East and of the West; to  
Scanderbeg Prince of the Albanefes and Epirots, Greeting.**

The letters of  
Mahomet to  
Scanderbeg.

**I** Have alwaies had thy fidelity and upright dealing in great admiration, most noble Prince Scanderbeg: for which cause I thought it a thing incredible, that thou being a Prince of such an heroicall and princely perfection, shouldst so inconsiderately and without any occasion break the faith and league which thou not long since solemnly contractedst with me. For as I am advertised, thou hast entered into the confines of our dominion with a great army, and with fire and sword destroying all that thou comest, hast carried away with thee a great booty. Of which thing I know right well that the Venetians are the only cause, by whose counsell and perswasion thou hast bin set on to do this deed; and seduced by their allurement, and subtil perswasions, hast made war upon me, and art become the faithlesse breaker of thine own league, and of the sacred law of Nations. Yet do I little or nothing blame thee therefore, regarding more the cause of the ignominie, than the despright it self, and lay the blame upon them who have alwaies bin my foes and tall enemies, rather than upon thee. But alas what is this vnto me (Scanderbeg) that thou hast done, which possesse so many and so large dominions? Didst thou think to do so great hurt vnto our kingdome, by spoiling a little piece of our country, and by stealing our cattell, more like a thief and robber, than an enemy? Which thing I yet account not worth the name of an injury. But if thou thinkest so good, proceed, not in these thy doings; for I make more account of thy friendship and love, than of what soeuer to mee is dearest: because (as thou knowest) I have alwaies borne vnto thee an especiall fauour, and loved thee most entirely. And therefore as often as I call to remembrance our tender years and old familiarities, whilst we liued together in my fathers court at Hadrianople, I cannot but think my self bound vnto thee in all courtesy. And therefore (my good Scanderbeg) I most heartily request and intreat thee, that thou renuing the former conclusions of peace, may of new confirm the same with solemn Oath: wherewith if the former peace had bin established, thou wouldst not have suffered thy self, to haue bin now of the Venetians circumuenced or seduced. It is therefore needfull that we now again for euer confirme a league and peace betwixt vs by solemn and sacred oath on both sides: which if thou shalt do, (as I hope thou wilt, and in this be aduised by me) thou and thy posterity shall undoubtedly alwaies reign in peace, and in safety possesse what soeuer is yours. Wher as if thou shalt do otherwise, beleeue me it wil repent thee, and that right quickly. I thou knowest already my force, which whether I should be able to withstand or not, thou needest not be well aduised. The poor Princes thy neighbors, the Venetians thy seducers, cannot deliuer thee from my strength and power. Dost thou not see the Grecians almost all rooted out before thy face? the emperors of Constantinople and Trapezond by vs deprived of their empires? the Princes of Serbia and Rascia deposed, the King of Bosnia put to death? and all the Kings of Asia, with many other Kings and Princes, are vanquished and ouerthrowen, and made subject to me? Wherfore Scanderbeg I aduise thee in this to follow my counsell, keep thy promise, and so beleeue me thou shalt not be deceived. Concerning these matters we haue giuen further commandment to our Ambassador and seruant Mustapha, who cometh vnto thee, that he should doe but not to giue credit in any thing. Farewel. From our Imperial City of Constantinople, the 1463.

Scanderbeg hauing by the aforesaid messenger receiued these letters, and was contented with the same, returned answer as followeth.

**The Champion of Christ Iesus, George Castriot, otherwise  
called Scanderbeg, Prince of the Albanefes and Epirots; to the most excellent  
Mahomet King of the Turke, Greeting.**

You marnell (most noble Mahomet) that my soldiers (as you say) contrary to the conditions

Scanderbeg his  
letter.

**A** conditions of our peace, haue entred into your confines, and from thence carried a great booty. Of which thing you say the Venetians are the authors, whom you call your mortal Enemies: inferring afterwards, that you are little therewith offended, for that you are a most mighty Prince, and can easily digest such unkindnes, for the great love you bear vnto me: and the rather, for that I did it deceived (as it pleaseth you to say) by others. All these things you can easily forgie and forget, so that I will by solemn Oath confirm the same conditions of peace that were in our former League betwixt vs agreed vpon. And therunto you do greatly urge me, you admonish and counsell me to follow your aduice, as tending to the great profit and securitie of me and my posterity, lest haply whilst I seek to please the Venetians, I incur your heauy displeasure. Besides this, the more to terrifie me, you reckon vp as it were in a catalogue, the people, nations, Kings, and Princes, by you ouercome and subdued. But what is that which is so strange (I pray you) and which you so much marvel at (most noble Mahomet)? Is it not for that my soldiers did that in the confines of your dominions, wherof they were (of right) sorry, and had therof to me complained, that your soldiers had before done the like in their goods and possessions. Wherfore if they also vpon a military brauery (as is your manner of phrase) haue made themselves whole, and done one shrewd turn for another, reuenging injury received, and not inferring any of new; there is no cause that you should either think it strange, or blame me. I would my self haue restrained my soldiers, although they were grievously injured (I will plainly confesse vnto you as troth) I would haue appeased their angry minds, inflamed with desire of reuenge; if you (a Prince of all others most rich and bountifull) would either haue taken order, that satisfaction might haue bin made vnto them of all such things as they had lost, or els would with condigne punishment haue chastised the insolencie of your soldiers: which you would seem to couer with the term of military wantonnes or brauery; an excuse scarce currant among children. For although offences are in all places grieuous, yet ought they most of all so to be deemed in martiall affairs. What I pray you, would you haue me take it for a lasciuiousnes in your men of war? especially when I had receiued so great losse; when as you might with a word first haue restrained them from doing it, and at your pleasure corrected them after the deed was done. Wherfore (most excellent Mahomet) take you also in good part these our tearms, which you haue accustomed hitherto most gloriously to giue and sell vnto vs, whilst you alwaies couer your reach with some excuse or shew of right. As for that in exceeding me vnder colour of old acquaintance and friendship; you truely againe strike the Venetians, verily you doe them wrong; for why, those good, iust, and vertuous Princes are not to be slandered by you, as seducers of me or others. Besides, what need that inuincible State to enter into counsell with me, or (as it pleaseth you to say) to allure me to fall at ods with you, or to prosecute you as an enemy? who of themselves, you (I say) of themselves alone, when occasion shall require, are able to dare you to plain battell, and to abate your pride. Furthermore, wher as you aduise me to reiect their friendship, your labor is therein but lost; for what man is so desperat, or hated of his subjects, that would not chuse rather to erre with that most honorable Senat, than to be in the right with you? especially I, who haue of long time bin confederat with them; and am of all others vnto them most dear: which you for all that had more ardor, but according vnto your vntrusty dealing, breaking in sunder the bonds of peace; spoiled and wasted their territory in Peloponnesus. Neither can your great threats terrifie me, which you after the Turkish manner thunder and pour out against me, except I will be ouer-ruled by you. For it is the part of an Albanef, both to endure when need shall require, and also to do such things as be seeme a man of courage. Doe not make me afraid, being but a small Prince, with my honorable friends the Venetians. And what are you? so great an Emperour of the East and of the West, and of all parts of the world, as you vainly term your self? Truly you make mee smile, and other Christian Princes laugh you to scorn, in usurping falsely to your self the stately title of the Emperour of the World. What possesse you in Asia the greater? Verily nothing: it is all yours in Asia the lesse? Not so. What haue you in Europe, except Thracia, Mysia, parts of Grecia, and Peloponnesus, with the Isle of Mycelene? As for Africk, you possess the fourth part therein. Is this to be Emperour of the world? But suppose, suppose (I say) what by Mahomet, that all from the farthest part of the Ocean were yours, you ought not therefore so to swell, as to contempt all others: Ease so to boast and learn, now if you can, the special, but true examples of humane fragility. Where are now the Assyrians, who were reputed to sway the world? Where be the Chaldees? where the Persian and the Sors, who were the Romans? the great Commanders of all? Verily, Remembrance lane the Scythian King (called the Terror of the world) was farre greater than you, who in your youth drew before him that the great and famous Bajazet in chains, who had before won so many victories; whose neuer shelt he nor his son the Prince of Armenia, with three hundred thousand Turks, hauing in his army (as is reported) twelue hundred thousand men, more than Lances or Danes, whose Armies

couered

covered the seas, and dried up the rivers before them as they went: yet for all this (noble Mahomet) they are all cast out by him that casteth out all Nations, the finger of the Highest hath brought them all to nought. Wherefore learn to know your self to be a man also; trust not too much to the multitude of your soldiers, and strength of your armies; for oftentimes great and puissant Armies have bin overtrown with far lesse, as all histories bear witness: whereof it is commonly said, Thou shalt not praise the valor of the General before he be brought to the triumph. And do you not think, Mahomet, that God will favor the better cause? You know, you well know, that all your kingdom is violently gotten, that it is wrongfully and unjustly possessed: for which cause I am not afraid not only to withstand you when you shall come, being so great a Prince; but also valiantly and courageously to dare you into the field, and by the power of God both to hope for and have a notable victory over you. We have soldiers also who know how to use their weapons, to march before their enemies, and how to bear themselves in the heat of the battell. Wherefore, so that you say unto me for the renewing of the former league, you labor now but in vaine to circumvent me with such fair glosses; I have your faith in such distrust, and your friendship in detestation: forasmuch as you cunningly and subtilly, after the manner of your Ancestors, whatsoever you do, or whatsoever you promise unto me, it tendeth all to no other end than to thrust me out of my kingdom. Yet thus long I have by Gods help well escaped all your policies, all your crafts and deceits. But I hope there will in short time be an end of all these matters, when all your sleights and denises shall not ease you, neither your working head or Turkish pride any thing profit you. It is not I alone that so much stomach you there commeth after me a great number of Christian Princes: behold the whole Chivalry and glory of the Christian commonweal is in arms, and comming against thee with all their force: all the Kings and Princes of Christendom have combined themselves together, with the great Bishop, against thy state, and will in short time be present to destroy thee and thy Kingdom. Wherefore (worthy Mahomet) I have thought it good in regard of our old friendship (although the same hath by you beene greatly impaired and violated) to forwarne you of all these things, that you might gather your wits together, and in time provide for the safety of your self and kingdom. You see the force and power of many great Princes, from which whether you can escape or no I know not: yet you may, if you will follow my advice, you may, I say, make both your name and empire, of great greater, of famous most renowned, of fortunate most happy and blessed: if casting from you the grosse errors of the Mahometan superstition, you will embrace the faith and truth of Christ Iesus, and at length have regard of your soules health. And you which excell all your predecessors in height of spirit and pregnance of wit, suffer not your self and your subjects as it were by inheritance to be longer blinded in your wilfull errors: but do that (as a wise Prince) of your own accord, which otherwise you will shortly of necessity be constrained to do. To say, Had I wist, hath ever bin accounted a great disgrace from the mouth of an Emperor. At length amend and measure your self. Behold, Almighty God doth offer you means, whereby you may quiet the whole state of your kingdom, and all our Kings and Princes love, honor, and reverence you. Neither let the ambitious desire of sovereignty, or immoderat care of those things you possesse, trouble you from so doing: for whatsoever you have unjustly and unlawfully usurped, the Christian Princes will grant, confirm, and establish unto thee, as if they had bin your own by ancient inheritance. So shall you be a true Monarch indeed, and rule and reign lawfully, if you shall embrace this faith, and worship God aright: which so soon as you shall feel the sweetnes of, you will be sorry you knew it no sooner, you will grieve at the time you have lost, and utterly detest and abhor all that filth by superstition which the most filthy false Prophet Mahomet hath left among it you.

From our Camp, the 26 of May, 1463.

With these letters Scanderbeg dismissed the Turks Embassador. About which time he received letters from the great Bishop, that he, accompanied with the Christian princes, would without delay come over into Epirus with a strong army of valiant Christians, to join their forces with his against the common enemy of the Christian Religion: exhorting him in all their names to denounce war against the Turkish king. Which thing Scanderbeg most joyfully undertook, and without delay with all his power brake into the Turks dominion, burning and destroying the country before him as he went: from whence he returned laden with the spoil there gotten.

When Mahomet had perused Scanderbegs letters, and certainly understood of the great preparation made against him in Italy, as also of the great spoyle of late made by Scanderbeg, he became exceeding melancholy, as a man much troubled in minde, which daily more and more

A more increased: for that he saw not the wonted cheerfulness in his men of war, but all full of heaviness and despaire, as if they had bin men already vanquished. Neuertheless, he speedily took order for the leuying of a great army, fortifying his cities and strong holds, leaving nothing undone that was possible, for the assurance of his state. And to repress the fury of Scanderbeg, sent Seremet Bassa with fourteen thousand souldiers to lie upon the borders of Epirus, with charge only to attend upon him. Who mindfull of his charge, came into Macedonia, to the city Ocrida, now called Alchria, in the very confines of Macedonia towards Epirus, and there lay with his army, some part thereof lodged in the city, and the rest in places more convenient neere about the same.

The coming of the Bassa, as also the manner of his lying was not unknown to Scanderbeg, who desired nothing more than to be doing with him. Wherefore he secretly in the night marched towards Ocrida with twelve thousand souldiers, and being come within three miles of the towne, lay close in ambush, & upon the breaking of the day sent out 500 horsemen towards the enemy, under the conduct of Peicus Emanuel, and Petrus Angelus, two valiant and expert captains, to draw him if they could into the field. But Scanderbeg had before commanded them, that if the enemy did come forth to fight, they should make but small resistance, but retire back as if they had fled, and so to traine him on to the place where the army lay. Which was so well performed by the two skilfull captains, that the Bassa with all his power was according as they could have wished, drawn into the field, and brought to the very place where Scanderbeg lay, who suddenly rising up with all his army, assailed the Turks on every side, and slew them as Deere inclosed in a toyle. In this battell ten thousand of the Turks were slaine, the Treasurer of the army with twelve other of great mark were taken prisoners, and brought bound to Scanderbeg, who were presently ransomed for forty thousand Duckats.

Ten thousand  
Turks slaine.

Scanderbeg having obtained the victory, returned with triumph into Epirus, dayly expecting the coming of the great army out of Italy: But fatal Destiny, the mighty controller of mens highest designs, had not so appointed. For when Pius the great Bishop had out of all parts of Christendome assembled a great army (whereof the greatest part were voluntary souldiers) and all things were now in such readines, that he had put himself upon the way, and was come to Ancona, a city upon the sea side (where Christophorus Maurus duke of Venice came unto him, with ten gallies well appointed, to have accompanied him in those wars: and all men were now in expectation of some great matter to have bin done) suddenly he fell sicke of a fever, and died in the yere 1464. Whereupon the army was forthwith dispersed, and all that great preparation frustrated, to the exceeding grief of many Christian Princes; and no lesse ioy of the Turks, who now reioyced to see themselves deliuered of so great a feare.

About this same time, Victor Capella chiefe persuader of this warre betwixt the Venetians and the Turks, was by the Senat sent general of their forces at sea, in stead of Lauretamus, whose yeare was then expired. He having received the charge from Lauretamus, and sailing out of Euboea, in short time tooke from the enemy the city of Aulis in Peloponesus over against Chalcis, and also the city of Larsum in the gulf of Thessalonica, with the Isle of Himber: afterwards landing his men by night at Pyraeus, he suddenly surpris'd the city of Athens (now called Sethina) sometime the mother of learning, and most noble city of Grecia; and from thence carried away with him into Euboea all the people he there found, as his prisoners, together with the rich spoyle of that city. Whilst he lay in Euboea, he was perswaded that the city of Patras in Peloponesus would be deliuered to him by the Christians that dwelt therein, if he did but shew himselfe before it. Whereupon he departed from Euboea, and comming into the gulf of Patras, landed four thousand footmen under the leading of Barbaricus, and two hundred horsemen, of whom one Nicholaus Ragius was Captaine. Barbaricus marching toward Patras, was come within a mile of the city; when many of the horsemen, and of the unruly mariners, disorderly scattering abroad, neglected the intended service, and fought after pillage all about the country. The Turks garrisons taking this opportunity, set upon them with their horsemen, and so easily overthrew them, being scattered and out of order. At the first encounter, Barbaricus himselfe was slaine; Ragius Captaine of the horsemen was taken, and aliue empaild upon a sharp stake. Of all them that were landed, scarce a thousand were left, who faued their liues by flying unto the gallies. With this overthrow Victor the Venetian admiral was greatly discomforted, yet having conceived some hope of better successe, in few

The Venetians  
attempting to  
win Patras, re-  
ceive great losse

days

daies after attempted again to haue taken Patras, but with like hap as before: for hauing lost a thousand of his men about the city, and the rest glad to take their flight to the fleet, he was constrained with great dishonor to depart thence. And so full of sorrow and heauines returning into Euboea, oppressed with melancholy he there suddenly died.

The Venetians decciued of the great hope they had conceiued of the general preparation made against the Turks, and much troubled with the hard proceeding of their wars against so mighty an enemy; by their Embassadors solicited *Matthias*, not long before chosen King of Hungary, to join in league with them, and to take up arms against the Common Enemy; offering presently to furnish him with a great sum of money, besides a large yearly pension for the better maintenance of those wars. For which he should to his power by land defend all their Territory betwixt the Rhetian Alps and the Adriatique, against the inuasion of the Turk.

This *Matthias* (surnamed *Corvinus*) was the yonger son of the most famous Captaine *Huniades*, whose elder brother *Vladislaus*, a gentleman of such courage as might well shew whose son he was, being notable to digest the injuries and disgraces don vnto him and his brother, by *Vricus* Countie of Cilic, and vncle to *Ladislaus* the yong king of Hungary and Bohemia, for the despight hee alwaies bare vnto their father *Huniades*; slew the same *Vricus* at Alba-Regalis, euen in the Kings court. Which injury the yong King was glad for the present to wink at, and also to grant him pardon; as hauing taken away the man whose immoderate power wel stood not with the Kings safety; but indeed fearing the citizens of Alba, & the men of war, who exceedingly fauored the sons of *Huniades* for their fathers sake. For all that, *Ladislaus* returning into Bohemia, caused both the sons of *Huniades* vpon the sudden to be apprehended, and most cruelly executed, *Vladislaus* being then about twenty six years old. *Matthias* the yonger brother was kept in prison, expecting nothing els but to be partaker of his brothers hard fortune; as vndoubtedly he had, had not *Ladislaus* the yong King vpon the sudden, as he was vpon the top of his mariage with *Magdalen* the French Kings daughter, by a timely death bin taken away. After whose death, the Hungarians for the loue they bare vnto the remembrance of *Huniades*, by a military election chose this *Matthias* his yongest son, then prisoner at Prague, to be their King. Whereof *Pogebrawe* (who after the death of *Ladislaus*, of an old gouernor, had made himself the yong King of Bohemia) hauing speedy intelligence, as he was sitting at supper, sent for *Matthias* his prisoner, and when he was come, commanded him to sit down at the vpper end of the table: wherat the yong gentleman, being then about 18 years of age, and sore abashed, began to craue pardon. But when the King would needs haue it so, and that he was set, to quiet his troubled thoughts, hee willed him to bee of good cheer, for that he had good news to tel him. Good news (said he) if it would please your Majesty to grant me liberty. Yea that (said the King) and more too; and then saluting him by the name of the King of Hungary, brake vnto him the whole matter, how that he was by the general consent of the Hungarians chosen their King. And so in few dayes after, married to him his daughter: which done, he furnished him with all things fit for his estate, and royally accompanied him into Hungary, where hee was with great ioy and triumph receiued of the Hungarians, ouer whom he afterwards gloriously reigned for the space of 38 years. In which time he notably enlarged the kingdom of Hungary, and became a far greater terror vnto the Turks, than euer was his father *Huniades*. And therewithall (which is not to be accounted in the least part of his praises) was alwaies a great fauorer and furtherer of good letters and ingenious deuises.

But to return again to our purpose. *Matthias* hauing wel considered of that the Venetians had requested; answered them, That they had many times before in like case refused to giue aid to the Hungarian kings his predecessors: yea and that more was, thought it a thing not reasonable, that any such thing should be requested at their hands, forasmuch as they then receiued no harm from the Turk, but were in league and amity with him: so that the Hungarian Kings wanting their help, had many times receiued greater losse from the Turk than otherwise they should haue don, if they had bin by them aided. Yet for all that, he was content to forget all such vnkindnes, and to grant them what they had requested; promising the next Spring to inuade the Turks Dominion, and according to their request to take into his protection all their Territory betwixt the Rhetian Alps and the Adriatique. Which thing hee most

*Matthias of a prisoner chosen King of Hungary.*

A most honorably performed; for with the first of Spring he passed ouer Danubius at Belgrade with a puissant army, and rated the forts which the Turks had built therabout; and so entering into Serbia, layd all the Country wait before him: and afterwards laden with spoil returned home, carrying away with him twenty thousand Captiues. Neither so rested hee, but with great good fortune maintained great wars with *Mahomet* during all the time of his reigne, and afterward with his son *Bajazet* also; wherein he most commonly returned with victorie. So that it is of him as truly as briefly written, That no Christian King or Chieftaine did more often or with greater fortune fight against the Turkish Nation, or had of them greater victories.

*Mahomet* deliuered of the great fear he had before conceiued, of the general preparation of the Christian princes against him, determined now to work his will vpon such as were neerest vnto him, and afterward not to forget them that were farther off. The proceeding of *Scanderbeg*, with the late ouerthrow of *Seremet* with his army in Epirus, stuck in his stomack: in reuenge whereof, he now sent *Balabanus Badera* a most valiant Captaine, with fifteen thousand horsemen and three thousand foot to inuade Epirus. This *Balabanus* was an Epirot borne, a Charles son of that country; who being of a boy taken captiue by the Turks, as he was keeping his fathers cattel, and of long time brought vp in seruitude amongst them, framing himself vnto their religion and manners, after long seruice got the credit of a good common soldier. But when as at the taking of Constantinople it was his fortune to be the first man of the Turks army that gained the top of the walls, and entered into the City; he was for that piece of seruice euer afterwards of *Mahomet* greatly esteemed: and besides his other great preferences, now sent Generall of his Army into Epirus. Who as soon as he was come to Alchria, (a City vpon the frontiers of that Countrey) sent many rich presents vnto *Scanderbeg*, making shew as if he had bin desirous peaceably to lie vpon the borders committed to his charge, without further purpose to trouble his Country: yet indeed waiting for nothing more than some notable opportunitie, suddenly to do him the greatest mischief he could. But *Scanderbeg* well seeing into the malice of the man, rejected his feigned friendship and gifts, and in derision sent him a spade, a mattock, a flail, with other such instruments belonging vnto Husbandry; willing him to take in hand those tools, and to follow his fathers course of life, and to leaue the conducting of Armies vnto men of greater skill and better place. Which disgrace *Balabanus* tooke in exceeding euill part; purposing with himselfe, if euer it lay in his power, to be therof sharply reuenged. Wherefore knowing that *Scanderbeg* with a smal power lay not far off vpon the borders of his Kingdom, hee determined suddenly in the night to set vpon him before he was aware of his comming; and so if it were possible to ouerthrow him. But *Scanderbeg* hauing knowlege therof by his Scouts, set forward in good order to haue met him. When *Balabanus* perceiuing that he was discouered, staid vpon the way, and incamped within two miles of *Scanderbeg*, who had then in his army but four thousand horsemen, and one thousand and five hundred foot, but all choise men, and most expert souldiers, and then lay in a large pleasant Vally called *Valchial*; at the farther end whereof *Balabanus* lay also incamped, neer vnto a tough and woody hill which inclosed that part of the vally. Whilst both Armies thus lay within view one of another, *Scanderbeg* well considering the ground the Enemy had taken, and that it was like he would offer him battell, with cheerfull speeches encouraged his souldiers: straightly charging them vpon pain of his displeasure. That if the Enemy vpon the fortune of the battell should chance to fly or to retyre, they should not in any case pursue them farther than the streights of the hill whereby the enemy lay. Ghesing too truly, that he would in so conuenient a place leaue part of his Army in ambush, as a sure refuge to trust vnto; whatsoeuer should befall. When he had thus encouraged and instructed his souldiers, he rose with his Army, and in good order retyred vnto the rising of an hill, which was a good way behind the place where he before lay; of purpose to haue the aduantage of the ground, if the Enemy should follow to giue him battell. *Balabanus* seeing him retyre, and the small number of his army, thought verily that he had fled for fear: and therefore to stay him who meant nothing lesse than to flie, set forward in great hast. The Turkes thinking vpon so great aduantage to haue found no great resistance, followed after *Scanderbeg* as if they had had him in chase; and by that tinte they were come vnto the place where hee staid, were by their hast greatly disordered and out of aray. *Scanderbeg* his old trusty souldi-

*Mahomet sends Balabanus to inuade Epirus.*

*Balabanus goes against Scanderbeg.*

The battell be-  
tween Balaba-  
nus and Scander-  
beg.

ers nothing dismayed with the hasty comming and hideous clamour of the Turks, received G them with great courage; so that there began a fierce battell, with much slaughter on both sides, which for a good while stood doubtfull. Yet such was the invincible courage of Scanderbegs resolute soldiers, that the Turks (who as then fought in great disorder) were at last put to flight, and with much slaughter chased vnto the streights of the mountain, where Scanderbeg had before commanded his men to stay. But certain of his best and principall Captains forgetting what he had said to them, and led on (whether with the heat and fury of the battell, or rather with inevitable destiny, is hard to say) vnadvisedly pursued the enemy into those Streights, wherof they were by Scanderbeg before warned, and charged that they should not enter: where they were on euery side beset by their enemies, arising out of an ambush; and after they had a long time desperately fought as wild beasts inclosed with Hunters, at the last H oppressed with multitude, were together taken and brought to Balabanus, by whom they were forthwith sent to Mahomet to Constantinople. Who as soon as he heard of their taking, is reported with great reioicing to haue said, Now am I sure that the strength of Scanderbeg is broken. The names of the principal men which were there taken, was Moses Golemus of Dibra, the greatest Captain of Epirus next vnto Scanderbeg himself; Giuriza Vladerius, Scanderbeg his Kinsman; Musachius, Scanderbeg his Nephew by his sister Angelina; Ginius Musachius, Ioannes Perlatus, who valiantly defended Sferigrade against Amurath; Nicolaus Berisius, Gengius Chucca, and Ginius Manesius: wherof euery one of them was able to haue conducted a great Army, and might worthily haue bin accounted amongst the greatest Captaines of that Age. The taking of these worthy men brought such a generall sorrow and beauienesse vpon I Epirus, that the victory was nothing accounted of, euery man lamenting the losse of such notable Leaders. Scanderbeg carefull of their deliuerance, presently sent an Embassadour vnto Mahomet, requesting that he might redeem his prisoners, either by exchanging of others for them, or els for such ransom as it should please him to set down. But hee knowing them to be Scanderbeg his best Captains, would neither exchange them for others, nor grant that they should be ransomed for any gold. But after he had vied them with all the despite that hee could imagin, caused them all by little and little to be slain quick; in which miserable torment they liued fifteen dayes, and so died. Scanderbeg hearing thereof, was therewith rather encouraged than any way discouraged; and in reuenge thereof, with fire and sword, entered into the Turks Dominions, sparing nothing that hee could either burn, or possibly by any other means destroy. K

Moses & other  
worthy cap-  
taines cruelly  
executed by  
Mahomet.

Mahomet glad of the taking of these notable men (although they were bought with the liues of many of his people) commended Balabanus highly, as the only man who knew how to fight against Scanderbeg; and in reward of his good seruice sent him diuers rich gifts, with commandment to repair again his Army, & to proceed in his wars so happily begun. Which thing Balabanus with all diligence performed. Yet trusting more to his policie than to his strength, lying at Alchria, sent again diuers rich presents to Scanderbeg, as desirous to liue in peace by him; but seeking indeed to bring him into securitie, & so suddenly (if it were possible) to intrap him. Which thing Scanderbeg well perceiuing, rejected his feigned friendship together with his presents, as sent from a base peasant. Whereupon Balabanus entered into a new deuice, and by secret means with great rewards corrupted Scanderbegs scouts, wherof some were Balabanus his kinsmen, though it were to Scanderbeg yeknown. By which practise he had in the night vpon the sudden oppressed Scanderbeg, lying incamped at Cronyichum, if Scanderbeg himselfe (who commonly spent most part of the night in careful watch) going about the Camp, had not in the silence of the night a far off perceiued the comming of the enemy by the noise of his horses; and therupon with wonderfull celeritie putting his army in such order as he best could, was ready to receiue him; and at last after a great fight put him to flight; and hauing him in chase, slew most part of his army, Balabanus himself with a smal remnant hardly escaping.

Now when Mahomet vnderstood that Balabanus was overthrowne, and his Army lost, M he was in doubt whether to send another Generall, or els to proue again the fortune of the old. But after he had well considered, that Balabanus was a right valiant Captain, and one that well knew the Countrey of Epirus, and withall a mortall enemy vnto Scanderbeg, he resolved wholly to stay vpon him, and not to send any other. So committing to his charge fourteene thousand

The battell of  
Sferigrade be-  
tween Balaba-  
nus and Scander-  
beg.

A thousand horsemen and three thousand foot, sent him again to inuade Epirus: and the more to encourage him, promised to make him King of that country, if he could subdue Scanderbeg. Balabanus with his army comming to Alchria, and still in vaine plotting how he might circumuent his wary enemy; after his wonted manner sent diuers presents to Scanderbeg, which he still scornfully refused. Three months he lay still at Alchria, with nothing more troubled than with his own thoughts: but finding nothing that pleased himselfe, he determined to aduenture by plaine force to subdue him. And vpon that resolution marched with all his army into the great plains neere vnto Sferigrade, whither Scanderbeg came with his army also, which then consisted of eight thousand horsemen and fifteen hundred foot: with which small power he refused not to joyne battell with Balabanus, being in number two to one. But after they B were come to handy blows, to haue seene Scanderbeg his men fight, a man would haue thought them rather to haue bene raging Lyons than men, they so furiously assailed their enemies, without regard of perill or danger, as men nothing afraid to die. Scanderbeg with great skill governed that battell, carefully prouiding for euery danger: himselfe valiantly fighting in the head of this battell, but not without care of the rest, still sending in speedy reliefe where most need was, and bringing in fresh supplies in stead of them that were wounded or slaine, performed all the parts of a most worthy chieftaine and valiant soldier: where most perill was, there was he streight, and at his presence danger fled, as if victory had attended vpon him. But whilest he thus fought in the midst of his enemies, his horse fortunated to be slaine vnder him, and falling downe with him, fore bruised one of his armes, wherof he complained long time C after. The Turks seeing him downe, pressed on fiercely to haue slaine him: but he was quickly rescued by his own souldiers and remounted. And forthwith encountering with one Suliman, a great commander in the Turks army, slew him in fight hand to hand: whereupon such a terror fell vpon the Turks, that they began to retire, and after a while to betake them to plaine flight. Scanderbeg pursuing them with such execution, that of that great army few escaped with Balabanus to carry newes home.

Balabanus now thrice vanquished by Scanderbeg, and in the last battell hauing lost what he could loose, except he should haue lost himselfe, returned to Mahomet at Constantinople, of whom he was sharply rebuked for the great ouerthrowes he had so often receiued. At which time Balabanus at first gaue place to the Kings fury: but afterward when the heat was ouer, he D with a large discourse cunningly excused himselfe, imputing all these mishaps vnto the appointment of God, and the fortune of war: and in the end told Mahomet plainly, That it was but in vaine to send such small armies into Epirus. But if it would please him at once to send two valiant captaines with a puissant and strong army, who diuiding the same betwixt them, & entering at one time into diuers parts of Epirus, might spoile the country before them, and enclose Scanderbeg betwixt them, if he should aduenture to giue either of them battell, being before resolved neither of them to offer him battell, or yet to accept of the same being by him offered, except the other were also at hand: and so by mutuall consent to undertake him, but neuer single. By which course he promised vnto him an easie and assured victory: for as much as it were impossible for any man so beset, and as it were on euery side coupt vp with his enemies, either to escape or yet to make any great resistance. This perswasion of Balabanus so well fitted the Tyrants humor, that he appointed Balabanus himselfe to be the man to put his own deuise in execution: giuing him commission to leauy such an army as he should think sufficient for the performance of that seruice: and withall to associat vnto himselfe for his companion which soeuer of his captaines he pleased. Balabanus according to his commission, tooke musters of the men of war, and made choice of forty thousand good souldiers, and chose one Iacup Arnauts (otherwise called Iames the Epirot, because he was also borne in Epirus, a valiant captaine) to be his companion: whom he sent with sixteene thousand soldiers by the way of Thessalia and Grecia into Epirus, commanding him in no case to joine battell with Scanderbeg, vntill he himselfe were also come into the country with the other part of the army. And F so setting both forward, Balabanus taking the neerer way through Thracia and Macedonia, came first into Epirus with twenty thousand horsemen and foure thousand foot, and encamped in the vally of Valchall. Scanderbeg both by his espials and letters from his secret friends in the Turks court, hauing certaine intelligence of all Balabanus his intent and purpose, had in readinesse against his comming a strong army of eight thousand horsemen and toure thou-

M m

sand

Scanderbeg his  
son's traitor-  
ously fly to  
Balabanus.

land foot all choise soldiers. And now hearing that he was come into Epirus, and incamped in Valchaal, sent out three espials to discover in what order he lay: one of which spies was Balabanus his kinsman (but not so knowne to Scanderbeg) by whose perswasion the other two when they had taken full view of Balabanus his army, and should haue returned to Scanderbeg to haue giuen intelligence of that they had seene, like false traitors went ouer to Balabanus, and discovered vnto him all that they knew concerning Scanderbeg: hoping thereby to receiue some great reward, as their fellow had before borne them in hand. Scanderbeg maruelling that his espials returned not againe as they were appointed, and doubting that they had bin by the enemy intercepted, and vsing many times in matters of such importance to trust himselfe best, presently went out with fūe lusty soldiers, and rid forth to discover the maner of the enemies lying. Balabanus like a crafty fox, mistrusting that Scanderbeg deceived of his first spies would for like purpose send forth others, laied certain horsemen in secret ambush in diuers places, to intercept them if it were possible. These horsemen lay not so couert, but that they were in good time descried by Scanderbeg and his followers (who with Argus eyes, pried into euery bush and thicket as they went) before he was altogether fallen into their danger: and yet but so that he came to handy stroks, where Scanderbeg and his followers oppressed with multitude, were glad to fly as fast as they could into the next wood, the Turks horsemen following them at the heels. It fortuned that as they were flying, a great old tree was fallen crosse the way, which Scanderbeg putting spurs to his horse, leapt ouer with one of his men after him; the other foure nor able to get ouer, turned backe vpon the Turks, and there fighting were slaine. One of the Turks which so hardly pursued Scanderbeg being wel mounted, forced his horse to leape the tree, and still followed after Scanderbeg: who looking backe and seeing but one, turned vpon him and slew him: the other Turks hauing slaine foure of Scanderbegs men which could not get ouer the tree, returned. And Scanderbeg accompanied but with one of his followers, came backe againe to his campe; and there with all speed put his army in readinesse to go against Balabanus before the comming of his companion, with the other part of his army. Vpon which resolution, after he had with cheerful perswasions encouraged his souldiers, and filled their minds with hope of victory, he set forward, and came with great speed vnto the valley of Valchaal where Balabanus lay. Scanderbeg had diuided his army into foure squadrons; whereof Tanusim had the leading of one, Zacharias Groppa of another, the third was committed to Prius Emanuel, and Scanderbeg himselfe conducted the fourth. So setting forward, he sent before certaine companies of harquebusiers, and archers, to prouoke the enemy and to draw him forth vnto battell. Balabanus also shewed himself with his army in seemly order before his tents, but there stood fast and would not stir, expecting continually the comming of his fellow. Which Scanderbeg perceiuing, and that he sought but to dally out the time, and as one vnwilling to fight had againe retired his army into the safety of his trenches; drew neerer and neerer vnto him, continually skirmishing with such as he sent out, daring him to the field, & brauing him vnto his trenches, in such sort, as if he would haue forced the same, and by strong hand haue set him out thence: wherat the Turks fretted and chafed exceedingly, in so much that they were ready to rise against their Generall, because he would not lead them forth to battell, but suffer them to be so disgraced. Balabanus mindfull of that he had promised to Mahomet his great lord and master, did what he might to haue deferred time; but when he saw that his fellow came not, and that he could no longer delay the matter, being so continually assailed & braued by Scanderbegs souldiers, that his Turks therewith prouoked, were ready oftentimes to haue issued out without his direction, and now no remedy but that he must needs fight, placed his men in good order, and so went out of his trenches to giue battell, himselfe leading the left wing thereof: where betwixt him and Scanderbeg was made a fierce fight, many falling on both sides. But Scanderbeg strengthened with the old garison of Croia, and the most expert soldiers of Diبرا, preuailed vpon the Turks & forced them to giue ground, yet still keeping their order. The fight was so great in this part of the battell, that in other places they stood almost still as lookers on, expecting the doubtful fortune of their Generalls: which thing Scanderbeg perceiuing, drew certaine troupes out of the right wing, whereas he saw was least danger, which speedily fetching a compasse about, charged the side of the enemies army; and againe withdrawing themselves, and with wonderfull celerity wheeling about, set vpon the backe of them that fought in the left wing: so that the Turks there fiercely charged both before and behind, by them

A them of Scanderbeg his army, fell in other places with a great slaughter. Balabanus with exceeding courage gainstod his enemies, so long as there was any hope left: but when he saw the fortune of Scanderbeg to preuaile, and all about him to become desperat, he made shift for himselfe, and fled out of the battell as fast as he could. The rest of the army being in other places before troubled and disordred, fled also, some one way, some another, euery man as his fortune led him. Some few that followed Balabanus escaped: the rest were for most part either slaine or taken prisoners.

Scanderbeg had scarcely well breathed himselfe after this victory, and diuided the spoyle amongst his souldiers, but that newes was brought to him in Post from the lady Mamiza his sister, then lying at Petrella, That Iacuppe Arnauth was by the way of Belgrade come into Epirus with an army of sixteene thousand horsemen, burning and destroying the country before him, and then lay incamped in the plaines of Tyranna the lesse. When Scanderbeg to proue the minds of his souldiers, had cheerefully imparted vnto them such newes, as was like to be the beginning of new labour and perill; they were therewith nothing dismayed, but ready to follow him with such cheerefulness of countenance and mind, as if they should haue gone to some great feast or banquet; reckoning of them, but as of the remnant of a discomfited army. This cheerefulness of his souldiers, Scanderbeg tooke as an assured token of his good success; and hauing all things in readinesse, presently set forward, and in short time came to the place where the enemy lay. Iacuppe hearing of his comming, remoued his campe into a corner of the plaine Tyranna, neere vnto a little hill, as a place of more safety for his army to lie in. C Scanderbeg hauing taken the Plaine, incamped his army in the same place from whence Iacuppe was but a little before departed, where he rested one whole day. The next morning, to terrifie his enemies (who as yet had not heard of the ouerthrow of Balabanus) he caused diuers of the Turks heads which were slaine in the late battell (which he had brought for that purpose) to be cast before the trenches of the enemy; and withall, diuers of them which were taken prisoners, to be shewne: which Iacuppe beholding, in great despaire said, *I see the euill hap of Mahomet.* Immediately after, Scanderbeg sent forth 500 horsemen to skirmish with the Turks, commanding them, so soone as they were charged by the enemies to retire, if haply they might so be drawne into battell. Which fell out accordingly: for Iacuppe now seeing his fellow was not to be looked for, and willing also without further delay to try his fortune, came D readily into the field, and began a fierce battell: which endured not long; for Scanderbeg perceiuing in what part of the army Iacuppe was, bent his greatest force that way, and singling him out, with his owne hand slew him. Wherewith the Turks being discouraged, forthwith betooke themselves to flight, and in flying, were for most part slaine or taken. Those which escaped the present fury of the sword, stragling thorow the country by thicke woods and blind waies, were by the country people either slaine or taken prisoners. In these two battels were slaine of the Turks 24000, and 6000 taken. And of Scanderbeg his men were lost about a thousand. Scanderbeg and his souldiers were so weary of the slaughter of the Turks, that when it was told him the next day, That Balabanus was fled but with one corner of horsemen, and might easily be surprisid if he were well pursued; he said, *O let some of our enemies liue to report E their owne slaughter, and our victory.* After that Scanderbeg had in this sort vanquished these great captaines, he presently entred into the frontiers of the Turks dominions, and roaming vp and downe at his pleasure without resistance, made hauocke of all that came in his way: and after returning to Croia with victory, brake vp his army, and gaue his souldiers leaue to depart euery man to his owne dwelling.

Whilest these things were in doing, Mahomet had with great rewards procured two Turks to vndertake to kill Scanderbeg. These traitors came vnto Scanderbeg as fugitiues, making such shew of the detestation both of Mahomet his tyrannicall government, and vaine superstition, that they were both of Scanderbeg and others, reputed to be indeed the men, they desired to be accounted: and so after they had learned the principles of the Christian religion, were by F their owne desire baptisid. But treason against Princes whom God hath in his most mighty protection, cannot be long couered; much lesse, without his great suffrance performed. So fortuned it, that these two false dissembling traitors, expecting nothing but opportunity to performe their diuellish deuice, vpon some occasion fell at variance betwixt themselves, and in their heart let some such words fall, as being taken up by some there present, drew them both

Iacuppe slaine  
by Scanderbeg,  
and his army  
discomfited.

into suspicion: and thereupon being strictly examined, it was at last by them confessed, That they were sent by *Mahomet* of purpose to haue slaine *Scanderbeg*: for which their treason they were both presently executed, as they had right well deserved. When *Mahomet* understood that *Balabanus* was overcome, *Jacup* slaine, and both their armies almost quite destroyed, he after his impatient manner fell into a great rage, and became as a man almost frantick: and afterwards calling together his great Bassa's, resolved by their aduice, not to send any more Generals against *Scanderbeg*, but to go himselfe in person, with such an army as should at once make an end of his wars in Epirus for euer. Hereupon commissions were directed thorow all his kingdome, and an army raised of two hundred thousand men. Whereof *Scanderbeg* hauing certaine aduertisements, fortified all his cities and strong holds, especially the city of Croia; vpon the fortune whereof depended the whole state of his kingdome. Into this city he put a strong garrison of his most valiant and faithfull soldiers, and thorowly furnished the same with all things necessary for the enduring of a long siege: and left one *Balthazar Perduci* (a graue and worthy captain) Gouverneur thereof. With like care he provided for the safety of his other cities, and tooke order that the country people were either receiued into the strong towns, or else conueied into other places of refuge, and left nothing abroad in the country for the Turks to prey vpon, as he had in like case done long before, at the coming of old *Amurath* to the siege of Croia, as is before in his life declared.

*Mahomet cometh to the siege of Croia.*

By that time that *Scanderbeg* had set all things in order, his old friend *Balabanus* with fourescore thousand horsemen (the forerunners of *Mahomet* his army) was entred into Epirus, and ranging ouer the country two daies, came and sate downe before Croia: vpon whom the Gouverneur at his first coming made many braue sallies. In few daies after came *Mahomet* with his huge army, and there incamped also: who at his first coming summoned the city, requiring to haue it deliuered vnto him, vpon such vreasonable conditions as it pleased himselfe, (as the manner of the Turke is:) whereunto the worthy Gouverneur returned him no other answer, than by continuall thundring shot into his campe. Whereupon *Mahomet* caused such ordinance as he had to be planted for battery; and commanded other new to be cast, of such mettrall as he had for that purpose brought in masse: all which, he did rather to strike a terrour into the minds of the defendants, than for any great hope he had of taking the city by force: knowing by his owne experience, that it was a place almost impregnable. Whilest *Mahomet* was thus busied, and little or nothing prevailed, *Scanderbeg* lying abroad in the woods and mountains, with a small army of most valiant and couragious soldiers, continually cut off the forragers of *Mahomet*'s army, and such as brought in victuall or necessities for his campe: and many times in the night suddenly brake into one quarter or other of the Turks great campe, with great slaughter, and with continuall alarmes neuer suffered them to rest in quiet. *Mahomet* seeing his army to decrease dayly, and no hope of winning the city but by famine, which would require a long siege: and fearing also to make that same place againe famous by some notable mischance which might happen vnto himselfe vnder the wals of Croia, as had before vnto his father *Amurath*, determined to returne himselfe to Constantinople, and to leave *Balabanus* with a great part of his army to continue the siege. Vpon which determination, he committed the charge and ordering of the whole matter for the continuing of the siege, to *Balabanus*, joyning vnto him eight of his most expert captaines; yet so, as that they should be all at *Balabanus* his command. And so leauing with him three and twenty thousand of his best souldiers, and with euery one of the other eight Captaines seuen thousand mo, departed himselfe with the rest of his army from Croia, towards Constantinople. But by the way as he went he tooke from *Scanderbeg* certaine small forts, and with faire promises corrupting the Gouverneur of a place called Chidna, wherein eight thousand of *Scanderbeg*'s soldiers lay, had the same deliuered into his power, vpon his faith beforegiuen, That all the soldiers with the rest of the people should in safety depart thence. But after the tyrant had them in his power, without regard of faith or promise, he caused them all most cruelly to be cut in pieces, sparing neither man, woman, nor child, to the great grieve and weakning of *Scanderbeg*, who had not at any time before receiued so great a losse. And after he had so ragged, he in great melancholy returned vnto Constantinople.

*Scanderbeg* disdainig to haue his chiefe city besieged by *Balabanus*, (sometime one of the basest of his fathers subjects) and yet finding himselfe vnable to relieue the same, for as much

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A as the souldiers were with continuall wars sore wasted, and his wary enemies lay so encamped, as that they were not but by a strong army to be removed, sent vnto the Venetians and other the confederat princes of Albania, Illyria, and Dalmatia, praying of them aid now at his need against that enemy, which preuailing against him, would forthwith set vpon them. All which princes promised forthwith to send their succours. At the same time also he passed ouer into Italy secretly, and disguised in simple attire, came to Rome, to craue aid of *Paulus* the second of that name, then great Bishop: by whom he was honourably entertained, but obtained nothing of that he came for; so cold was his deuotion: onely at his departure he gaue vnto *Innetrio*, *Scanderbeg* his treasurer, a poore almes of three thousand duckats.

*Scanderbeg* returning into Epirus, found all such aid ready as was promised from the confederat Princes, but especially from the Venetians, which was for most part drawne out of their garrisons of Scutari, Driuafo, Alyssa, and Dirrachium: so that he had in few daies in his army thirteene thousand foure hundred choice souldiers. With this strength he marched towards Croia: but vnderstanding by the way, that *Ionima* was within a daies journey, coming with a new supply to his brother *Balabanus*, he drew out certaine troupes of his best horsemen; and coasting ouer the country in the night, suddenly came vpon the Turks, and put them to flight: where amongst others, *Ionima* himselfe, with his sonne *Hedar*, were taken prisoners; whom he shewed the next day in bonds to *Balabanus*. This exploit so happily performed, he with all speed returned to his army: and so marching to Croia, by plaine force draue the Turks from the mountaine Cruina, their greatest strength, and neereest to the city of Croia.

*Scanderbeg surpriseth Ionima the brother of Balabanus, and Hedar his sonne.*

C Which thing when *Balabanus* saw, he with certain troupes of horsemen rid euen to the gates of the city, perswading the defendants to yeeld the city, making them in the name of his master such offers and promises as he thought might moue them. But they nothing regarding his words, but rather incensed with his presumption, sallied out vpon him, and enforced him to retire: but he therewith enraged, and halfe mad for anger, came vpon them with a fresh charge, thinking by plaine force to haue driuen them backe into the city. In which skirmish he was by one *Georgius Alexius*, with a bullet, shot quite thorow the throat; and feeling himselfe mortally wounded, setting spurres to his horse, ran as fast as he could to his campe, where he presently fell downe from his horse and died. The Turks discouraged with the death of their General, & the coming of *Scanderbeg*, rose the same night, & with great silence retired themselves vnto the plain of Tiranna, about eight miles from Croia. *Scanderbeg* the next morning entring the forsaken tents of the Turks, found therein great store of corne and other victualls; which he caused to be forthwith conueied into the city, & in triumph followed after himselfe, to the great joy and comfort of his late besieged subjects: whom he highly commended for their fidelity, and bountifully rewarded according to their deserts. The same day he sent certaine companies of souldiers to take the streit passages whereby the Turks must needs passe in their returne out of Epirus: which when the Turks vnderstood, they sent two messengers to *Scanderbeg* (who seemed to be men of good account in the army) offering in the name of the rest of the captaines and commanders, to deliuer vnto him their horses and armes, so that they might in safety depart with their liues. Which their request *Scanderbeg* propounded this answer from *Scanderbeg* himselfe, That as they came into his country, without his commandment, so should they not by his leaue depart thence. The Turks receiuing this short time perish, either with famine or with the sword; the same night departed from Tiranna, and in the dead time of the night entring the aforesaid streits, by plain force desperately brake thorow and escaped, but not without their great losse: for whose escape the common souldiers murmured grievously against *Scanderbeg*, and were not without much ado appeased. In short time after, *Scanderbeg* recovered all such places as *Mahomet* had before taken from him, and put to sword the soldiers he had left for the keeping of the same: which done, he brake vp his army, retaining only two thousand horsemen & a thousand foot for the defence of his frontiers.

The Turkish tyrant hearing of the euil successe of his affaires in Epirus, as that his Generall was slaine, Croia relieved, his army discomfited, and all that he had done, brought to nought, fretted thereat exceedingly, and was therewith so much grieved, that he could not for a season eat or drink, or take rest, his discontented thoughts so much troubled him. In the end, to reme-

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dy the matter, he resolved the next Spring to go again in person himselfe with a most puissant army into Epirus; and so if it were possible, to make a full conquest thereof: of which his purpose *Scanderbeg* vnderstanding, prouided for his comming, as he had in former time. The Spring being come, *Mahomet* according to his former resolution, with a mighty army entred into Epirus, and there with exceeding labour and charge, first repaired or rather re-edified the old ruines of the city of Valmes, wherein he left a strong garrison, of purpose to trouble that part of the country. From thence he marched to Dirrachium (now called Durazzo, but of old time Epidamnus) a city vpon the sea coast, then in the possession of the Venetians, famous for many things in the time of the Roman Empire, but especially for the flight of the Roman Senat thither, and their entertainment there in the time of the ciuill wars betwixt *Cesar* and *Pompeius*. This city *Mahomet* thought to haue taken vnprouided, & so vpon the sudden to haue carried it; but was therein much deceiued, finding it strongly fortified and manned both by the Venetians and *Scanderbeg*. Where when he had there spent some time, and to his great losse in vain attempted the city, he rose vpon the sudden: and retiring into Epirus, came and sat down againe before Croia, of purpose by his sudden comming to haue terrified the citizens: and vainly perswaded, that he had left *Scanderbeg* in Dirrachium, for that in the assailing thereof he had discouraged many of *Scanderbegs* men, and thereby supposed him to haue been there also; the greatest cause why he so suddenly rose and came to Croia. At his first comming he offered great rewards and large priuiledges vnto the citisens, if they would forthwith yeeld vnto their city; otherwise he threatened vnto them all the calamities of warre, vowing neuer to depart thence before he had it: whereunto he receiued no other answer out of the city than was sent him by the mouth of the cannon, or brought him by many most braue sallies. *Scanderbeg* in the meanwhile continually molesting his campe, and euery night falling into one quarter or another thereof. *Mahomet* taught by experience, to what small purpose it would be for him to lie there long, rose with his army, and marched againe to the sea side, to a place now called the head of Redon vpon the gulf of Venice, not far from Dirrachium, where *Scanderbeg* had begun to build a new city called Chiurill, not yet finished: which *Mahomet* in despite of the man, rased downe to the ground. After that, hearing that many of the Epirots were retired into the mountaines, he went to seeke them out, and was with great losse by those mountaine people repulsed: *Scanderbeg* still following them at the heeles, and awaiting all opportunities, daily cut off part of his army. So that at last the tyrant despairing of any good to be done in that expedition, was glad to depart out of Epirus, hauing atchieued nothing worth his comming, and so, full of discontentment and melancholy returned vnto Constantinople.

After all these great troubles, *Scanderbeg* rid ouer most part of Epirus; to view the state of his kingdome, and so at last came to Lyssa (a city of the Venetians, which he had alwaies specially liked) there to confer with the Venetian legat and other the confederat princes, of matters concerning their state in generall, as his manner was: but more particularly, how they might take the city of Valmes, which *Mahomet* had the last yere built in the seignory of *Aryannites Comynat*, and much troubled that part of Epirus. But whilest he lay there, he fell sicke of a feauer, which daily so increased vpon him, that he became sicke euen vnto death: and now perceiuing his end to draw nigh, sent for his wife and son, with the princes and lords his confederats, & the embassadors of the Venetians, into his bed chamber. Where after he had at large with greater pain notably discoursed of his troublesome life led among them, than he had before passed the same, and carefully forewarned them of the dangers like to ensue, he earnestly exhorted them to continue in vnitie & concord, and valiantly to stand in defence of their religion, country, and liberty. And afterwards turning his speech to his wife and his son, commended them both with his kingdome to the tuition of the Venetians: who by the articles of the confederation betwixt him and them, were in honor bound to protect his son and kingdome, during the time of his minority, and afterwards peaceably to place him in the same. In fine, he willed his wife after his death to passe ouer with her sonne into Apulia, where they might in safety and quiet liue vpon such possessions as he there held by the gift of King *Ferdinand*. And so after he had with most seruent praier commended his soule into the hands of Almighty God, departed in peace the 17 day of January, in the yere of our Lord 1466, when he had liued about 63 yeres, and thereof reigned about 24. His death was worthily lamented of all Christian Princes, but especially of the Venetians and Princes of Albania, who had now lost their

*Scanderbeg  
suddenly sicke*

*the death of  
Scanderbeg.*

- A their most carefull watchman and inuincible champion: the sorrow of his subjects is not to be expressed, euery man bewailing him, as the only stay of the common-weale, and as if with him they had lost all their hope. His dead body was with the generall lamentation of all men roially buried in the cathedrall church of *S. Nicholas* at Lyssa: where it rested in peace, vntill that about nine yeres after, the Turks comming to the siege of Scodra, by the way tooke the city of Lyssa, and there with great deuotion digged vp his bones, reckoning it in some part of their happinesse, if they might but see or touch the same: and such as could get any part thereof, were it neuer so little, caused the same to be set, some in siluer, some in gold, to hang about their necks, or weare vpon their bodies; perswading themselves by the wearing thereof to be partakers of such good fortune and hap as had *Scanderbeg* himselfe whilest he liued: which is not vnaptly by *Gabriel Fairnus* of Cremona, thus in verie expressed.

*Scanderbeg buried at Lyssa.  
The body of  
Scanderbeg  
digged up by  
the Turkes, and  
of them greatly  
honoured.*

## SCANDERBEG.



*Paulus Iouius  
Hist. viro-  
rum  
Elog. lib. 3.*

*Turcarum elades, Othomanni nominis horror,  
Epiri tutela, illo jacuere sepulchro:  
Quo quondam inuicti cubuerunt ossa Georgi.  
Nunc & membra viri, & dissolutum in frustra sepulchrum  
Interijt: sparsi manes, conscissa vagantur  
Ossa, nec in gelida nunc saltem morte quiescunt.*

*Namque*

*Namque ut is assertum toties cum laude patrum  
Imperium, exacta moriens atate reliquit :  
Illicet immanes tenuerunt omnia Turca.  
Tum clari Herois venerati nobile bustum,  
Ossaque, marmoraque, iniunctum condentia corpus,  
Abstulerant, sibi quisque in partes secta minuta,  
Tanquam ijs bellica vis, & Martius ardor inesset :  
Et genium prestare bonum, sortemque valerunt.  
Sic quæ alijs tumulum virtus parat, abstulit illi :  
Atque eadem diro venerandum præbuit hosti.*

*In English thus :*

The bloody bane of faithlesse Turks, and terror of that name,  
Epirus strong defence and guard, lay buried therewith fame :  
Within that tombe wherein long since, Great *Castrius* lay ;  
But now those limbes and tombe defac'd, are carried quite away.  
The remnants of that worthy wight out of his graue were torne ;  
And being dead, could find no rest, but were for Jewels worne.  
For after he, farre spent with age, gaue place to fatall doome,  
And left his fathers kingdome, got and kept with great renowne ;  
Forthwith the cruell Turks preuail'd, and all things there possesse :  
Whoworshipping his stately tombe, and place of quiet rest,  
Dig'd vp his bones, and brake the tombe wherein he did remaine :  
And glad was he that could thereof some little part obtaine.  
As if in them some martiall force, or vertue great had beene :  
Or fortune rare, such as before in him was liuing scene.  
So vertue, which to others giues a sepulture and graue,  
Berest it him, yet for't his loe in honour it to haue.

*Matthias King of Hungary, taketh the kingdome of Bosna from the Turks.*  
Most part of the times of those wars betwixt *Mahomet* and *Scanderbeg*, the Venetians by sea and the Hungarians by land, kept the Turks strongly busied. *Matthias Coruinus* King of Hungary (according to his promise made vnto the Venetians) entered in the kingdome of Bosna, where by force he ouerthrew the strong forts which the Turks had built for the defence of their frontiers, and manfully draue them out before him vntill he came to Iaziga (of some called Iaitze) the chiefe city of Bosna, which he at length tooke : and following the course of his victory, scarcely suffered the Turks to breathe, vntill he had by force wrested all that kingdome out of their hands. Wherewith *Mahomet* being exceedingly grieued, in great fury came with a strong army into Bosna, and laid hard siege to Iaziga, which was by the Christians right valiantly defended, vntill *Matthias* with a puissant army came to the reliefe thereof : who so troubled the Turks campe with continuall skirmishes on the one side, and they of the towne with desperat sallies on the other ; that at length the proud Turke was driuen to such extremity, that he was glad secretly to steale away by night with all his army into Seruia, and for hast to leaue behind him both his tents and great ordnance, which (the Turks Historians report) he caused to be cast into the riuer, because it should not come into the hands of the Christians. *Matthias* after he had thus valiantly put to flight his enemies, & relieued the city, followed the Turks into Seruia, and tooke part of that country also, which together with Bosna he vnto the kingdome of Hungary. In these warres, *Mahomet* had such proofe of the force and power of *Matthias* and the Hungarians, that for a good while after he had no great stomacke to prouoke them farther : for why, the name of *Matthias* was now become vnto the Turks no lesse dreadfull, than was sometime the name of his father the valiant *Hunades*.

The Venetians at the same time also with their gallies scoured the seas, & landing their men sometime in one place, sometime in another, did great harme in many places of the Turks dominion nere vnto the sea coast. Amongst other their Generals at diuers times sent from that state, one *Nicholas Canalus* succeeding *Lauretanus* (whom we haue before spoken of) as soone as he had receiued his charge, came with his fleet into the bay of Salonichi, and landing his men, burnt diuers townes and villages alongst the sea side : And afterwards returning into Peloponnesus,

**A** ponefus, he fortified the towne of Legosticum in the gulfe of Patras, which worke the Turks with their often skirmishes laboured to haue hindred, but in despite of all they could do, it was brought to perfection, and a strong garrison therein left for the defence thereof ; which done, he returned againe to Eubœa. Shortly after, he with the same fleet put to sea againe ; and sailing alongst the coast of Macedonia and Thracia, surpris'd the city of Ænus which standeth vpon the mouth of the riuer Meritza, called in ancient time Hebrus, vpon which riuer the famous city Hadrianople, and Philippopolis are also situate. *Canalus* after he had taken the spoyle of the City, returned to his Gallies, carrying away with him two thousand captiues into Eubœa. At the same time also, the Venetians giuing aid vnto *Nicholas Duchaine* against his brother *Alexius*, then at variance for the principality of Zadrime, nere vnto the riuer of Drino in Epirus, gaue a great ouerthrow to the Turks which came in the quarrell of *Alexius*.

*Mahomet* not a little offended with the harmes done vnto him by the Venetians, and perceiving that the Island of Eubœa (now called Nigroponte) was for the commodious situation and strength thereof, the chiefe place from whence they wrought him all these wrongs, and whither they afterwards retired againe, as vnto a most sure place of refuge ; determined with himselfe at once to be euen with them for all, and to imploy his whole forces both by sea and land for the gaining of that place. This Island of Eubœa is about an hundred miles in length, and lieth ouer against that part of Græcia which was of old called Bœotia, from whence it is separated with a narrow streit of the sea ; it aboundeth with corne, wine, oyle, fruit, and wood fit for shipping. The chiefe city thereof, was in ancient time called Chalcide, and of latter time Nigroponte, by which name also the whole Island was knowne : albeit the Turks now call it, Egribos ; a populous, rich, and strong city ; so fortified with wals and Bulwarkes, that (in most mens iudgements) it seemed a place impregnable. Vnto this strong city, *Mahomet* resolved to lay siege ; knowing well, that vpon the fortune thereof depended the state of the whole Island. Wherfore he assembled a mighty army, and made great preparation both by sea and land : and when all things were in readinesse, sent *Mahomet* (the great Bassa of the court) with a fleet of three hundred gallies, and certaine other small vessels well furnished with souldiers, mariners, and all things necessary by sea into Eubœa : and with a great army marched himselfe by land through Achaia, vntill he came ouer against the city of Chalcis. The Venetian Admirall hearing of the coming of the Turks fleet, set forward to haue met them nere vnto the streits of Hellepontus : but after he had by his espials descied the great number of the enemies fleet, finding himselfe too weak, shap'd his course to the Island of Sciros. The Bassa comming out of the streits of Hellepontus, couered the sea with his fleet, & holding on his intended course, without let came to Eubœa : where at the first landing, he tooke Stora and Basilicon, two small townes, which he rased to the ground, and from thence went directly to Chalcis. As soone as this great fleet was there arriued, *Mahomet* caused a great bridge to be made of his smaller vessels ouer the streit betwixt Achaia and Eubœa : whereby he passed all his army, and so belaid the city round both by sea and land. And after he had planted his battery, began most furiously to shake the wals : wherein he had in short time made faire breaches, and the sooner, for that one *Thomas* of Liburnia (chiefe canonier of the city) before corrupted by the Turks, by signes agreed vpon, gaue them certaine knowledge in what places the wals were weakest ; whereby they so aptly planted their battery, as if they had taken view on the inside of the wals. Which foule treason was at length perceiued, and the traitor therefore worthily executed. Yet little preuailed the tyrant thereby ; for such was the industry of the defendants, that whatsoeuer he had by the fury of his great ordnance beat downe by day, that, they with restlesse labor repaired againe by night. Thus was the siege continued thirty daies, in which space many a sharpe assault was giuen by the Turks, to their great losse ; and the city still valiantly defended by the Christians. At length the Venetian Admirall (to the great comfort of the besieged) came with his fleet within view of the city, making semblant as if he would haue giuen the Turks battell. Whereupon it is reported, that *Mahomet* was about to haue raised his siege, and haue got himselfe ouer into the maine, for feare the Venetians should with their gallies haue broken the bridge, and so haue shut him vp into that Island : which thing it was thought the Admirall might haue done to his great praise, if he would as a couragious chieftaine haue aduentured the matter, as he was earnestly requested by the captaines of euery priuare gally ;

1470

*Chalcis the chiefe city of Eubœa besieged by the Turks.*

*Treason in the City.*

who

who generally grieved to see him so great a commander, to let slip so faire an opportunity. G But he fearing to come any neerer, came to an anchor and moued not, neither gaue any signe of comfort or reliefe to the besieged. Which thing the Turkish King quickly perceiuing, and therewith encouraged: hauing now in diuers places beaten downe the wals, and made them faultable, brought on his men to the breaches, promising them the spoile of the city, with many other great rewards and high preferments according to their particular deserts, wherof he said, he would himselfe be an eie-witnes. Hereupon the Turks gaue a most fierce and furious assault; which the defendants with invincible courage receiued, and made such slaughter of them, that the ditches were filled, & the breaches made vp with the bodies of the dead Turks. But such was the number of that populous army (the greatest strength of the Turks) that the living little felt the losse of the dead: Mahomet continually sending in new supplies of fresh H men, in stead of them that were slaine or wounded: so that one could no sooner fall, but two or three stept vp in his roome, and so successiuelly, as if new men had sprung out of the bodies of the dead. Twice they had euen won the breaches, and were both times with wonderfull slaughter beaten out againe. This deadly and dreadfull assault was maintained a whole day and a night without intermission. At length the defendants being for the most part slaine or wounded, and theret wearied with long fight, and vnable to defend the towne now assaulted almost round, retired from the breaches into the market place, and there like resolute men, sold their liues at a deere price vnto the Turks. Amongst the slaine Christians, were found the dead bodies of many notable women, who seeing the ruine of the city, chose rather to die with their friends in defence thereof, than aliuie to fall into the hands of their barbarous enemies.

Chalcis taken  
by the Turks.

Mahomet being now become Lord of the city, and hauing lost forty thousand of his Turks in that siege, in reuenge thereof caused all the men that were found in the city aliuie, to be put to most cruell death, especially the Italians, vpon whom he shewed his tyranny with most exquisite and horrible torments. Paulus Ericus Gouvernor of the city, with a few others, who with him were fled into the castle, without resistance deliuered the same vnto him, vpon his faithfull promise, that they might in safety depart: but after that he had got them into his power, the perfidious tyrant without regard, commanded them all to be cruelly murdered. The Governours daughter a maiden of incomparable beauty, was amongst the rest taken prisoner, and for her rare perfection, by them that tooke her presented to Mahomet as the mirror of beauty. The barbarous tyrant greedy of so faire a prey, sought first by flattering words and faire persuasion, to induce her to consent to his desire: but when he could not so preuaile, he fell into another vaine, and began to shew himselfe in his owne nature, threatening her with death, torture, and force, worse than death it selfe, if she would not otherwise yeeld vnto his appetite. Whereunto the constant virgin (worthy eternal fame) answered so resolutely, and so contrary to the tyrants expectation, that he being therewith enraged, commanded her to be presently slaine. The horrible and monstrous cruelty, with the filthy outrages by that headly and barbarous people committed, at the taking of that city, passerth all credit. Chalcis thus won, the rest of that fruitfull Island without further resistance yeelded vnto the Turkish slavery, vnder which it yet groaneth. This calamity happened vnto the Venetian state, or rather (to say truly) to the generall hurt of the Christian common-weale, in the yeare of our redemption, 1470.

The fruitfull  
Island of Euboea taken  
by the Turks.

Canalis the Venetian Admirall, who all the time of the siege, had in the sight of the City lien at anchor as a looker on, fearing now that the city was lost, to be set vpon by the Turks fleet, hoised saile, and laded with dishonour returned in haste vnto Venice, where he was by the commandement of the Senat committed to prison, and afterward with all his family exiled to Vrinum.

1471

Shortly after, when Mahomet was departed with his army out of Euboea, and his fleet returned to Constantinople: the Venetians with their gallies, attempted to haue vpon the sudden surpris'd the city, a little before lost. But Mahomet had therein left so strong a garrison, that when the Venetians had landed their men, they were againe enforced to retire to their gallies, and to forsake their Island.

Chalcis thus lost, with all the Island of Euboea, the Venetians chose Petrus Mocenicus, a valiant and discrete gentleman, Admirall of their fleet, in stead of Canalis: and by their embassadours solicited Sixtus the fourth of that name, then Bishop of Rome, and Ferdinand King

of

- A of Naples, with Lewis king of Cyprus, and the grand master of the Rhodes, to joyne their forces together with theirs against the great and common enemy: which thing all the aforesaid Christian princes promised them to do. And the more to intangle the Turke, they at the same time sent Caterinus Zenus their Embassadour with rich presents vnto Alymbicus I'sun Cassanes, the great king of Persia, to incite him on that side against the Turke: in which negotiation Zenus so well behaued himselfe, that the next yeare following, that great king tooke vp armes against Mahomet, and had with him mortall wars, as shall be in conuenient place hereafter declared. Mahomet not ignorant of the proceedings of the Venetians, and that they did what they might to stir vp as many enemies as they could, and to bring him (if it were possible) into hatred with the whole world: and well knowing how much he had offended the minds of the Christian princes with the cruelty he had of late vsed against them of Chalcis, thought it not best as then further to prouoke them, and so happily to bring all at once about his eares; but for a season to lie still at Constantinople, as if he had been desirous now to liue in peace, not meaning further harme: hoping thereby, that although he concluded no peace with any of them (which indeed he was not desirous of) yet that tract of time might mitigate the harshnes of the fact, and coole the heat of their displeasure; whereby it came to passe as he wished; that nothing worth the speaking of was that yere attempted against him: and because the Persian king was the man of whom he stood most in doubt, he fought by his Embassadours to pacifie him, and to withdraw him from the league of the Christians: requesting him, if it were for nothing els but for the community of the Mahometan religion, wherein they well agreed, C and were thereby the professed enemies of the Christians, to withdraw his hand, and in their cause to cease to take vp armes: vrging now (for that it so stood with his purpose) the zeale of religion, whereas otherwise he regarded (as was thought) no religion at all. But Zenus the Venetian Embassadour lying continually in the Persian court, so wrought the matter with V'sun Cassanes, that he told the Turks Embassadour plainly, That he could not nor would nor longer, endure the manifest injury and wrong done vnto him by the Turkish King: and farther, that he had made a faithfull league with the Christian Princes, and therefore would to the uttermost of his power make it knowne vnto the world, that he would effectually performe what thing soeuer he had promised: and so dismissed them, now no lesse discontented than were before the Persian Embassadours at such time as they returned from the Turks court, hauing D obtained nothing they then requested concerning the Emperour of Trapezond.

The yeare following, Mocenicus the Venetian Admirall with his fleet arrived in the Isle of Lesbos, where he did great harme. From thence he passed the bay of Adramittium into the lesser Asia, and sore spoiled the country about Pergamus. After that he landed again at Cnidus vpon the coast of Caria, where he tooke a great booty: and so hauing done the Turks exceeding much harme in Asia all alongst the sea coast opposite to Græcia, he returned laden with spoile towards Peloponnesus. In his returne about the promontory of Malea, vpon the coast of Peloponnesus, he met with Richaiensis comming vnto him with 17 gallies from King Ferdinand: by whom he was certified, that the great Bishops fleet was ready to come forth also. After mutual gratulation, as the maner at sea is, the Admirals joyning their fleets in one, E landed at Methone, now called Modon, then a city of the Venetians in Peloponnesus: where after they had well refreshed their soldiers, and taken in fresh victuals, they put to sea againe; and sailing through the Islands, landed in Asia, where they were at their first landing encountered by the country Turks, whom at last they put to flight, and by the space of foure daies tooke what pillage they could in the country: where the souldiers found great store of rich booty, especially of Turkey carpets, which are there made in great abundance. From thence they sailed to Halicarnassus, which is part of Caria (where sometime stood the stately tombe which Queene Artemesia built for her husband Mausolus, accounted amongst the wonders of the world) where they tooke a wonderfull spoile. There came vnto them Nicholas Bishop of Modrusa, with twenty gallies sent from the great Bishop: whom the other two Generals F welcomed with great joy. At the same time also came thither two gallies from the great master of the Rhodes. With this fleet of eighty five gallies, they sailed to the Isle of Samos ouer against Ephesus (sometime a place of great fame, but then altogether desolate and vnpeopled) there to consult for their further proceedings in those warres. Loosing from Samos, they tooke their course alongst the sea coast of Asia, and landed at Artalia, the chiefe city of

1472  
The Venetians  
aided by King  
Ferdinand, the  
Bishop of Rome,  
and the great  
master of the  
Rhodes, did the  
Turks great  
harme all a-  
longst the coast  
of the lesser  
Asia.

of Pamphilia, a place of great traffique: where they found in the suburbs of the city great store of many rich commodities, brought thither out of Egypt and Syria; whereof they took what pleased them, and burnt the rest together with the suburbs. Vnto the city it selfe they began to lay siege, but perceiuing that it was not without great losse of their men to be taken, they departed thence; and running all alongst the coast of Pamphilia, burnt and destroyed what came in their way, and so returned backe againe to Rhodes: where they met an Embassadour from *Vsun-Cassanes* the Persian King, to the Bishop and the Venetians, for great ordinance; whereof that so mighty a Prince was altogether vnfurnished. Of this Embassadour they vnderstood that *Vsun-Cassanes* was entered into league with the Christian Princes, and now busie in making preparation against the Turke. At which time *Mahomet* required the Venetians with no lesse harme in Epirus and Dalmatia, than they had done to him in Asia: for now that *Scanderbeg* was dead, the Turks mightily preuailed vpon the weake Princes of Epirus and Albania, with the countries adjoining. The Christian fleet departing from the Rhodes, landed in the country of Myndians, a part of Caria, and with great spoile returned to the Island of Naxos, one of the Cyclades: from whence King *Ferdinand* and his gallies returned home, laded with much rich spoile: for now the yeare was far spent. Yet after the departure of the Kings gallies, *Mocenicus* with the Legat returned backe againe into Asia, and there landing their men tooke the famous city of Smyrna in Ionia, and when they had taken the spoile thereof, set it on fire. At which time also they did great harme about Claxomene, not farre from Smyrna. So Winter drawing now fast on, they returned, laded with the rich spoiles of Asia; the Legat into Italy, and *Mocenicus* into Methone.

1473

*Mahomet* no  
less trouble  
vnto the *Mahom*  
meane Princes  
than to the  
Christians.

The insatiable desire of Soueraignty, whereunto the Turkish King was naturally inclined, had continually armed him, not onely against the Christian Princes, but against others also euen of their owne superstition: making no great difference betwixt the one and the other, if so he might extend his dominion. He had long before vnder the pretence of a friendly parley craftily circumvented the King of Myfia, a country in Asia, and hauing got him within his danger, cruelly put him to death, and by force subdued his kingdom, left not one of the kings blood aliae. After that, he inuaded Cilicia, which the Turks call Caramania, where the two young brethren, *Pyramet* and *Cassambet* reigned, and draue them both out of Cilicia: of whom *Pyramet* the elder, fled for refuge to *Vsun-Cassanes*; *Cassambet* the younger assisted by his old friends, sought by force of armes to recouer againe his inheritance wrongfully by the Turks possessed, and was besieging certaine townes vpon the sea coast, which being taken from the Turks would easily draw all the rest of the kingdom after them. *Mocenicus* the Venetian Admirall being now with the first of the Spring come vpon the coast of Cilicia, at the request of *Cassambet*, landed certaine companies of his men vnder the leading of *Vickor Superantius*, and certaine peeces of great artillery, wherewith he so battered the walls of Sichinum, that he enforced the Turks therein to yeeld vp the city: which he deliuered to *Cassambet*. In like maner he tooke the city of Corycus, which he also restored to *Cassambet*. At last he laied siege to Seleucia, which standeth vpon the riuer Orontes, and was built by King *Seleucus*, one of the successors of *Alexander* the Great, distant from the sea about fise miles: the Gouvernor of this city discouraged with the sight of the great artillery, deliuered the city to the Venetian captaine, who by the appointment of the Admirall restored the same to *Cassambet*. Who by this means brought againe into his kingdom, gaue great thanks vnto the Admirall, promising both for himselfe and for his brother to be alwaies friends vnto the Venetians. *Mocenicus* departing from Cilicia, landed his men in Lycia, and harried that country alongst the sea coast. And this *Mocenicus* sailed into Cyprus, to appease a great insurrection there raised against the Queene, who was by her husband at his death left to the protection of the Venetians: which rebellion when he had well quieted, hearing that *Triadanus Gristus*, was by the decree of the Senat appointed Admirall, and already come into Peloponessus, he with as much speed as he could hastened thither, to giue vp his charge, and so to returne home againe to Venice.

About this time the great Persian King *Vsun-Cassanes* began to make war vpon the Turkish Emperor *Mahomet*, for the better vnderstanding whereof, it shall not be from our purpose briefly to shew by what means this *Vsun-Cassanes*, of a small Prince aspired to the kingdom of Persia, and so in short time grew to that greatnesse, that he was justly accounted amongst the greatest monarchs of the world then liuing; as appeareth by these warres betwixt him and the great Turkish

- A Turkish Emperour *Mahomet*. This *Vsun-Cassanes* of whom we now speake, was the sonne of that *Tachretin*, who with other poore Princes was driuen into exile by the violence of *Bajazet* the first, great grandfather to this *Mahomet* the Great, Emperour of the Turks, and was againe restored by great *Tamerslane*, as is before declared in the life of *Bajazet*. By the death of *Tachretin*, his son *Vsun-Cassanes* (of some called also *Alymbeius*) obtained that small territory, which his father had in Armenia: nothing answering vnto the greatnesse of his conceits. Wherefore not contented with such possessions as was from his father descended vnto him, hee began to shoulder for more roome, with such weake Princes his neighbors as he thought he might best deale withall, wringing one prouince from this Prince, another from that, and thrusting some others quite out of all that they had: and in short time so enlarged his dominion, that he had got into his hands a great part of Armenia, and was reputed both for a mighty and fortunate Prince. Infomuch that *Calo Ioannes*, then Emperour of Trapezond (whose power altogether answered not to the greatnes of his stile, being for most part shut vp within the bounds of Pontus, and fearing the greatnesse of the Turkish Emperour *Mahomet*, whose name began then to grow dreadfull vnto his neighbor Princes) gaue to him his onely daughter *Despina* in marriage, by such alliance to strengthen himselfe against the Turkish tyrant, if need should require. At which marriage it was agreed, That *Vsun-Cassanes* should in the right of his wife enioy all the kingdom of Pontus, after the death of *Calo Ioannes* her father, and of *Dauid* his brother: and that *Despina* should so long as she liued haue the free exercise of her Christian Religion. By this woman, *Vsun-Cassanes* had a daughter called *Martha*, whom I willingly remember, for that she was the mother of *Hysmael*, afterwards the great king of Persia, commonly called *Hysmael the Sophy*; of whom more shall be said hereafter in the life of *Selimus*. *Vsun-Cassanes* honoured with this marriage, and strengthened with this new alliance, ceased not, after his wonted manner, dayly to inroch vpon his neighbor Princes: and proceeded so far, that at length he began to lay hand vpon a part of Armenia, which was then part of the Dominion of the Persian King, *Zenka* (whom some call *Ztokies*, which was indeed the name of his father) reigning then in Persia, by his Embassadors admonished, and in sort commanded *Vsun-Cassanes* to hold himselfe content with his owne, or at least, with that he had already wrongfully taken from others, & not to presume to come within the bounds of his dominion, threatening otherwise to take him as an enemy aod his state, and to turne his forces vpon him. With which embassage *Vsun-Cassanes* being much offended, gaue the embassadors no entertainment, but commanded them with speed to get them out of his Kingdom, and to tell their Master, That he would shortly himselfe in person come and debate the matter with him face to face. With which proud answer from so meane a Prince the Persian King moued, leuied such an army for the inuading of him, as was thought to haue been sufficient to haue subdued a farre greater Prince: and so appointed, set forward toward Armenia. *Vsun-Cassanes* much inferior to this great King in wealth, and number of men, but not in haughtines of minde, and valiantnes of courage, stayd not to expect the coming of so puissant an enemy, but full of hope set forward to meet him, and by great journeyes fought to come vpon him before he could haue any knowledge of his coming: yet had he then in his army scarcely one man to ten, but all armed with couragious hearts, & conducted by a most fortunat chieftaine which feared nothing. So holding on his way, at length he met with the great army of the Persians, with whom he presently ioined battell: and after a long and cruell fight ouerthrew them in the plaine field, with such a slaughter as might well haue weakened the forces of a right great kingdom. The great king more enraged then discouraged with his ouerthrow, raised a far greater army than before the very strength of his kingdom: resolving now, not to send any more his lieutenants, but to go in person himselfe against so desperat an enemy. All things being in readinesse, he set forward, and at length met with the Arthenian Prince, whom he found as ready to giue battell as he was at the first. So being both desirous to try their fortune, they ioined battell: wherein the Persians were againe discomfited and put to flight, and moe of them slain in that battell, than were brought into the field in the first army. *Zenkes* the Persian king was there slain with *Vsun-Cassanes* his owne hand, & *Cariasuphus* his son taken prisoner: whom the Armenian prince vsed with the greatest honor could be deuised, giuing vnto him the honor and title due to the Persian king, taking to himselfe the bare name of the protector of the Persian state: which he did onely to please the Persians, and to keep them quiet vntill he had got some more assured pos-

*Vsun-Cassanes*  
in a great bat-  
telle ouerthrow-  
eth the King of  
Persia.

session of that kingdom. But after he had in the two former battels broken their greatest strength, and then vnder the colour of a peaceable gouernor got into his power the regall city of Tauris, with the rest of the cities & strong places of that great kingdom, and that all men had him now in great reuerence and admiration for his great vertues; he secretly dispatched out of the way the poore titular King his prisoner, (the last of the posterity of the mighty *Tamerlane*) and tooke vpon himselfe the highest place, which admitteth no partner. Whilest this restless Prince was thus tumbling in the world, and not yet well settled in his new gotten kingdom, *Mahomet* the Turkish Emperour, no lesse ambitious than himselfe, had scornfully reiected the Embassadors and Presents which *Vsun-Cassanes* had sent; and hauing shamefully put to death *David* the Emperour of Trapezond, his allyance, had conuerted all the kingdom of Pontus (which *Vsun-Cassanes* of right claimed as his wives dowry) into the form of a prouince, and so vaited it vnto the Turkish empire. Which so manifest a wrong, *Vsun-Cassanes* in the newnes of his so late atchieued greatnesse, durst not aduenture to adresse; but after that he was surely feated, and had with the course of time overcome all dangers at home, being dayly prickt forward with the remembrance of the former iniuries (still suggested by the importunity of his wife *Despina*, and the solicitation of the Venetians, to whom he had by solemn promise bound himselfe) he determined now to take the matter in hand, and to try his forces vpon his proud enemy the Turkish Emperour. Hereupon he raised a great army, and being well appointed of all things necessary, passing through Armenia toward Pontus, neere vnto the riuer *Euphrates* was encountered by *Mustapha* (*Mahomet's* eldest son, a yong Prince of great hope) and *Amurath* the great Bassa of Romania, whom *Mahomet* (fearing such a matter) had sent before with a strong army out of Europe, to ioine with such forces as *Mustapha* had already raised in Asia, so to withstand the inuasion of the Persian. These two great Commanders *Mustapha* & *Amurath* ioyning battell with *Vsun-Cassanes*, were by him in the plain field ouerthrowne; where *Amurath* the great Bassa himselfe, with thirty thousand Turks were slaine; *Mustapha* with the rest of the army by shamefull flight sauing themselves.

1474

Two huge Armies of the Turks and Persians in field together.

Now when *Mahomet* vnderstood that *Amurath* was slaine, and his army discomfited, he was therewith exceedingly troubled: but purposing to be thereof reuenged, gaue order into all parts of his dominions for the leuying of his new forces; so that at the time by him appointed, was assembled a great and mighty army of 320000 me. *Vsun-Cassanes* in like manner was in the field with an army, nothing in number inferior vnto his enemy. These two Mahometan Kings, drawing after them their huge armies, met together neer the mountaines of Armenia, where at the first encounter, one of the Turks great Bassa's was slaine, with 40000 Turks; which hard beginning the proud tyrant was so daunted, that he could hardly be perswaded to proue his fortune any further, but contenting himselfe with that losse, was about to haue retired, and had vndoubtedly so don, if some of his most expert and valiant captains which might be bold with him, had not sharply reprov'd him, that hauing so populous an army as scarcely felt that small losse, he should once thinke of returning without victory. With which their comfortable perswasions he was againe encouraged to giue battell. Yet for his more safetie he withdrew his army into a streit betwixt two mountaines, and with his carriages fortified the front thereof, as with a trench: behind which carriages he placed his great ordnance, and on the either side his archers. The Persians, as men of great valour, and thereto encouraged with their former victories, came on as men fearing no perill, to haue charged the Turks even in their strength; presenting their whole army before they were aware, into the mouth of the Turks Artillery, which suddenly discharged amongst the thickest of them, brake their ranks, and tooke away a number of them. Besides that, the Persian horses terrified with the vnoquainting and thundring report of the great ordnance, were not to be ruled by their riders, but starting back, ran some one way, some another, as if they had felt neither bit nor rider. Which their confusion *Mahomet* perceiuing, presently tooke hold of the occasion offered, and with his horsemen fiercely charged them, being now by themselves intangled and out of order. Neuertheless the Persians made great resistance, and slew many of the Turks: but still fighting confusedly and out of order, they were at the last inforced to fly: in which flight a great number of them were slaine, and their tents also taken. *Zeinal*, *Vsun-Cassanes* his eldest sonne, labouring to stay the flight of the Persians, was slaine with a small shot. So the honour of the day remained with the Turks: yet had they no great cause to brag of their winnings, hauing

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A lost in that battell forty thousand souldiers: whereas of the Persians fell not aboute ten thousand. *Mahomet* containing himselfe with this deare bought victory, returned homewards: and *Vsun-Cassanes* leauing another of his sons with his army for the defence of Armenia, returned likewise to Tauris. But whilest the Christian Princes were in their greatest expectation, what might be the event of these wars betwixt these two mighty Mahometan kings, they vpon the sudden concluded a peace, and confirmed the same with new affinity, excluding the Christians quite out of the same. This last battell betwixt *Mahomet* and *Vsun-Cassanes*, was fought in the yeare of our Lord 1474, about foure yeres before the death of *Vsun-Cassanes*, who died the fifth of Ianuary, in the yeare 1478.

In the time of these wars died the noble *Mustapha*, *Mahomet* his eldest sonne, at Iconium, hauing spent himselfe with reuelling among his paragons; or as some write, commanded to die, by his father, vpon this occasion. This youthfull Prince vpon a time coming to the court to see his father (or as they terme it, to kisse his hand) became amorous of the wife of *Achmetes* Bassa, a Lady of incomparable beauty, and daughter to *Isaac* Bassa, the chiefe man in the Turkish empire, next vnto *Mahomet* himselfe: but finding no means to compasse her in whom his soule liued, he awaited a time when as he (after the manner of the Turks) went to bathe her selfe, and there as he found her all disroabed, shamefully forced her, without regard either of his own honor, or of hers. Of this so foule an outrage, *Achmetes* her husband, with his cloathes and hat all rent for madnes, came and grievously complained to *Mahomet*, craving vengeance for the same. Vnto whom *Mahomet* againe replied, *Art not thou thy selfe my slave? and if my son* C *Mustapha* *haue knowne thy wife, is she not my bondslawe, he hath to doe withall? Cease therefore thus to complaine, and hold thy selfe therewith content.* Neuertheless he in secret sharply reprov'd his son for so hainous and dishonorable a fact by him committed, and commanded him to goe out of his sight: and as he was of a seuerer nature, caused him within a few dayes after to be secretly strangled. Neuertheless, the wrong done to the Bassa, funke so deep into his haughty mind, as that he would neuer admit excuse therefore, but put away his wife, the ground of the implacable hatred betwixt him and the great Bassa *Isaac* his father in law; and in fine, the very cause of his vtter destruction, as is afterward declared in the life of *Bajazet*.

*Mahomet* deliuered of his greatest feare, by the peace he had lately concluded with *Vsun-Cassanes* the Persian king, was now at good leisure to employ all his forces against the Christians. And bearing a deadly hatred against the Princes of Episcus and Albania, with a wonderful desire to extend his empire vpon the Ionian & Adriatick, that he might from thence but look toward Italy, which he began now to long after; he determined with himselfe first to subdue those countries, as standing in his way, both for the inuasion of Italy, and of the territories of the Venetians. And forasmuch as the strong city of Scodra (otherwise called Scutary) then in the possession of the Venetians, for the commodious situation thereof seemed to giue him the best entrance into the countries of Albania, Epirus, Dalmatia, and to such cities as the Venetians held alongst the sea coast, he resolved there to begin his wars.

This city was of great strength, as well for the naturall situation thereof, as for the strong fortifications therein made by the hand of man: which thing *Mahomet* was not ignorant of, but presuming of his owne strength and power, vainly perswaded himselfe, that no place was now able long to hold out against him. Wherefore hauing prepared all things fit for the besieging thereof, he sent *Solyman* Bassa an Eunuch (whom he made his lieutenant generall in Europe, in the place of *Amurath* Bassa, before slain by *Vsun-Cassanes*) with 80000 soldiers to besiege Scodra. This great Bassa according to his charge came, and with great pomp incamped round about the city, the five and twentieth of May. Shortly after hauing planted his battery, he began most furiously to shake the wals, and ceased not by all meanes he could deuise, to trouble the defendants: and when he had by force of the cannon don what he could, gaue diuers sharp assaults vnto the City, but was still with great losse valiantly repulld by them of the City. Long it were to declare, how often, and in what terrible manner that warlike Bassa *Mahomet*, F his chiefe captaine, attempted to haue woon the city: as also to shew how they of Scodra, directed by their worthy Gouernor *Antonius Lauretanius*, valiantly defended themselves and their City: nothing was omitted that the enemy could do or deuise for the gaining thereof; but all his deuices and attempts were so met withal by the defendants, that they serued him to no other purpose but to the destruction of his people. Whilest the Bassa thus lay at the siege of

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Scodra,

The death of the noble Mustapha; Mahomet his eldest sonne.

1475

Solyman Bassa besiegeth Scodra with an army of eighty thousand men.

session of that kingdome. But after he had in the two former battels broken their greatest strength, and then vnder the colour of a peaceable gouernor got into his power the regall city of Tauris, with the rest of the cities & strong places of that great kingdome, and that all men had him now in great reuerence and admiration for his great vertues; he secretly dispatched out of the way the poore titular King his prisoner, (the last of the posterity of the mighty *Tamerlane*) and tooke vpon himselfe the highest place, which admitted no partner. Whilst this restless Prince was thus tumbling in the world, and not yet well settled in his new gotten kingdome, *Mahomet* the Turkish Emperour, no lesse ambitious than himselfe, had scornfully reiecte the Embassadors and Presents which *Vsun-Cassanes* had sent; and hauing shamefully put to death *David* the Emperour of Trapezond, his allyance, had conuerted all the kingdom of Pontus (which *Vsun-Cassanes* of right claimed as his wifes dowry) into the form of a prouince, and so vniued it vnto the Turkish empire. Which so manifest a wrong, *Vsun-Cassanes* in the newnes of his so late atchieued greatnesse, durst not aduenture to address; but after that he was surely seated, and had with the course of time overcome all dangers at home, being dayly prickt forward with the remembrance of the former iniuries (still suggested by the importunity of his wife *Despina*, and the solicitation of the Venetians, to whom he had by solemn promise bound himselfe) he determined now to take the matter in hand, and to try his forces vpon his proud enemy the Turkish Emperour. Hereupon he raised a great army, and being well appointed of all things necessary, passing through Armenia toward Pontus, nere vnto the riuier Euphrates was encountered by *Mustapha* (*Mahomet's* eldest son, a yong Prince of great hope) and *Amurath* the great Bassa of Romania, whom *Mahomet* (fearing such a matter) had sent before with a strong army out of Europe, to ioine with such forces as *Mustapha* had already raised in Asia, so to withstand the inuasion of the Persian. These two great Commanders *Mustapha* & *Amurath* ioynning battell with *Vsun-Cassanes*, were by him in the plain field overthrowne; where *Amurath* the great Bassa himselfe, with thirty thousand Turks were slain; *Mustapha* with the rest of the army by shamefull flight sauing themselves.

Now when *Mahomet* understood that *Amurath* was slaine, and his army discomfited, he was therewith exceedingly troubled: but purposing to be thereof reuenged, gaue order into all parts of his dominions for the leuying of his new forces; so that at the time by him appointed, was assembled a great and mighty army of 320000 men. *Vsun-Cassanes* in like manner was in the field with an army, nothing in number inferior vnto his enemy. These two Mahometan Kings, drawing after them their huge armies, met together neer the mountaines of Armenia, where at the first encounter, one of the Turks great Bassa's was slaine, with 40000 Turks, which hard beginning the proud tyrant was so daunted, that he could hardly be perswaded to proue his fortune any further, but contenting himselfe with that losse, was about to haue retired; and had vndoubtedly so don, if some of his most expert and valiant captains which might be bold with him, had not sharply reprov'd him, that hauing so populous an army as scarcely felt that small losse, he should once thinke of returning without victory. With which their comfortable persuations he was againe encouraged to giue battell. Yet for his more safetie he withdrew his army into a streit betwixt two mountaines, and with his carriages fortified the front thereof, as with a trench: behind which carriages he placed his great ordnance, and on the either side his archers. The Persians, as men of great valour, and thereto encouraged with their former victories, came on as men fearing no perill, to haue charged the Turks euen in their strength; presenting their whole army before they were aware, into the mouth of the Turks Artillery; which suddenly discharged amongst the thickest of them, brake their ranks, and tooke away a number of them. Besides that, the Persian horses terrified with the vacquainting and thundring report of the great ordnance, were not to be ruled by their riders, but starting back, ran some one way, some another, as if they had felt neither bit nor rider. Which their confusion *Mahomet* perceiuing, presently tooke hold of the occasion offered, and with his horsemen fiercely charged them, being now by themselves intangled and out of order. Neuertheless the Persians made great resistance, and slew many of the Turks: but still fighting M confusedly and out of order, they were at the last enforced to fly: in which flight a great number of them were slaine, and their tents also taken. *Zeinal*, *Vsun-Cassanes* his eldest sonne, labouring to stay the flight of the Persians, was slaine with a small shot. So the honour of the day remained with the Turks: yet had they no great cause to brag of their winnings, hauing

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Scodra, *Mocenius* having received such commandment from the Senat, came and joined himselfe to *Grattus* the new Admirall, who then lay with his fleet in the mouth of *Boliana*, a great river running out of the lake whereupon the city of Scodra standeth. These two great Commanders being met together, were both as one man, and with a wonderfull consent did what they might for the furtherance of the common good, a thing not common : first they put strong garrisons, with all things necessary, into *Colchinum*, *Lyssa*, *Dirrachium*, and other cities of their seigniory vpon the sea coast. After that, they went vp the river *Boliana* with certain gallies, and came within sight of Scodra, and there by fires in the night, and other tokens of comfort, encouraged the defendants, as with an assured promise of reliefe : which thing it grieved the Turks to behold, who therefore went about to haue shut in those same gallies with a great chaine drawn crosse the river, where it was narrowest betwixt them and the sea: but in doing thereof, the Venetians out of their gallies slew 500 of the Turks, and wounded diuers others, and so returned again to sea. It was afterward attempted by the aforesaid Admirals, if a new supplie might haue been put into the city : but the enemy had so befer the same, that it was not possible to be done. In the meane time, *Matthias* King of Hungary (receiuing a great yerely portion of the Venetians for the defence of their countries against the Turke) hearing that Scodra was besieged, began to make such spoyle in the Turks dominions, bordering vpon him, that *Alahomet* was glad to call home the great Bassa from the siege of Scodra, to defend his own frontiers. So the Bassa after he had lien three months with his great army at the siege, and lost 14000 of his men, wherof the greatest part died of sicknes taken by long lying in the rotten moorish ground neere vnto the river, by commandment from his Master, rose with his army and departed. The Venetians also, which lay all that while thereabout in their gallies, were toucht with the same contagion : *Triadanus Grissus* died thereof, and *Mocenius* the other Admirall fell thereof dangerously sicke, but being somewhat recovered, returned home, and was shortly after for his good seruice chosen Duke of Venice, *Marcellus* the old Duke being then dead. With this dishonor taken at Scodra *Mahomet* was so discontented, that he appointed a yerely fee vnto one, to put him in mind dayly of the siege of Scodra.

The same year that this great Bassa *Solyman* had in vain besieged Scodra, he was afterward sent with a great army into *Valachia*, wher he was so intangled in the woods and fens, by *Stephanus* the Vayvod, that he lost all his army, and with much ado escaped himself, by the wonderfull swiftnesse of a mare whereon he rid.

1476

The year following, which was the year 1476, *Mahomet* sent out a great fleet to sea, vnder the conduct of *Geduces Achmetes*, his chiefe counsellor and man of war, (whose very name was dreadful in all places where he came) in hope to haue by treason surpris'd the Island of *Crete*: but that plot was in good time by the Venetians perceiued, the traitors executed, and he of his purpose disappointed. Whereupon he changed his former purpose for *Crete*, and sent the same *Achmetes* with his fleet into the *Euxine* (or as the Turks call it, the black sea) to besiege the rich city of *Caffa*. This city was in ancient time called *Theodosia*, situate in the country of *Taurica Cheronesus*, fast by the sea side, and had of long time bin in possession of the *Genowaiers*, and was a place of exceeding great trade, vntill that this great Emperor *Mahomet* hauing taken *Constantinople*, and falling out with the Venetians, had by his strong castles built vpon the streits of *Hellespontus* and *Bosphorus*, taken away both the traffique of Merchants into those seas, and all possible meanes for the *Genowaiers* to send succor to that city : yet it is credibly reported, That one valiant Captaine undertooke to carry his companie (in number not aboue one hundred and fifty men) by land from *Genoa* to *Caffa*, not much lesse than two thousand miles, and worthily performed what he had undertaken. *Achmetes* comming thither with his fleet, inclosed the city both by sea and land : which diuided in it selfe by reason of the diuers disposition of the Inhabitants, being of diuers Nations, some *Genowaiers*, some *Greeks*, some *Armenians*, but most *Tartars*, could not long hold out, but was in short time giuen vp to the Bassa, vpon condition, That the *Genoway Merchants*, who were there both in number many, and exceeding rich, might in safetie depart thence with their wealth. Which promise the Bassa performed not, but when he was possessed of the city, sent such as he thought good, to *Constantinople*, and commanded the rest vpon paine of death, not to depart thence, or to conuey away from thence any part of their substance. In short time after, the whole country of *Taurica Cheronesus* yielded vnto the Turkish obedience. At which time

A time also the Tartar Princes, namely the *Precopenfes* and *Destenfes*, terrified with the greatness of the Turke, cowardly yielded themselves as tributaries vnto him, ever since which time they haue liued a most seruile and troublefom life, subiect to euery command of the *Othoman* Emperour ; for whom they haue done great seruice many times in their wars, against the *Persians*, the *Polonians*, the *Hungarians*, *Transylvanians*, and *Germanes*, as in the proces of this History well appeareth; and as the aforesaid nations their neighbors, with others also further off, haue euen of late to their great losse felt.

Although the Venetians had in these late wars lost the great and fertile Island of *Eubœa*, with the strong city of *Chalcis*, the surest harbor for their gallies ; yet held they still diuers strong towns and commodious hauens by the sea coast, both within *Peloponessus* & without, as *Methone*, *Corone*, *Tenarus*, *Naupaetum*, & others: which standing as it were in the bosom of his empire, *Mahomet* fore longed after. And therefore to satisfie his ambitious desire, sent *Solyman* (the great Bassa of Europe) with a strong fleet into *Peloponessus*. Who entering the gulf of *Corinth*, at his first comming layd siege to *Naupaetum*, now called *Lepanto*, a city standing in the gulf of *Corinth*, in the countrey of *Ozola* neer vnto *Locris*, ouer against *Peloponessus*. *Anthonis Lauretanus* (for his late good seruice done in defending of Scodra, made Admirall for the Venetians) came with speed to *Naupaetum*, and in despite of the enemy so furnished the city both with men and whatsoeuer else was needfull, that the Bassa now out of hope to win the city, rose vpon the sudden with his army, and in a great fury departed, after he had lien there foure months. In this fret returning towards *Constantinople*, he put certain companies of his men to shore in the Island of *Lemnos*, in hope to haue vpon the sudden surpris'd the City of *Coccinum* : but as they were about to haue entred, they were contrary to their expectation, manfully resisted by such Christians as by chance were next the gate: where the notable courage of *Marulla* (a maiden of that city) was much commended, who seeing her father slain in the gate, tooke vp the weapons that lay by him, and like a fierce Amazon notably reuenged his death, desperately fighting in defence of her countrey, with those few which were there at the first; and so kept the Turks out, vntill the rest of the citizens (moued with the alarme) came to the gate, and forced them, not without some losse, to retire again to their gallies. Nor long after, *Lauretanus* came thither with his fleet: but before his comming, the Bassa was departed thence for *Constantinople*, hauing in this expedition don nothing that was expected at his hands.

*Mahomet* after the death of *Scanderbeg* ceased not from time to time by one of his great captains or other to invade *Epirus*, and the other parts of *Albania* ; and so gaining sometime one part, and sometime another, had subdued most part thereof. And about this time his army lay at the siege of *Croia* : for reliefe wherof, the Venetians (in whose protection it was) sent *Franciscus Contarenius*, a noble gentleman, their lieutenant, with such forces as were sufficient for the raising of the siege. He finding the Turks in the plaine of *Tyranna*, gaue them battell, which a great while stood doubtful: at length victory inclining to the Venetians, the Turks began to flie ; after whom the Venetians made no great pursuit, but contented to haue put them to flight, took their tents, with such forts as they had raised against the City. Thus whilst the Venetians thinke themselves in sure possession of the victory, & out of feare of their enemies, they were through their own too much security, by and by themselves ouerthrown: For whilst the common souldiers hauing their minds more set vpon the spoyle, than vpon the pursuit of the enemy (the battell as yet scarce ended) scatter themselves, and the captains were consulting, whether they should lodge that night (which began then to approach) in the enemies tents, or not in the midst of their consultation, the Turks hauing perceiued their disorder, suddenly returned againe vpon them, and without great resistance ouerthrew them, and put them to flight. In which flight a thousand of them fell, amongst whom *Contarenius* the Generall, and diuers others of good place and calling, were slain also. This overthrow the Venetians tooke a great deale better than that which shortly after followed in the confines of *Italy*, at the ruin of *Sontium*.

*Mahomet* hauing conquered a great part of *Albania*, and dayly inroaching vpon the Christians, made diuers incursions into the countries of *Dalmatia*, *Histria*, and *Carniola* ; yea, and sometimes went so far, that he and his Turks entred into the prouince of *Friuli*, called in ancient time, *Forum Iulij*, a part of the Venetian seigniory, and so carried away with them many prisoners,

prisoners, with much spoyle. For remedy whereof, the Venetians with exceeding charge and wonderful labour fortified alongst the riuier of Sontium, from Goritia, to the fens of Aquileia, the space of twelue miles, and there built two Forts, wherein they continually kept strong garrisons for the defence of the country. Whereby the country people thinking themselves now in safety, began to fall into security (the dangerous sicknes of all common weales) neglecting by their carefull watch to foresee a far off the enemies coming, as they had before vsed. It fortuned at this time, that *Ala-Beg* (whom some call *Marbecke*) one of the Turks great Captaines, vpon the sudden when no such thing was feared, came and shewed himselfe in an euening vpon the further side of the riuier Sontium, with 1000 horsmen: vpon the sight of whom, an alarm was raised in both forts, and euery man put himselfe in readines, as if he should euen presently haue ioyned battell: but it was so nigh night, as that nothing could then be done; yet the Venetian garrisons ioyning themselves together, watcht all that night in arms. There was at that time in both those forts, 3000 horsmen, and some few companies of footmen, all vnder the command of *Hieronimus Novel* Countie of Verona: a famous Captaine of that time: who with the rest of the captains resolved if they could, to keep the Turks from passing the riuier; if not, then to giue them battell. *Marbecke*, Generall of the Turks army, taking good view of the place, in the night time secretly conueyed a thousand of his best souldiers ouer the riuier, foure miles off, in such a place as the Venetians feared lest, deeming it impossible for any man, there to haue passed ouer. These men he appointed to lie in ambush behind a great hill, in sight, not far from the other side of the riuier, & vpon a signe giuen, presently to discover themselves, and charge the enemy. The next morning very early, he sent certaine troupes of his readiest horsmen ouer the riuier, which by offering to skirmish with the Venetians, might draw them into the field, and then as men in doubt whether to fight or to fly, to tole them on to the place where the ambush lay. The Venetians had diuided themselves into three battalions; whereof the Generall himselfe had the leading of the first, who seeing these disordred troups comming to skirmish with him, encountered them fiercely, & easily put them to flight (being so determined before) and in that flight earnestly pursued them; especially the Counties son, a valiant yong gentleman, who with others like himselfe, thought by that days good seruice to gain vnto themselves great honour. When the Turks Generall saw that the Venetians following the chase, were gone a great way from the riuier, he forthwith passed ouer with the rest of his army, and followed the Venetians at the heels: which the Turks which before fled, now beholding, turned again vpon their fierce enemies, and valiantly withstood them. At which very instant the other Turks vpon signe giuen arising out of ambush, came down from the hill *Licinis*, with such violence and clamour, that the Venetians therewith discouraged, would haue fled if they could haue told which way; but they were on euery side so beset, that there was no way left for them to scape; but were there all slaine, except some few which yeelded themselves, and so were saued. The other two battalions of the Venetians, discouraged with the slaughter of the first, fled incontinently, and in flying were many of them slaine. In this battell the Countie himselfe, with his son, and many other notable gentlemen, and halfe the horsmen were lost. The Turks encouraged with this victory, the next day spoyled all the countrey of Friuli, betwixt the riuers of Sontium, (otherwise called *Lisonzo*) and *Tiliauentum*, and cruelly burnt all the country before them, so that at once 100 country villages were to be seen on a light fire together, which stood so thick, that it seemed as if one continuall fire had wholly couered all the face of the country. The barbarous Turks laden with the spoyle of that rich country, and driuing before them great numbers of miserable captiues, as if they had been flocks of sheep, returned to Sontium. But when they had passed the riuier, and had trauelled homeward one days journey, and all men thought they had now bin quite gon, they suddenly returned back again, and posting through the country they had before spoyled, came to the riuier of *Tiliauentum*, which they desperatly passed, and did no lesse harme on that side the riuier, than they had before on the other: and so carrying away with them what they pleased, returned by the same way they came, hauing filled all that part of Italy with terror and feare. This overthrow of Sontium the Venetians account among the greatest losses which they received from the Turks in all these their long wars.

The next yeare about harvest the Turks came againe with a far greater power: and passing the riuier of Sontium, came before the forts of *Gradisca*, where *Carolus Forzebrachius* lay with a strong

A strong garrison of the Venetians, offering him skirmish, so to haue drawne him into the field. But the wary captain considering the great strength of the enemy, and the losse receiued the yeare before, would not be drawne out of his strength, but stood vpon his guard, expecting to take the enemy at some more aduantage: which thing the Turks fearing, durst not disperse themselves abroad for the spoyle of the countrey, leauing so strong a garrison of the enemies behind them. And therefore when they had gone about forty miles into the countrey, they turned their course vp into the mountaines (which are part of the Alps) towards Germany, and there grievously spoyled the mountainy people; strangely passing through those abrupt and high mountains with their horses, where men could hardly either go or stand on foot without something to stay vpon. And so when they had done what harme they could, taking a great compasse about, returned home another way.

B *Mahomet* remembering the shamefull repulse he had about foure yeres before receiued at *Scodra*, and hauing the name of that city daily sounding in his eares, determined now once again to gage his whole forces vpon the winning thereof, and so to giue peace to his ambitious desires. And because he would not againe be dishonored with that he purposed to take in hand he gaue out order into all parts of his dominions, both in Europe & Asia, for the assembling of his best souldiers and men of war. Now when all things were in readines, and such an army assembled as he feldome or neuer had a stronger; first he sent forth *Ally-Beg* (Warden of the frontier of his kingdome alongst the riuier *Danubius*) with eighty thousand of the souldiers called *Achanziz*, towards *Scodra*. These *Achanziz* are horsmen, which for their good seruice, according to their desert, haue certain lands giuen them by the king to liue vpon during their liues, for which they are of duty bound to serue vpon their owne charge, as the forerunners of the Turke his army, whensoever he goeth to besiege any place: these be they which first enter into the enemies countrey, burning and spoiling what they can, vntill they come to the place appointed: and haue this priuiledge, That so soon as all the army is come vnto the place to be besieged, they may then at their pleasure either depart or stay.

The Gouvernor of *Scodra* vnderstanding both by common fame and certaine intelligence, of the Turks designs, with al care & diligence fortified the town, labouring continually both night and day at the rampiers, as if the enemy had bin already present, and plentifully provided all things necessary for the induring of a long siege. The aged and vnneccessary people he sent out of the city into other places of more safety farther off: in whose stead he took in great numbers of strong and able men which dwelt in the country round about: among whom were many mariners taken out of the gallies, and other men of like quality, which got their liuing vpon the riuier and lake of *Scodra*, lusty bodies enured to hardnesse, who in the long siege following did great seruice.

Whilst this preparation was making in *Scodra*, behold, the mountaines a far off Northward from the city, began to shine with many great fires, and all the country was couered with thicke smoake, which euery houre seemed to draw neerer and neerer; when within short time after, the poore country people (which as yet were not all fled) with such trash as they could wel carry, came running for life all ouer the country to the strong cities vpon the sea side, crying out that the Turks were come.

The next day, which was the fourteenth of May, *Ally-Beg* with his eighty thousand *Achanziz*, came into the suburbs of the city, and there incamped; so that none could goe in or out of the gates: which was not the least part of his charge. To him, by the commandment of *Mahomet*, had *Scander-Beg* gouernor of *Bosna*, and *Malcotius* with seuen thousand horsmen ioined themselves vpon the way. Of this *Malcotius* it is reported (as was of *Augustus*) that the maiesty of his countenance, with the resplendant beames issuing out of his eyes (as if it had bin the rayes of the Sun) were of such piercing brightnes, that no man was able with immoderated and fixed eye long to behold the same. These horsmen (the forerunners, as I said, of *Mahomet's* great army) the Christians much troubled, with often sallies and shor, out of the town, and slew many of them with little or no losse vnto themselves.

When *Ally-Beg* had thus lien before the city ten daies, came *Tunt Gaiola* the great Bassa of *Constantinople* with five and twenty thousand souldiers, and about twelue thousand camels, for most part laden with mettall in masse, for to make great Ordnance of, and other necessities for the camp. The Bassas great and stately Tent of purple colour, was pitched vpon the

1479

Vid. Marimum  
Barkium de  
expon. Sco-  
drensi.

The poore countrey  
people fly  
for feare of the  
Turks.

The Turks  
before them  
leaving the  
country  
empty.

The countrey of  
Friuli, spoyled  
by the Turks.

the top of an high hill called the Bassa's hill, because in that place *Solyman Bassa* had lien in the former siege about foure yeres before: the Bassa's army lay incamped betwixt the same hill and the towne. This *Tant Gaioli* was borne in Epirus of base parentage, and was from thence by the Turks carried away young to Constantinople; where for his sharpnesse of wit and rare acumen he grew into such fauor, first with *Mahomet*, and afterward with *Bajazet* his sonne, that he was by them promoted to the greatest places of honour, next vnto themselves: wherein he became so popular, & had so possessed the hearts of the people, that it was suspected of some he would haue aspired to the Turkish Empire himselfe. Presently after the comming of this great Bassa, workmen were set a work about the casting of the great ordnance, and making readie of other things for the siege. The Christians also were no lesse busie about their fortifications, the Gouernor appointing to euery man his charge, and which part of the wall to defend: yet keeping continually in the market place certain companies (with the ensignes of *S. Marke* and *S. Stephen*) to see as fresh supplies, as need or occasion should require. Whilst the great ordnance was in casting, the Bassa caused a great bridge of timber to be made ouer the riuer, that so he might at his pleasure passe ouer his men, and command both sides of the riuer. The Christians in the mean time with vigilant eie so attending the Turks, that none of them could stir without thor, but he was forthwith set off and slaine.

The thirteenth of Iune, *Mustapha* the Beglerbeg or Viceroy of Asia (commonly called the great Bassa of Natolia) came also in great pompe to the siege with thirty thousand souldiers brought out of Asia: personable men, but not counted so good souldiers as they of Europe: for it is a common saying among the Turks, That the men of Europe, and the horses of Asia do best service. This great Bassa was honorably met and welcommed by the other great Bassa of Constantinople, and was quartered vpon another side of the city, where his rich pavilion (all of Green) was pitched in a vineyard about a mile from the towne. *Mustapha* to proue the courage of his souldiers, propounded a reward to which soeuer of them, as durst aduenture but to goe and touch the wals of the city: vpon which occasion, two of his souldiers passing well mounted, attempted to haue performed that enterprife. But making what hast they could possibly, they were both slaine from the wall, and one of their bodies recovered by certaine valiant souldiers which fallyed out of the towne, and his head being cut off, was vpon a lance set vpon the wals for the Turks to behold.

The fiftenth of Iune, 5600 Ianizaries came into the camp, with foure white ensignes: at whose comming all the souldiers of both the Bassa's camps gaue a wonderfull shout, and welcomed them with great ioy. These are the great Turks guard and best souldiers, in whom the greatest strength of his kingdom consisteth, and are called the sons of the great Sultan. After whose comming, *Mahomet* himselfe was daily expected. Three dayes after, came two other great men, attended vpon with a number of followers, who by their countenance, and the great reuerence done vnto them by the rest of the Turks, seemed to be men of great place and authority: the same men desired, that they might with safety speake with the Gouernour of the City, and the rest of the Capitaines, to deliuer vnto them such a message, as they had for their good (as they said) brought vnto them from *Mahomet*. Which their request being granted, the elder of them, after he had with many glorious words set forth the power of his Master, and what he had done to other great Cities, with their Princes; and further shewed into what danger they were like to fall, if they should long stand vpon their defence: he began to persuaade them to yeeld vnto the City, assuring them of all kind vsage, with many rich rewards from the great Emperour; whereas otherwise, they were to expect nothing but extreme misery and most shameful death. Whereunto answer was in the name of them all given by the mouth of *Petrus Paquimus*, a graue and worthy citizen. That they were not afraid of the greatnesse of *Mahomet*, or of any thing he had done, or could doe: and that he should find it hard to enforce them, but impossible to persuaade them to deliuer their city: and therefore that he might at his pleasure vse his forces against men fully resolved rather to yeeld vnto nature her last due, than to hearken to any composition: and in conclusion told them, that if they should at any time after make any such motion, they should not expect any other answer than from the mouth of the Canon. With which short answer these great men departed, nor a little discontented.

At this same time the strong city of Croia (which the worthy *Sanderbeg* had liuing so honorably defended, and dying had left it with his kingdom, in the protection and possession of the

the Venerians) having holden out a yeres siege, after that all the kingdome of Epirus & most part of Albania was lost, for lack of victuals was yeelded vp vnto the Turke, vpon condition, That the hungerstarued defendants (who then seemed rather ghosts than men) might at their pleasure in safety depart: which agreement the faithlesse Turke brake, and without mercy put them all to the sword. This heavy news was deliuered to them of Scodra, by certain Christians in the Turks camp: wherewith they were much grieued, but nothing at all discouraged.

Whiles the Turks thus lay at the siege, the watermen, of whom a great number liued vpon the great lake of Scodra (being in circuit about an hundred miles) came many times downe the riuer by night, and did much harme in the Turks camp: for remedy whereof, they were enforced to build certain small gallies to keep them in, who for all that, many times stole secretly vpon them, and much troubled them.

The two and twentieth of Iune, the Turks mounted two great peeces of ordnance vpon the top of the hill wheron the Bassa lay, whereof the one carried a bullet, made of an hard kind of round stone, of three hundred pound weight, & the other a bullet of foure hundred, wherewith they began to batter the towne foure daies: after that, they placed a third peece of Artillery at the foot of the same hill, which deliuered a bullet of foure hundred pound weight: and the next day they planted a fourth peece, greater than the rest, about the middle of the same hill, which carried a shot of six hundred and fifty pound weight. In this while, eight thousand of the Turks souldiers, called *Afapi* (which are known from the Ianizaries by their red caps, whereas the Ianizaries weare white) came into the camp. And shortly after came *Mahomet* himselfe with all his army to the riuer of Drimon, whither the two great Bassas of Asia and Constantinople went with great pompe and triumph to meet him.

The second of Iuly, *Mahomet* with all his army before the rising of the Sunne came to the campe before Scodra: where after he had well viewed the situation thereof, he is reported to haue said, *What a faire and stately place hath the Eagle chosen out for her selfe to build her nest, and to hatch her young ones in.* Diuers rich pavilions were set vp for *Mahomet* himselfe, but one far greater than the rest, distant from them about a flight shot, which was the place wherein he held his councill; the other were for his owne priuat vse. Round about these his tents, lay the Ianizaries incamped, a good distance off, yet so close one to another, as if it had bin a perpetual rampire or strong trench, whereinto was but one entrance, continually garded with a most strong guard. Round about the Ianizaries lay all the rest of the army encamped: so that all the country as farre as a man could see was couered, and white with tents, much like as when the ground in Winter is couered ouer with a deepe snow: and still more people resorted to the campe daily, so that it was deemed by men of great experience, that *Mahomet* had then in his army of all sorts of people, about 350000 men, all gaping to deuoure that poor city: a sight of it selfe sufficient to haue danted the courage of right valiant men: but what can be terrible to them that feare not to die? Against this terror of the enemy, the defendants were notably encouraged by the comfortable persuations and exhortations of one *Bartholomew*, a Preacher, (sometimes one of the worthy *Scanderbegs* souldiers) who afterwards giuing himselfe to the study of diuinity, became a zealous Preacher, and in this siege did notably comfort the Christian defendants against the terror of so great an army of miscreants. All this while the battery was still maintained; and the fifth of Iuly the Turks mounted two other great peeces, whereof the one was like vnto the former before mounted, but the other placed vpon the middle of the Bassa's mount, was of an incredible greatnes, discharging a shot of twelve hundred pound weight, and was called the Princes peece, in whose name it was with much cunning and industry made with which huge peece, the Turks euen from the beginning of the siege had threatened the besieged, willing them to expect the comming of the Princes peece. The next day they planted vpon the same mount a seventh peece, which carried a shot of fise hundred and fifty pound weight: from which time they battered the city with the aforesaid seven great peeces, and ceased not oftentimes by night out of their great mortar peeces, to cast great balls of wild fire into the city, so to haue set it on fire: wherby diuers of the citizens were enforced to vncouer their houses couered with shingle, and by men appointed for that purpose, to watch the fall of such fire-workes, and so to quench the same: which they so carefully looked to, as that the deuise of the enemy took no effect at all. At the same time also the Turks out of their short mortar peeces, cast huge great stones of incredible weight, which falling from hie, did

*Mahomet in person himselfe commeth vnto the siege of Scodra. The order of Mahomet's campe.*

*one of the Turke's attempt- ing, to touch the wals of Scodra, and both he, and one of the Turke's souldiers were slaine.*

most terribly crush in peeces whatsoeuer thing they light vpon, wherewith the defendants were wonderfully troubled. In few dayes after, the enemy mounted three other great peeces, whereof one was greater than that was called the Princes, and carried a bullet of thirteen hundred weight: from which time they daily battered the city with ten such peeces, as the like hath seldom times bin heard of: and the arrows fell so thick into the city, as if it had bin continuall shoures of haile, so that no man could well goe or stir in the streets without hurt. Yet in the midst of all these dangers the Christians valiantly defended the city, and with their deadly shot from the wals and mounts exceedingly anoyed the enemy. The eleuenth of Iuly the Turks mounted another great peece like vnto the former, vpon the Bassa's mount, and the same day battered the wals with a hundred seuentie eight shot of this huge artillery.

Mahomet hauing by the fury of his great ordnance, beaten down a great part of the wall, and that nothing stood in his way but such simple repaires as the defendants had made of timber & planks, with earth cast in betwixt, was in good hope in short time to become master of the towne: and therefore sent certain companies of his Janizaries and other soldiers (which he with continual supplies of fresh men still relieved) to assault the breaches, so if it were possible to enter the towne, or at leastwise to burn such fortifications of timber as the defendants had made. But that which seemed vnto him at first so easie, he found in execution full of difficulty and danger: for the Turks approaching the breach, found there resolute men, a surer defence than any wall: whose valiant courage serued in stead of a strong bulwarke. So whilst the Turks desperately striue in the face of the breach either to enter or to set fire vpon the new fortifications made for most part of timber, and the defendants with no lesse resolution do what they may to the utmost to repulse them, many were on both sides slaine, but especially of the assailants. Which Mahomet well perceiuing, and that by that manner of assault he gained nothing but notable losse and spoyle of his best men, caused a retreat to be sounded, and his battery to be againe forthwith renewed, euery day shaking the wall with 160 or 180 most terrible great shot, and one day with 194, the greatest battery that he made in one day during that siege.

After this great battell, the tyrant caused a fresh assault to be giuen, but with little or rather worse successe than before: for though diuers of the defendants, and among them, some of good place, as *Franciscus Patavinus*, *Franciscus Scobarro*, two Italian captains, and some other of the better sort of the citizens were there slaine with the great shot, whereof the enemy that day discharged into the breaches 193, yet were they with greater losse inforced againe to retire, and with shame to giue ouer the assault.

Notwithstanding this repulse, Mahomet continuing his batterrie with no lesse fury than before, still sought by force of his artillery to open a way into the city: and the third day after the former assault, gaue a more furious and desperat attempt vnto the city than before, inasmuch that the Turkes were in the breaches come to handy strokes with the Christians, and there made a most cruell and deadly fight; wherein many fell on both sides, but of the Turks most; yet were there many of the Christians also slaine, especially with the Turks great ordnance. It was a right ruthfull fight to haue seen the rampiers at the great gate of the city beaten down flat to the ground, and to lie full of the rent bodies of the Christians: at which place the enemy so preuailed, that he was euen now ready to haue entred, for the Turks so furiously assailed the defendants, and the murdering shot from the Bassa's mount fell so thicke and so terribly into the breach, beside the infinit number of arrows, that there was scarce any of the Christians which defended that place, but they were either slaine or grievously wounded. But when all seemed now most desperat and forlorn, and the greedy enemy euen ready to deuoure his prey, a new supply of lusty souldiers well armed, came courageously to the breach, and as Lyons encountering the enemy, draue him down againe, and so inforced him with great losse to retire. Mahomet grieved with this repulse, in his fury caused 173 great shot to be discharged into the city, and afterwards sending for his great Bassa's, and other his principall men of war, declared vnto them his mind, as followeth:

I thinke none of you are ignorant (right worthy soldiers) that now it is the third month since this city hath by vs bin most streitly besieged, and with all manner of Artillery and engines of war impugned, assaulted, and on euery side assailed, the wals thereof utterly subuerbed, and the bulwarkes layd flat with

the ground, and (as you see) as good as raised: besides that, so oft as we haue set fire vpon their fortresses, so often we haue provoked them of Scodra to fight, and haue also much vexed them with assaults. Last of all, as you know, we haue left nothing vnpruned, nothing vnattempted, which could be deuised, the easiler to overcome them, being wearied, worn out, and their strength spent. Wherefore (in mine opinion) the matter is not longer to be put off or delayed, but euen to morrow before the enemy can recover his strength or repaire his breaches, let vs inclose the city round, and giue them a general and terrible assault: and therefore euery one of you make your selues ready, and exhort your souldiers in the camp, that they euery one of them to morrow with the dawning of the day come forth armed and well appointed for the winning of the city. Now will I proue and know them that are worthy of my pay. Thou the Bassa of Constantinople, with thy squadrons and certain companies of the Janizaries our faithfull guard giue charge vnto the breach: in the mean time, let the Bassa of Asia with his power assault the other parts of the city: let euery man make ready and bring with him what so is needfull for this generall assault; my mind giueth mee, that to morrow before this time we shall win the city: for who is there can resist vs? The towne (as you see) is bared both of wall and all other defence: the bulwarkes and ditches are laid euen, and an easie way for vs to come vnto it: the citizens themselves weary with so many fights and assaults, faint and want strength: whereas we are still fresh and lusty: they in number few, we almost innumerable: besides that, we saue passe them in the force of our artillery, wherewith many of them shall perish in the defending of the breaches. Who then can stay, but that they of Scodra are already our prisoners? Where, vpon such as remaine alieue, I will at my pleasure vse the law of armes and captivity. On therefore courageous hearts without further delay. Is not the very name of Scodra hateful vnto vs? For which of you doth not with great disdain call to remembrance the death of your parents, or brethren, or friends, or companions, cruelly slaine vnder these wals? Can you digest your hatred against them of Scodra? And so many slaughters of your friends, by them made? But to forget elder times, and the harms receiued from them long since, let vs but look vpon our late slaughters and wounds as it were yet bleeding: it is not yet full foure yeres since that we made war with these men of Scodra, wherein so many thousands of our people fell, that their slaughter is yet almost obiects to our eyes, and their blood craving reuenge. This very hill whereon we stand, and the stones yet some besprinkled and pollute with their blood. Wherefore haste you as men of courage: Take up armes, valiantly mount the hill, assault the towne, and reuenge your old iniuries. Glut your selues to the full in the effusion of the Christian blood, whereunto our lawes do so much exhort vs, and doe what you may with force and sword, that not one of them of Scodra be left alieue: which you may easily bring to passe, hauing all things therunto needfull: for there is nothing to withstand you, nothing wanting for the gaining of the victory. All things are prepared, all things are ready: an easie matter it is for a strong man to overcome the weak and feeble, that wanteth strength, as do they.

This speech of the barbarous tyrant, was receiued with great applause and good liking of the hearers: and now was Scodra to be with all might and main assaulted, and not a man there left alieue. Herupon proclamation was made throughout the camp, That euery man vpon pain of death should be ready against the appointed time: and the great captains and commanders of the army, departing from Mahomet, went vp to the top of the hill whereon the Bassa lay, and from thence taking view of the city, & laying their heads together, consulted how they might best giue the assault. The defendants on the other side alwaies expecting their enemies hounding ouer their heads, left nothing vndone that they could possibly deuise, for the defence of themselves and the city. Now vpon the top of the Bassa's mount, was a royall pavilion erected, richly couered with purple, from whence the proud tyrant might plainly behold all the assault, who with the dawning of the day (being the 22 of Iuly) entring the same, the Turkes who in the covert of the night had conueied themselves as neere vnto the wals as they could, vpon the signall of battell giuen by a tire of ordnance discharged from the Bassa's mount, suddenly ran to the breaches as thicke as Bees, in hope by their sudden approach to haue taken the Christians at some aduantage, wherein they were much deceiued. For they alwaies doubting such a matter, and carefully obseruing the least motion of the enemy, were alwaies in readiness to meet with their attempts: so that the Turks desperately struing to gain the breaches, and the Christians valiantly defending the same, there was in diuers places begun a most cruell and mortall fight: but especially neere vnto the great gate, where the fury of the cannon had made the wals most faultable. There the enemy was come to fight hand to hand, and pre-

The city of Scodra assaulted by the Turkes the fourth time

uailing vpon the defendants, had set vp one of the Turks ensignes vpon the top of the rampiers, which *Mahomet* beholding, reioyced exceedingly, thinking the city now as good as taken. But the Christians seeing the danger, speedily repaired thither with new supplies, & by plain force draue the enemy out againe, and beat him from the rampiers. Vpon them also that were comming vp, they cast downe peeces of timber, great stones, wild fire, pots of lime, and such other things as might most annoy them: as for shot, none fell in vaine by reason of the wonderfull multitude of the Turks, who stood so thicke, that a man could hardly haue cast downe a grain of mustard seed from the wal but it must needs haue light vpon some of them: by which means the Turks were notably repulled, their ensigne pluckt down, and they inforced to retire from the wals. Which sudden alteration *Mahomet* perceiuing, fell into a great rage, and forthwith commanded his great ordnance, with greater fury than euer, to be discharged into the breach: and with great words commanded the two chiefe Bassaes which stood by him vpon the mount, to go presently downe and inforce the souldiers which were already retired, to returne againe to the assault. These great commanders seeing the tyrant in such a fier, forthwith descended from the hill, and where persuation would not serue, with their drawn swords inforced the souldiers to returne back againe to the assault. The Turks knowing that they were now in the eye of their King, and in the presence of their greatest commanders, strue with might and main to win the rampiers: for in that place, the wals of the city were beaten downe to the ground. *Shaken* before this assault with 2539 shot of the cannon or other peeces of no lesse force. The Christians likewise in defence of themselves and their city, with inuincible courage opposed themselves against the Turks: so that a more desperat fight than there was hardly euer to be seen, desperat men with desperat hand assailing one another: and the more to increase the terrour of the day, the thundring shot, with the clamour of men, and noise of the instruments of war, was so great, as if heauen and earth should haue presently fallen together, and arrowes falling into the city as if it had bin showres of raine, oftentimes darkened the light of the day. In this dreadfull fight many of the defendants were slain; but of the Turks, twenty to one. Neer vnto that gate, where this terrible assault was giuen, were certain loupes hewne out of the maine rocke, which flanked the ditch all alongst that side of the city, out of which the Christians with their murdering shot made lanes amongst their enemies, and slew them without number. For all that, the mighty Bassaes and great captains, one while by persuation, another while by threatening, still forced them forward, & if any turned back, presently slew him: so that the Turks seeing no lesse danger in retiring than in fighting against the enemy, like desperat men thrust forward by heaps, and were slain without number. Yet still pressing on so long as life lasted, and others stepping forward in stead of them that were slaine, they began againe to preuaile vpon the defendants (who in that place were for most part either slaine or hurt) and againe recovered the top of the rampiers, and there aduanced the Turks ensignes. Then began the tyrant to lift vp his head, making sure account that the city was now his own. But as the common saying is, he that reckoneth without his host, must reckon twise, so chanced it to *Mahomet*. For the companies, from the beginning of the siege left in the market place ready for all euents, and oftentimes wishing for some occasion wherein to shew themselves; being now in good time aduertised of the imminent danger, came with speed to the place of the assault before the Turks had taken good footing; and there valiantly encountering them, slew a great number of them, and forced the rest from the rampiers, and plucking downe their ensignes before set vp, in stead of them placed their own. With which repulse the Turks were so dismayed, that they quite forsooke the assault, and in despite of their imperious commanders, not expecting any signe of retreat, in hast retired to the campe. *Mahomet* fallen from so great an hope, and grieved about measure with this shamefull repulse, returned into his pavillion fretting and fuming as a man halfe mad, where two dayes he tormented himselfe with his own passions, nor admitting any man to his presence. The Christians afterwards took the spoyle of the dead Turks, and cutting off diuers of their heads, set them vp vpon poles round about the city, to the terror of their fellows. In this assault were 12000 of the Turks slain, and many mo wounded. Of the Christians were lost 4000: and of them that came to the breach, escaped none, but he was wounded more or lesse.

After that *Mahomet* had two daies digested the last repulse, the shame wherof grieved him more than the losse it selfe; he sent for both the great Bassaes of Constantinople and Asia, and

and other two of his chiefe Counsellors, with whom he resolved to giue another assault, and thereon to giue his whole forces: for they were all of opinion with him, That the defendants were so weakened & walled with the former assault, that they could not possibly hold out another. Whereupon straight commandment was giuen through the camp, that every man without exception should be ready to go to the assault whensoever they were called vpon: and the more to incourage the souldiers, great rewards and preferments were promised to them which in time of the assault should performe any speciall peece of seruice. The first appearance of the new Moone (which the Turks worship with great deuotion) was the time that *Mahomet* had appointed for this generall assault: in the mean time he spared not to poure out his fury against the wals and rampiers of the towne, by the mouth of the cannon. The Christian defendants on the other side, first by hearty prayer commended themselves and their City to the protection of the Almighty, and afterwards with restlesse labour and no small perill, speedily repaired and new fortified whatsoever the fury of the Artillery had ouerthrowne or shaken; ouerlooking nothing that could be done or deuised for the defence of themselves and their city. Now as soon as the new Moone began to shew her selfe, the Mahometan Priests going about the army, gaue the souldiers knowledge thereof (as their maner is) by singing of a song in manner of a procession; wherunto the whole army answered with a short response, but with such a terrible noise as was wonderfull to heare; and at the same time bowing themselves to the ground, saluted the Moone with great superstition. All their fond ceremonies performed, they began to draw nigh the city so thicke, and in number so many, that all the ground for the space of a mile round about *Scodra*, was thick covered with men. The Christians expecting every where to be assailed, were ready vpon the wals and rampiers of the City, to repulse the enemy: but especially at the great gate where most danger was feared, for that the Turks with their great ordnance had made that place of all others most faultable. Here *Iacobus Moneta* a noble captain, with his brother *Moncinus* a valiant gentleman, tooke vpon them to receiue the first assault, which is commonly of all others most terrible: for the Turks vse in their assaults to giue three attempts, whereof the first is most furious and dangerous, as performed by their best souldiers: the other two are of lesse force; but if they faile in all three, they forsake the enterprise as men discouraged. Whilest both the assailants and defendants stood thus in readines, the one as they were facing the other a great part of the night, *Mahomet* before day went vnto the top of the Bassa's mount, from whence he had before beholden the former assault: at whose comming there were presently 11 canons discharged, and 12 smaller peeces (the signall appointed for the assault.) The Turks vpon this signe giuen, with exceeding tumult and most hideous outcrye (as their manner is) began to assaile the City round, and with such wonderfull agility of body and courage mounted the rampiers at the great gate, that they had there as it were in a trice set vp one of their ensignes, which was forthwith pluckt vp by *Moneta*, and the Turks with great slaughter driuen down, where many of them were slain with stones, timber, fire, and such other things cast down vpon them; beside a great number slain or wounded with shot, arrows, and darts, whereof none fell to the ground in vain, by reason that the Turks stood so thicke, that they violently pressed one another forward, in such sort, that the foremost could by no meanes shun any danger, were it neuer so great or terrible. In this sort the assault was with great slaughter of the Turks continued vntill it was day, they striving to win the breach, and the Christians most valiantly defending the same. *Moneta* himselfe in this fight receiued diuers wounds, and was twice beaten down to the ground, yet still recovering himselfe, incouraged his souldiers, and worthily repulsed the enemy. *Mahomet* seeing his souldiers beaten from the breach, caused a tyre of his great Ordinance to be discharged vpon the Christians which stood therein thick for the defence thereof, by force whereof many of them were rent in peeces, and the rest fore dismayed: which the Turks quickly perceiuing, and therewith incouraged came on againe with a fresh charge, forcing themselves to the utmost to haue entred. But the valiant captain nothing discouraged either with the losse of them that were slain, or the danger of himselfe, valiantly withstood the furious enemy, and maintained the place till new supplies came to relieve him, & departed not thence, nor suffered any man to depart, till the assault was ended. Many were slain on both sides; yet nothing troubled the defendants so much as the great ordnance, which being discharged from the Bassa's mount, into the breach, when as the Turks were driuen back, slew many of the Christians, leaving the breach almost cleere: so gi-

The Turks shew  
prostrations before  
the new Moone.

Scodra against  
most furiously  
assailed by  
the Turks.

Twelve thousand  
Turks slain  
in the  
last assault.

uing occasion for the Turks to haue entred, had not other couragious soldiers stept vp in stead of them that were slain, who manfully repulsed the enemy. The tyrant from the mount seeing the inuincible courage of the defendants, was therewith exceedingly troubled: but fully resolved now or neuer to haue it, commanded all his forces to be drawne from all other parts of the city, to the great gate, there to renew the assault, strictly charging his captains, neuer to return thence vntill they had taken the city. Hereupon the greatest part of that huge army was forthwith in the sight of himselfe brought to the appointed place, and there gaue a sharp and cruel assault at the breach, with such desperat fury, that in short time they had slain most of the defendants there present, and aduanced diuers of their ensignes vpon the top of the rampiers. Which *Mahomet* beholding from the Mount, rejoiced exceedingly, making sure account, that the city was now his own: but by that time he had well conceiued this hope, new supplies of fresh and couragious men (of purpose reserued for all euents) came to the place of danger, and with great resolution encountering the wearied Turks, draue them backe, cleared the breach, and ouerthrew the ensignes. Which so sudden an alteration in the breach, wrought no lesse alteration in the proud tyrants mind, his hope was turned into despaire, and his joy into choller: inso much that in his fury he commanded all the great artillery to be at once discharged into the breach, whereby many of his forward and couragious souldiers were slaine together with the defendants. At the same time the great commanders & captains knowing themselves to be in the eie of their imperious lord and master, with their drawne swords forced the poore soldiers again forward to the breach, and the more to encourage them, aduentured themselves also among them: whereby the fight became more fierce and terrible than before. Many of the Turks were there slaine; yet such was the force and multitude of them which still stept vp in their place, and bullets and arrowes flew so thicke, that the defendants oppressed with multitude, and ouerwhelmed with shot, were hardly able longer to maintain the place, being for most part either slain or wounded. Whereupon a great cry ran vpon the sudden throw the city, that euery man without exception should forthwith repaire to the breach. Which was with such cheerfulness done, that in lesse time than was to haue bin thought, a wonderfull multitude of all sorts of people was there met together, encouraging one another against the present danger; who all as men resolved to lay downe their liues in defence of their country, valiantly encountered the Turks vpon the top of the rampiers, and so hardly laid vnto them, that notwithstanding their great number, they began now again to wauer and shrink back. Which thing the tyrant perceiuing from the mount, in great rage commanded his canoniers, as fast as they could to discharge the great ordnance into the breach, without regard of his owne men, so that together with them he might also kil some of the Christians: and withall imperiously commanded his captaines, with all their force and power to maintaine the assault, threatening them with most horrible death, if they returned without victory. Hereupon the assault was againe renewed, euery man (in shew at least) set downe there to doe his last deuoir. But the great ordnance still playing vpon the breach, slew many of the Turks as well as of the Christians. Thrice the great shot fell amongst the Turks themselves, and rent in sunder a great number of them which was formost, to the great discouragement of the rest: whereof the tyrant had small regard, so that together with them he might also diminish the number of the defendants. Neuertheless, such was the desperat fury of the enemy, that the city was in no small danger to haue been presently taken, had not fresh supplies come from other parts of the city which they were appointed vnto; who with great courage resisted the enemy. Yet the Turks far exceeding in number (and fresh men continually stepping vp in stead of them which lay by heaps vnder their feet, and serued them in stead of steps to get vp to the rampiers) maintained a long and terrible fight: at which time the great ordnance also sore annoyed the defendants, so that with one shot (whereby the greatnesse of the harmes done at other times may be gathered) eightene of the Christian defendants were slaine. As for arrowes, they flew as thicke as haile into the city, so that they obscured the light of the day, and lay in most places of the street a span thicke: so that for the space of a moneth after, the inhabitants vsed no other fuel to burne, but Turkish arrowes. It was a ruthfull sight, to haue seene the bodies of the valiant Christians rent in sunder with the great shot, and pieces of them cleauing vpon euery wall thereabout, euery street was stained with their blood, the great ordnance continually thundred, Churches and houses came ratling downe, yea, the heavy countenance of the

The assault renewed againe  
presently by the  
Turks.

the assault

Air it self seemed to bewail the misery of the poor Christians; besides, the noise of trumpets, drums, and other instruments of War, with the horrible cry of the hellish Turks was so great and hideous, that it seemed as if heauen and earth should haue gon together: nothing was to be heard but the very terrour of the ear, nothing to be seen but death, and the instruments of death. And in this extremity a great cry ran through the City, That without present help all would be lost at the great gate: whereupon not only they which were whole (which were the fewest in number) but they also which lay wounded or sick in their beds, cherishing themselves vp, with weapons in their hands ran with speed to the place where the danger was, chusing rather there to die, than to be slain in their beds. Thus whilst the Christians of all sorts, and from all parts of the city ran desperately to the gate, the Turks were on euery side hardly pressed, and in great number slain: yet fresh men still comming vp, as if they had sprung out of the earth, the deadly fight was by them still maintained; for the Turks on the one side for fear of the tyrant, laboured with might and main to win the City: and the Christians on the other, knowing no hope left for them if they should be overcome, with no lesse resolution defended the same. In this obstinacy of minds many fel on both sides; sometime the Turks seemed to haue the better, and were straitway by the Christians put to the worse. Which manner of mortal fight with doubtful euent was continued most part of that day; vntil that at length many being on both parts slain, and the rest for the most part fore wounded and hurt, the fury of the assault began to assuage: for the Turks now weary of that long and deadly fight, and fainting with their wounds, had no great stomach to mount vp the rampiers, where they saw no hope to preuail, but all things threatening present death, *Mahomet* beholding the wonderful slaughter of his men, and that hauing don what was possible, they now fought as men discouraged; and in dispaire of victory himselfe, caused a retreat to be sounded: which the Turks no sooner heard, but that they left the assault, and without order ran to their Tents as men half feared out of their wits.

A doubtful  
fight.

Of this victory the Christians (as they had good reason) rejoiced greatly; yet was this joy mingled with much sorrow and heauines, for the losse of such worthy men as were slain in that assault, many of whose bodies they were glad to gather vp by piece-meale, some here, some there, some cleauing on this wal, and some on that, which they as the time would giue leaue, honorably buried with the rest of the slain. At which time also they with all diligence & expedition repaired their breaches, and put all things in such readinesse as if they should haue presently received a fresh assault.

*Mahomet* wonderfully grieved with the shameful dishonor and great losse he had received at the last assault, repented himselfe that euer he had taken the matter in hand, wishing that he had neuer heard of the name of Scodra: and in his choler and frantick rage most horribly blasphemed against God; most wickedly saying, That it were enough for him to haue care of heavenly things, and not to crosse him in his earthly actions: in which fury hee descended from the mount, and got him into his Tent, where he againe tormented himself with his melancholy passions by the space of two daies, wherein he would neither be spoke withall, or admit any man to his presence. Vpon the third day he called a general Council of his commanders and best souldiers, and therupon openly before them all said, That hee was determined to giue the enemy a fresh assault, for that being weakened with so many assaults, hee could not possibly be able to hold out another; and therefore he hoped for an easie victory. But he had no sooner so sayd, but all they that heard him, cried out with one voice to the contrary, saying that it was not by any means to bee attempted, forasmuch as his best souldiers were already slain, and the greater part of them that were left, either fore wounded, or brought vnto that weaknes, that they were not able to do any more seruice: and that therefore it were better for them to kil one another, or els himselfe to kil them one by one, than to expose them to bee shamefully butchered by the Christians. In this diuersitie of opinions, *Achmetes Bassa* the great Champion of the Turks (a man reuerend and of great authority, for his birth, yeres, and rare experience in martiall affaires, and one by whom *Mahomet* had done great matters) standing vp, with pleasing speech calmed his furious mind, and with substantial reasons persuaded him to desist from that his intended purpose, and take another surer course, in manner following.

## A notable speech of the great Bassa Achmetes.

Your great valor and worthy praises, invincible Emperor (said he) who is able to expresse the greatness wherof the mind of man cannot conceive, and my dul spirit but wonder at: my tongue faineth to speak of them, neither would this time serve so much as to recount them. It is of all men deemed a thing of great honor (most dread Sovereign) when a Prince hath received a kingdom from his Ancestors, to be able in safety to keep and defend the same: greater than this is it, honourably to increase and augment it so left: but of a small thing, by worthy promise to bring it to the highest type of worldly honour, is of all other earthly things the greatest. Which most rare excellencie all men worthily ascribe to your perfection and felicitie: and I, of all others, can therof bring the most assured testimony, who have often heard it of myne Ancestors (which followed the Othoman Princes out of Asia into Europ) that your worthy predecessors at their first coming into Europ (without offence be it said) possessed but a corner therof. To whom you afterward by divine appointment succeeding, have added so many provinces, kingdoms, and empires, as were tedious to rehearse them. For who can worthily expresse, how you have in Europe subdued Constantinople, the Imperial city of the East empire, with all Thracia, Achaia, Grecia, Peloponnesus, Bawia, Thebes, and the noble city of Athens, the mother and nurse of all good learning. The empire of Trapezond, with the Emperor therof, is by you overthrowen: The kingdoms of Servia and Bosnia, with the princes of Peloponnesus are by you gloriously vanquished. You have at your command twelue Kingdoms in Asia the lesser; Pontus, Bythinia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, Caria, Lydia, Phrygia, Nicomedia, and Nicca, with the famous city of Prusa. Beside these, Ionia, Doris, Smyrna, Colophon, Ephesus, Miletum, Halicarnassus, Pergamus, with the country of Taurica, are under your subjection. The great countrey of Armenia hath felt your force: the Islands of Lesbos, Chios, and Eubaea are parts of your empire. What should I speak of infinite people and nations by you most victoriously vanquished? This may suffice for all, That you have gained from the Christians twenty provinces, and two hundred great cities. For it were too long to rehearse the Mahometan Kings and princes by you also vanquished: In all your expeditions all things have yet given place to your fortune. The ancient monuments may now cease to extoll the praises of Caesar, Scipio, Pyrrhus, Hannibal, and other Chieftains of Rome and forreign nations: for why, they are all inferior to you both for victories and countries subdued. The Othoman Family is undoubtedly fatal for sovereignty; all the world shall in short time come under your government, and all Nations shall serve you. As for this town of Scodra, it is not so much grieved you worldly things (you know) do oftentimes deceive our expectation; in them fortune beareth great sway. Yet for this matter quiet your self; for I dare gage my faith unto your Imperial Majesty, that I will in short time find means that this City shall stand at your devotion. Did not I of late bring into your subjection the impregnable city of Croia, which you so much desired? But whereas you would now againe forthwith attempt to win it by assault; I therein craue your pardon, in that I cannot be of your opinion, but must needs think far otherwise: for, to attempt War, and to be overthrowen, is an easie matter for every one to do; but to vanquish the enemy, and so carry away the victory, that right few men know. He that consulteth of such great and weighty matters ought to be free both from fury and desire, both euill Counsellors. The Christians of Scodra are not in my opinion to be againe assaulted, for in so doing you shall but lose your labor. For if you could not subdue them, your Army being then fresh and strong, how shall you now overcome them with much fewer, and they wounded, weak, and feeble? I have viewed the whole camp, and searched every tent, and found no place, no tent, yea scarcely any cabin without groaning, sighing, weeping, or wailing: in all places was heaviness, sorrow, mourning, and death it self: for in the last assault you lost about 30000 of your best souldiers: many mo are grievously wounded and maimed; none, but he carieth about him some signe that he was there: few or none there be that dare againe mount the hill to give a fresh assault; they are all so afraid and discouraged. Whom when I demanded, how so great a fear was come upon them, and what was the cause they had so lost their wonted courage? They answered me, That it was the look, even the very look of them of Scodra, whose eyes seemed unto them to burn and sparkle with fire: their stern and terrible countenances (said they) have strook this terror into us. Wherefore I think it not good to give a fresh assault with men so dismayed, but rather to uphold and delay against such resolute enemies. This city of Scodra is the eye and head of all this province; in which the Venetians have notably fortified with store of ordnance and all things els necessary for defence therof; but especially with most valiant soldiers, of purpose chosen out of many of their garrisons for the defence of this City. You have not now to do with the weak and effeminate people of Asia, but with the hard and rough people of Epirus. And you know (most mighty emperor) the strength & courage of

A of this Nation: it is now thirty years that you have made war against this people, and have not yet altogether subdued them; and how dangerous and chargeable this war hath bin unto you, who knoweth not. It is now six moneths since we came first before this city; we have intrenched our selves round about it, wee have day and night layd hard siege to it, we have battered it of long with 11 canons, I speak not of other small pieces or engines of war, with other kinds of shot and fire-works, and what soever els wee could devise. We have many times to our cost assaulted it; what could be done by force, strength, or multitude of valiant men, is already done in the former assaults; Nothing hath bin left unattempted, no policy, no direction hath wanted in your leaders, neither courage in your soldiers. What should I count the innumerable great shot, or speak of our arrows and darts, delivered into the city as shoures of hail? Did all this, or any thing els we could do, any thing terrifie these defendants? Were they not, nay are they not still ready with great assurance and courage at all assays to encounter us? You take a wrong course, by force to constrain them: they have taken upon them the defence of this place, and are not thence to be removed; there shall you bee sure still to find them either alive or dead; and what accounts they make of their lives, you see, they will sell them unto us dear for their country, and prefer an honorable death before a servile life. Wherefore against men so set down, policy is to be used; and them whom we cannot by force subdue, let us by delay and time overcome. If you will win Scodra, block it up, build strong forts in places convenient round about it, & furnish them with good soldiers, make a bridge over Boliana, with a strong castle on either side, to stop the passage: which done, besiege the other weaker cities of the Venetians, which are as it were the limbes of Scodra, and subdue the country round about; which will be no hard matter for you to do, being master of the field. So must Scodra at length of necessity yeeld unto you, as of late did Croia, enforced therunto by famine. Thus may you in safety without slaughter of your people, come to the full of your desires.

The wholesom counsell of the Bassa fowell pleased Mahomet himself and the rest there present; that the assault was layd aside, and presently order taken for the speedy execution of that which was sowed by him plotted. Whereupon the Bassa of Constantinople with his forces was sent to Zabjachie, a city in the borders of Dalmatia, standing upon the lake of Scutari, not far from Acrium, which in few days was yielded unto him. The Bassa possessed of the city, thrust out all the inhabitants, and leaving therein a garrison of the Turks, returned againe to the camp at Scodra. At the same time the great Bassa of Asia was also sent by Mahomet against Drivaalto, a city also of the Venetians, which having besieged and fore battered by the space of sixteen daies, the great tyrant came thither in person himself, and the next day after his coming took the city without any great resistance. Such as he found upon the walls he put to the sword; of the rest hee tooke three hundred away with him to the camp at Scodra, and there in the face of the city caused them all to be cruelly slain, of purpose so to terrify the defendants. The next day after, he sent the great Bassa of Constantinople to Lyssa, called also Alessa, a city of the Venetians, situated upon the river Drinus, about thirty miles from Scodra. The Bassa coming thither found the city desolate (for the citizens hearing of his coming, were for fear before fled, for which cause he set the city on fire. Here the Turks digged up the bones of the worthy prince Scanderbeg, for the superstitious opinion they had of the virtue of them; and happy was hee that could get any little part therof to set in gold or other jewel, as a thing of great price, as is before declared. All these things thus done, Mahomet committed the direction of all things concerning the siege unto the discretion of Achmetes; by whose perswasion he left a great power for continuing of the siege, departing thence himself, with forty thousand soldiers, for Constantinople; cursing and banning by the way all the country of Epirus, with all the inhabitants therein, and every part therof, their Corn, their cattle, and what soever els was fruitfull: but about all other things, the City of Scodra, with all that therein was, for that he had neuer received greater dishonour and losse than he had done there.

After his departure, which was about the seventh of September, the two great Bassa's of Constantinople and Asia, according to order before taken, built a great bridge over the river Boliana, and on either side a strong Castle, to the intent that no relief should that way be brought into the city. Which work when they had brought to perfection, and furnished both castles with garrisons, ordnance, and all things necessary, they left Achmetes Bassa with forty thousand soldiers to continue the siege, and returned themselves, the one to Constantinople, the other to Asia.

Lyssa taken by the Turks, and Scanderbeg's bones digged up by them, & had in great reverence.

the other into Asia. The wary and politique Bassa mindfull of the charge he had taken vpon him, took such order, that no relief could possibly be brought vnto the city either by land or water: and so lying still before it a long time, hee brought it into such a distres and want of all things, that the poor Christians were faine to eat all manner of vnclean and lothsome things; horses were dainty meat; yea, they were glad to eat dogs, cats, rats, and the skins of beasts for food. It exceedeth all credit, to tell at what exceeding price a little mouse was sold, or puddings made of dogs guts. All these bare shifts and extremities the poor Christians were content to endure euen to the last gasp, rather than to yeeld themselves into the hands of their merciles enemies.

Whilst Scodra thus lay in the fuds, the Venetians weary of the long and chargeable War they had to their great losse now maintained against so mighty an enemy by the space of sixteen years, and hauing no means to relieue their distressed subjects in Scodra, thought it best to proue if they could procure a peace from the tyrant. For which purpose they sent *Benedictus Transilanus*, a graue Senator, and a man of great experience, to Constantinople, who so well vied the matter, that after long debating to and fro, at length a peace was concluded: whereof the chief capitulations were, That the Venetians should deliuer to *Mahomet* the city of Scodra, the Island of Lemnos, and the strong castle of Tenarus in Peloponessus, and pay him yearly eight thousand ducats; that they might freely after their wonted manner traffique into the Euxine by the streits of Hellespontus and Bosphorus Thracius, and other parts of his dominions. Concerning the citizens of Scodra, it was comprised in the same peace, That it should be at their own choise, either to lue there still vnder the government of the Turkish Emperor, or els at their pleasure to depart in safety with their goods whither they would. *Trisilanus* hauing in this manner concluded a peace, in his return homeward, the fourth of April found the Venetian Admiral riding at anchor in the mouth of Boljana. From whence, they both by letters certified the gouernor and citizens of Scodra, in what manner the peace was concluded with the Turk, and what prouision was therein made for them. Vpon receipt of which Letters, the Gouernor calling the Citizens together, declared vnto them how the case stood, & there with them entred into consultation vpon this hard question, Whether they would remaine there still in their native country, vnder the Turkish tyranny, or forsaking the same, lue among other Christians in perpetual exile: But after that the matter had bin thoroughly debated, and many reasons on both parts alledged, at length it was by general consent concluded, that they should all forsake the city & the house of bondage, as dangerous both to soul and bodie, and lue as it should please God, amongst other Christians. So the Turks giuing pledges for the safe departure of them of Scodra, they all at an appointed day with bag and baggage came out of the city, and were by the Venetians carefully transported into other parts of their territory in Italy, where they liued in peace. The Turks (who had now besieged the City the space of a whole year) after the departure of the Christians entered the City with great joy and triumph; which place with many others therabout, hath euer since, to the great ruth of all Christendom, remained in the possession of the faithles infidels. Thus was the strong city of Scodra lost, and the long wars ended betwixt *Mahomet* and the Venetians; which hapned in the year 1478.

1480.

*Mahomet* now at peace with the Venetians, sent the same *Achmetes Bassa* (by whom hee had but a little before taken in Scodra) with his fleet of Gallies against one *Leonard*, who was Prince of Neritus, Zacythus, and Cephalenia, Islands neer vnto Peloponessus. Where the Bassa arriuing, easily took the same Islands; the poor Prince for safegard of his life beeing glad to fly into Italy with his Wife and treasure, to King *Ferdinand*, whose nigh kinswoman hee had married.

About the same time, *Alis Beg* surnamed *Michael Ogli*, *Isa Beg* the son of *Cassanes*, and *Bala Beg* surnamed *Mahosogli* (men of great account amongst the Turks, and most honorably defended) sent into Transylvania with a great army of an hundred thousand men, & brought such a generall fear vpon the Countrey, that *Stephanus Batore* the Vayuod was glad with all speed to fly vnto *Matthias* King of Hungary, to declare vnto him the danger of his Countrey, and to crame his aid. *Matthias* at the same time lay sick of the gout: neuertheless hee tooke such order by his Captaines, *Stephanus Cherepetrin* and *Paulus Kinisim* Countie of Temesware, that

A that the Turks were incountred not far from Alba Iulia, and there in a great and bloody batel defeated: wherein *Isa* one of their chief captains were slain, with 30000 Turks mo. Neither was this victory gained by the Christians without losse, *Batore* the Vayuod himselfe beeing sore wounded, and eight thousand men slain.

*Mahomet* in his ambitious humor had long time desired to haue in his subjection the Island of the Rhodes. For why, it grieved him that to small an Island should lie so neer his great dominions in Asia, holden by a few Christians, to the great trouble of his merchants trading in the Mediterranean, beside many other harms daily from thence receiued, and to haue no feeling of his greatnes. But forasmuch as the winning of that place was thought to be a matter of great difficulty, and in former times vnfortunately attempted by some of the Mahometan princes; he purposed now with good aduice to take this matter in hand. Wherefore calling together his graue counsellors and most expert men of war, after hee had declared vnto them the manifold injuries receiued from them of the Rhodes, he required their opinion, whether it were best to attempt the winning of that Island or no? Some forward men perswaded him to reuenge those injuries don by those Christians, and to subdue that Island, which for the neernes to Caria, might of right be accounted as part of his dominion; and not to forbear that enterprize for fear of repulse, forasmuch as he was able to bring more men to assail it, than were stones in the wal about it. Others better aduised declared the strength of the Island, with the valor of the defendants, men alwaies brought vp in arms, and as it were chosen out of all parts of Christendom; so that it was (as they said) like to proue a matter of more difficultie than was by some supposed; whereof some of the Mahometan princes had, to their no small dishonor already made sufficient trial, alledging further, That that smal Island which scarcely appeared in the sea, was not of that worth, as that he should bragge his honour, with the lues of so many good men and most valiant soldiers as might serue to conquer a kingdom. For all that, *Mahomet* prickt forward with the spurs of ambition, and continuall sollicitation of *Antonius Meligalus* a fugitiue Knight of the Rhodes, resolved to follow the counsell of them who perswaded the war. This *Meligalus* was a Knight of the Order, who when hee had prodigally consumed his substance (which was great) with two others, *Demetrius* and *Sophonius*, men of his own qualitie and disposition, fled vnto the Turkish Emperour, presenting vnto him a perfect plot of the City, with all the strength both of it and the Isle wherein it stood, and which way he might with most ease win it. In which seruice they frankly offer to spend their lues; but hoping indeed by such foul treachery to repair their broken estate. All things being now in readinesse, *Mahomet* appointed *Mesithes Ralaologus* one of his chief Bassas (the neer kinman of *Constantinus Paleologus* the last Emperour of Constantinople) General in that expedition; committing to his charge the whole managing of that so great an action. *Mesithes* imbarcking his army, in number eighty thousand, and thoroughly furnished with all things necessary for the siege, set forward from Constantinople, and with a pleasant gale of wind sailed alongst the coast of Asia the lesse, towards the Rhodes: where by the way he called vnto him *Demetrius* (one of the fugitiue Knights) to learne of him the best meanes for the safe landing of his army. As for the arch traitor *Meligalus*, and chief author of this VVar, hee was fallen sick vpon the way; and in the extremity of his sickness growing both troublefome and lothsome vnto the Turkes that were with him in the same Galley, was by the mariners throwne overboard aliue, crying out in vain for help, no man vouchsafing to haue any compassion vpon him: and thus swallowed vp of the sea, hee receiued in the midst of the waues the guerdon of his treachery.

At this time *Peter Damboys* a Frenchman, an Auerghois, a man of singular gouernment, was Great Master of the Rhodes; whose vigilancie was such, that commonly once in eight daies hee had certain intelligence what great matters passed in the Turks Court: and therewith of such deep judgment, that hee was seldom or neuer overtaken or deceiued with false aduertisements. This carefull Grand Master was not ignorant of all these great preparations, nor of the coming of the Bassa; and therefore had before strongly fortified the City, and so stored the same with all things needful, as might wel haue serued for many years siege; but especially with such shot and powder, that it was deemed (as indeed it was) an especial means whereby the city was afterwards preferred. At the same time, many valiant and noble Gentlemen

*Mahomet the Great*  
with *Isa* the  
Rhodes.

*A detail of the  
war, between  
Mahomet  
and  
Batore.*

hearing of the Turks designs, repaired thither out of Italy, France, Spain, Germany & other places of Christendom, cheerfully to adventure their lives both in defence of the place & of the Christian religion, against the common enemy of Christianity. The great Master taking a generall view of all the forces he had, to oppose against so puissant an enemy, found that he had in the city sixteen thousand able men; in which number were reckoned many Jewes and other men of servile condition; who in the siege following did right good service. The great Bassa conducted by the false traitor *Demetrius*, safely landed both his Army and Artillery in the Island the 22 day of June, not far from the city. At which time the Great Master considering that the safety of the City consisted more in the lively valour of the defendants, than in the strength of the dead walls or other warlike provision; thought it requisite as a part of his duty, by cheerefull persuasions to encourage them, valiantly to withstand the force of their H enemies. And therefore calling them all together, spake vnto them as followeth:

The Great Master  
spake vnto them  
as followeth:

At length (valiant soldiers and Fellowes in Arms) we see the Turks our mortall enemies (as we were before advertised, as well by Letters from our friends, as by common Fame) breathing after our destruction: in readinesse to destroy our Churches, our Oratories, our Altars, our Religion, and whatsoever els we account sacred or religious; seeking the ruin of this noble City, and the cruell death of vs all, gaping at once, to deuour our lives, our wealth, our hope, with all our former honour. And truly as I cannot deny, but that the chance of War is doubtfull, and the event thereof uncertein: So when I consider your valiant courage and cheerefulness of mind, I presently conceive a most assured hope of victory. They have entred into Arms against vs, not so much for any desire of ours, or upon any other quarrell; as for the insupportable desire of rule, and the great despite they bear against vs and the Christian Religion. But to withstand their fury, and to frustrate their designs, we want neither weapons nor artillery, nor prowess on for many years. We have a most strong garrison of French-men, Spaniards, Germans, English, and others, the very chivalry of all Christendom: and that which more is, Christ Iesus our Captain and General, by whose power we shall (no doubt) easily repulse the vain force of our most gracelesse and wicked Enemy. The care we haue for the defence of the Christian faith, wherunto we are by speciall profession bound, will animate and encourage vs against them, which seek for nothing more, than to extend their wicked and grosse superstition, to the great dishonor of Gods, and of his son Christ Iesus. Besides that, we are warlike Frenchmen, Italians, Germans, and other worthy Christians: they are of Caria, Lydia, Capadocia, and the other delicat countreys of Asia; effeminate persons brought up to pleasure. I say it not to draw you into any manifest or inevitable danger, neither to feed you with vain hope, or to fill your eares with windy words: but this I promise and assure you of, that if this siege shall continue long, hither will come such strong aid out of France, Italy, and Spain, as will serue not only to raise the siege, but to recover again the Empires of Constantinople and Trapezand. Then shall our Enemies see no good end of their counsells, but all their devices so confounded, as that they shall hardly be able by speedy flight to saue themselves. But suppose the hardest should happen, which I fear not; would not any man account his life most happily and honourably spent in defence of a good conscience, and the quarrell of Christ Iesus? Truly my great years and course of life, now almost spent in defence of the Christian Religion (as I ever desired) doth call me forth, as one so assured of that good layd up for me in heauen by Christ Iesus, (whose battell we are to fight) that I no whit fear my enemies force or future chance; which for all that, I haue as far as I could, and to the uttermost of my power so provided for, as that we shall not (I hope) bee therewith overwhelmed. Be you therefore of good cheer and comfort (as I know you are) and shew your selues valiant and courageous, which reflect wholly in your selues: and as for all the rest, time and our discretion shall well promise, I doubt not.

The valiant men and worthy soldiers, resting vpon the assurance of their aged gouernor, departed euery man to his charge, full of hope and courage. Now had the Bassa landed his great army, and sent *Demetrius* the traitorous knight, *Meligalus* his companion, with certain troupes of horsemen, and some foot, to view the ground, where he might best incampe with his Army. *Demetrius* in great pride riding about the City, was knowne by *Anthony Damboise* the Great Masters brother; by whose leaue he sallied out with a troupe of gallant horsemen, and skirmished with them. But the Turks being far more in number, cast about to haue inclosed them; which *Anthony* perceiving, turned vpon them that were coming behind him, and that with such

A such force, that he slew or wounded most part of them. In this hot skirmish, *Demetrius* hauing his horse slain vnder him, and himself ouerthrown, was there trodden to death vnder the horses feet, an end too good for so false a traitor. *Muratus* a French Knight, vnadvisedly despoiling his dead body, was by the Turks slain, and his head presented vnto the Bassa in stead of *Demetrius*.

The Bassa approaching the city, at his first coming took a great orchard, which the Great Master had strongly intrenched, and therein placed certain companies of souldiers, with some small pieces of ordnance: which place if it could haue bin kept, might fitly haue serued the defendants to haue at their pleasure sallied out vpon the enemy. But they which were appointed to the keeping thereof, either terrified with the sight of so great an Army, or els doubting to be able to hold it against so great a power, abandoned it by night, and retired into the city, leaving the great ordnance behind them for haue. In this place the Bassa, by the counsell of *George Frapain* (a Christian fugitive of the Rhodes, and now Master of his Ordinance) began to plant his battery, and from thence to batter the tower called *Nicola*, or *S. Nicolas* Tower, distant from the city 300 paces: but against this place *Damboise* had so aptly mounted two great Basilisks, that he made him glad quickly to forsake the same: yet finding no other place more conuenient for his purpose, shortly after neer to the same place he planted his batterie again, of far greater force than before; wherin, beside the ordnance of greatest charge, hee had three hundred smaller pieces for battery: wherewith at the first he did small harm, for that this *George Frapain* repenting himself (as was thought) of his foul treason, bestowed the shot to small purpose; for which cause the Bassa began to haue him in distrust: which *Frapain* perceiving, fled by night again vnto the Rhodes, and discovered vnto the great Master all the secrets of the Turks camp. The Turks continuing the batterie, had sore shaken the aforesaid Tower called *S. Nicolas*, and beaten down some part thereof; which the Christians with great industry speedily repaired in best fort they could, for all that the Turks gaue therunto a fierce assault by the space of six hours, forcing themselves to the utmost to haue taken it: but perceiving that it preuailed them nothing, they retired, hauing lost eight hundred of their men, with many others drowned in the sea, of whom the number was not knowne, and a thousand others forewounded.

*Mesithes* disappointed of his former purpose, bent his artillery against the walls of the city, and with continual batterie had made a fair breach: but *Damboise* foreseeing the danger, had with great labor cast vp such rampiers, with a countermure before the breach, that the Bassa durst not in any case adventure to enter the breach he had made. For performance of this so necessary a work, the captains themselves refused not to put to their helping hands: by whose example all the rest of the people who were able to do any thing, being moued, willingly imployed their labor vntil the work was fully finished.

Whilst these things were in doing, *Caly Bassa* the yonger (a great Courtier) was sent from *Mahomet*, to see with what successe the siege went forward. Vpon whose arriual it was giuen out through all the Turks camp, that *Mahomet* was in person himself coming to the siege with 100000 men, and 150 pieces of great ordnance. These news (of purpose deuised to the terror of the defendants) being blown out of the camp into the city, struck an exceeding great fear into the minds of some of the defendants, and so discouraged the Spaniards, with their night neighbors that came from Navar, that they began openly to reason in their conventicles, that it was not possible for the city to be defended against such a power; and therefore after an insolent manner desired leaue to be gon, to the great discouragement of the rest. The Great Master vnderstanding of their doings, sent for these mutinous Spaniards, and after he had sharply reproved them both of disorder and cowardise; promised to ship them away forthwith out of the Isle; saying, That hee doubted not, right wel to defend the City against the greatest power of the Turks, without the help of such base minded cowards. In the mean time he commanded them to surcease from their mutinous talk, threatening otherwise to make them examples, what it was so much to forget themselves. But these Spaniards shortly after, better considering of the matter, and what a dishonor it would be both to themselves and their Nation, if they should so dishonourably be sent away; repenting themselves of that they had done, came and craued pardon of the Great Master: and to redeem their fault, in all sallies and seruices during that siege, shewed themselves most valiant and forward men. Neuertheless, the

the Great Master would neuer afterwards trust them in any seruice alone. The Bassa attempting much, and preuailing little, thought it would much further his designs, if hee could by any means take the Great Master out of the way, by whose carefull policie he saw all his designs were still countermanded. Wherefore to bring this his purpose to passe, he practised by the means of one *Ianus* a Dalmatian to poison him. This *Ianus* hauing conceived this treason from the Bassa, was receiued into the city of the Rhodes, as a Christian fugitiue fled from the Turks; where he acquainted himself with one *Pythius* an Epirot, of great familiarity with *Marius Philadelphus*, of late Secretary vnto *Damboys*, but as then out of fauour and in disgrace, for that he was partaker with the Spaniards in the late mutiny. *Ianus* by the meanes of this *Pythius*, whom he had now thoroughly corrupted, sought after *Philadelphus*, who then as he right well knew, liued discontented, as a fit instrument whereby to worke this wicked treason; for that he was well acquainted with the cooks and butlers, and other seruitors in the great Masters house, and himself yet there very conuerfant also. *Pythius* presuming vpon his old acquaintance and familiarity with *Philadelphus*, and waiting vpon his melancholy humour, began to perswade him to reuenge the disgrace he liued in, and withall to shew him the means how to do it, by poisoning of the Great Master; which might (as he said) fall out to his greater good than he was yet aware of. *Philadelphus* making semblant as if he had not disliked the motion, was desirous to know of him what further benefit might thereby arise to him more than reuenge. To whom *Pythius* forthwith shewed the Bassa's letters to *Ianus*, whereby hee assured him, That whatsoeuer he should promise vnto any man for the furtherance of the practise, he would to the full perform the same. *Philadelphus* hauing got full vnderstanding of the treason, presently discovered the same vnto *Damboys*: by whose commandment *Ianus* and *Pythius* were straightwayes apprehended, and being examined, confessed the whole treason. For the which *Ianus* lost his head; and *Pythius* (as he had well deserued) was shamefully hanged. *Philadelphus* for his fidelitie was pardoned his former error, and again receiued into the Great Masters fauor.

The Bassa vnderstanding that the treason was discovered, and the traitors executed, was much grieved therat. Neuertheles he ceased not with his continual battery to shake the city, but especially the castle of *S. Nicolas*, for the assailing whereof hee made wonderfull preparation. Among other things he had framed a great bridge, staid with strong ropes and cables, ouer a fret of the sea, betwixt the place of his battery & the same tower, wheron 6 men might march abreast; in which deuice he reposed great hope. But as the Turks were making fast this bridge, and had, as they thought, brought the worke to a good perfection; *Geranus Rogers* an Englishman, of great courage, and very skilfull in sea matters, found means by night to cut and break in sunder all the ropes and cables wherewith the bridge was staid: which now loose, was by the violence of the sea quickly caried away, and the Turkes disappointed of their purpose. For which good seruice he was by the Great Master honorably rewarded, and of him in publique audience highly commended.

Yet was the furious battery of the Bassa still maintained, and a new bridge framed vpon small boats and lighters, fast moored with cables and anchors, and diuers pieces of great ordnance placed in galleys and gallies. So that the tower was at one time battered both by sea and land, the defendants assailed with small shot and arrows innumerable, and the Tower at the same instant desperatly assailed. But *Damboys* had so placed his great Ordinance, that with the force thereof the bridge was broken in sunder, four great fusts fuske, with great store both of men and ordnance: the defendants also in the Tower, with shot, timber, stones, and other such like things provided for that purpose, grievously ouerwhelmed the Turks that were scaling the wals, & beat them down with great slaughter. This hot assault was desperatly maintained by the Turks, from three a clock in the morning till ten when the Bassa seeing no hope to preuail, gaue ouer the assault, hauing lost therein about 2500 men, whose dead bodies shortly after driuen on shore, were spoiled by the Christians. The same night two mercenary soldiers of Crete going about to haue fled vnto the enemy, were apprehended and put to death; and *George Frapain*, who in the beginning of the siege fled from the Turks, now againe vehemently suspected of treason, was executed also.

Thus neither force nor treason preuailing, the Bassa because he would leaue nothing vnproued that might better his cause, sent certain messengers to the Great Master, offering to him

A in the name of the Turkish Emperour, great rewards, with many honorable preferments, if he would yeeld vp the city, which he could not (as they would haue perswaded him) long hold against so mighty an enemy: wishing him now in his declining estate not to refuse such honorable and princely offers, for feare he were afterwards constrained to accept of far worse, or els through his desperat wilfulness plunge himselfe and his people into such extreme perill, as should be impossible for him or them to find any way out of. Whereunto the Great Master in brieue answered, *That he would not willingly in his sure estate use the counsell of his enemy: neither in his greatest distresse refuse cheerefully to yeeld his life vnto Almighty God, to whom he did owe it; and that wish far better will than to yeeld up the city vpon any conditions, beare they neuer so faire a shew of honor or profit.* The messengers perceiuing his constant resolution, rather to die than to yeeld his city, began (according to instructions before giuen them by the Bassa) to temper with him another way, and to perswade him to yeeld vnto the mighty Emperour some small yearly tribute or other homage, as an acknowledgement of his greatnesse, and so to liue as his friend in peace. But the Great Master knowing by the wofull examples of others, that in that small request lay included the beginning of the Turkish thraldome and slavery, utterly refused to pay him the least tribute, or to do him the least homage that could be deuised. With which answer the messengers returned, hauing obtained nothing of that they were sent for.

The resolute answer of the Great Master, reported by the aforesaid messengers vnto the Bassa, troubled him exceedingly; for though he had small hope by force to win the city, yet he was alwaies in hope vntill now, at his pleasure, to forsake the siege with some such reasonable compositions as might stand with his honor. But sith nothing remained now, but by plain force to constrain his enemies, he resolved for the safegard of his honor, in that extremity to use that extreme remedy: wherefore beside the great pieces of battery he had already planted against the wals, he mounted diuers smaller pieces much higher, thereby the more to annoy the defendants, by beating downe their churches and high built houses. His ordnance thus placed, he battered the city day and night for the space of foure daies together without intermission: during which time, the Christians out of the city spared not, liberally to bestow their shot among the enemies also: so that the aire seemed to grow thicke, and the light of the day to be darkened with smoake of the great ordnance; and the great shot came so thicke into the city, that the fearefull women and children were glad to shroud themselves from the danger thereof, in cellars and caues vnder ground. So long continued this great battery, that at length the strength of the wall gaue place to the fury of the cannon, & a faire breach was laid open for the enemy to enter: which was no sooner made, but that with the first shew thereof the Turks gaue thereunto a desperat assault; and preuailing by reason of their multitude, had vpon the sudden recovered the top of the wals, and there set vp some of their ensignes: but the Christians speedily comming in on euery side to the defence of the breach, they were againe quickly repulsed & beaten down into the ditches, out of which most of them neuer rise more. At which time the Turks in another place with their scaling ladders had gained the top of the wals, and there aduanced their ensignes also, and were now five hundred of them entred the city and come into the street called the Iew-street: where they were encountered by the Great Master and his followers, and all slain that were already entered, and their ensignes that stood vpon the wals thrown down. The rest yet scaling the wals, and ignorant of the fortune of their fellows, were likewise beaten from the wals, and with wonderfull slaughter rejected. So that the Bassa not able longer to endure the slaughter of his men, being in both places repulsed, caused a retreat to be sounded, and left the assault, wherein he had lost of his most forward men about five thousand, with final losse of the Christians. In this assault, the Great Master himselfe receiued five wounds, whereof one vnder his right pap was thought to haue been deadly: which yet afterward was very well cured with the rest.

After that the Bassa had by the space of three months to smal purpose spent all his forces and deuices vpon the city, he began to doubt whether it were better for him to raise his siege, and depart, or to tarry & expect some better fortune, which in al his former actions had seemed almost to haue waited vpon him; to forsake the siege, was dishonorable; and to continue it without hope, presented no lesse danger. Besides that, in the former assaults he had already lost nine thousand of his best souldiers, and all the rest of his army were filled with heauinesse and despair, to heare the wofull sighing and groaning of their fellows, of whom fifteen thousand lay dispersed

The resolute  
answer of the  
Great Master.

A faire breach  
made by force  
of the Turkes  
battery.

10000  
Turks  
slain in the  
assault.

disperied in the campe, sore wounded, and ready many of them to give up the ghost; and also but even a little before, two great ships sent from *Ferdinand* king of Naples with men and munition, were in despite of all the Turks galleys safely arrived at the Rhodes, to the great joy and encouragement of the besieged, & no lesse discontentment of the Turks. Whilst the Bassa was thus deliberating what course to take, a rumor was raised in the camp, That the Christian Princes were coming with great power to relieue the town with which they were the whole army was exceedingly troubled, whereupon he raised his siege. Some others say that *Mahomet* hearing of the euill successe of his army in the Island of the Rhodes, with the difficulty of the siege, and now ready to go in person himselfe against the Sultan of Egypt, sent for the Bassa, and that so the siege was raised. Howsoeuer it was, the Bassa before his departure caused all the vines and trees growing in that part of the Island, to be cut down and spoyled, and so after he had poured forth his fury vpon the fenceles creatures, which he could not according to his desire exercise vpon the people, again imbarked his army, and with shame departed, the seventeenth of August.

At the same time that the Rhodes was thus besieged, *Mahomet* sent his old and most expert Captain *Achmetes* Bassa, with a great fleet and a strong army to make an entrance into Italy (for Rome was so strong, which the ambitious tyrant in the pride of his heart thought not he might new command) and having long before conquered Constantinople, otherwise called new Rome, was still dreaming (I wot not what) of the conquest of old Rome also. The mischievous Bassa according to his Great masters designs, imbarked his army at Vallona (otherwise called Aulona) a sea town in the borders of Macedonia; and from thence passing directly ouer that narrow sea, which is in breadth about 60 miles, landed his men in that rich and fertile part of Italy, called in antient time Apulia (now Puglia) neer to the old and famous city of Hydruntum, at this called Otranto: where as soon as this warlike Bassa had landed his forces, he foraged all that rich country along the sea coast, and took such infinite spoyle as might well haue satisfied the greedy desire both of himselfe and of his hungry souldiers: all which rich booty he caused to be conueyed into his galleys. So when he had at his pleasure ranged vp and down the country by the space of fourteen daies; and saw that none made head against him, he layd siege to Otranto, the chiefe city of that country, and as it were the key of that part of Italy: and having with such ordnance as he took out of his galleys, made a breach, easily entered the same, and so without any great losse took the city. A thing not greatly to be marvelled at, forasmuch as it was but weakly manned, and more weakly defended, by men altogether lining in security in the midst of their wealth and pleasure. The Archbishop, with *Zurlo* the Gouernour, and the chiefe men of the city, for safeguard of their liues fled into the great Cathedral Church, as into a Sanctuary, where they were all together most miserably slain. The rest of the citizens, whose hard fortune it was to escape the sword (as people referred to moe misery) were afterward shipt ouer into Græcia, and there sold for slaves. The landing of the Turks in Apulia, with the taking of Otranto, brought a general feare vpon all Italy, inasmuch that *Sextus Quintus*, then the great Bishop of Rome, forgetting all things saue himselfe, was about to haue forsaken the city for feare. Now after the Turks had at their pleasure ransacked Otranto, *Achmetes* caused the same to be strongly fortified (as the sure footing of the Turks in Italy) and victualled for eighteen months, and there leauing eight thousand of his best soldiers in garrison, returned himselfe with the rest to Vallona, and so by land to Constantinople to know his great Masters further pleasure: but purposing with himselfe, with the first of the next spring to haue returned with greater forces again to Italy, for the prosecuting of his former victory. Which if he had don, it was greatly to haue bin feared, that all that goodly country, sometime mistress of the World, but then and yet also rent in sunder by the discord and ambition of the Christian Princes, had in short time become a prey vnto the barbarous Turk for euer.

But whilst the great Bassa (in his life time the great scourge of Christendome) thus proudly plotteth the ruine and destruction of faire Italy: God, in whose hands the hearts of Kings are put and lockt in the great tyrants nose, and led him quite another way. For at the same time the Caramanian King, aided by the Persian and the Sultan of Egypt, had in a great battell ouerthrowne *Bajazet* (*Mahomet*s eldest sonne then liuing) and slain most part of his army: in revenge whereof, *Mahomet* with great expedition raised a great and puissant army, and taking

*Achmetes* with him as his chiefe man of war, rejecting the wars of Italy vnto a more conuenient time, passed ouer into Asia: where vpon the way, about a daies journey short of Nicomedia a city of Bithynia, at a place called Geuifin he fell sicke, and there for the space of three daies grievously tormented with an extreme paine in his belly (which some supposed to be the colicke) died; but being indeed as most men thought paysoned; when he had liued about 52 yeares, and thereof reigned 31, in the yeare of our Lord 1481. His body was afterwards magnificently buried in a chappell neere vnto the great Mahometan temple, which he himselfe first built at Constantinople.

*Mahomet* died at Geuifin in Bithynia, not without suspicion of payson.

The death of this mighty man (who liuing troubled a great part of the World) was not much more lamented by those that were neere vnto him, (who euer liuing in feare of his cruelty, hated him deadly) than of his enemies, who euer in doubt of his greatnesse, were glad to heare of his end. He was of stature but low, and nothing answerable to the height of his mind, square set, and strong limbed, not inferior in strength (when he was young) vnto any in his fathers Court, but to *Scanderbeg* only: his complexion was Tartar-like, fallow and melancholy, as were most of his ancestors the *Othoman* Kings; his looke and countenance sterne, with his eyes piercing, hollow, and a little sunke as it were into his head, and his nose so high and crooked, that it almost touched his vpper lip. To be brieue, his countenance was altogether such, as if Nature had with most cunning hand therein depainted and most curiously set forth to view the inward disposition and qualities of his mind, which were on both parts notable. He was of a very sharpe and apprehensue wit, learned, as amongst that nation, especially in Astronomy, and could speake the Greeke, Latine, Arabicke, Chaldee, and Persian Tongues. He delighted much in regarding of Histories, and the liues of worthy men, especially the liues of *Alexander* the Great, and of *Julius Cesar*, whom he proposed to himselfe as examples to follow. He was of an exceeding courage, and thereto very fortunate; a seuerer punisher of iniustice, in them especially to whom he had committed the administration of iustice. Men that excelled in any quality, he greatly fauoured and honourably entertained: as he did *Gentill Bellin* a Painter of Venice, whom he purposely caused to come from thence, to Constantinople, to draw the liuely counterfeite of himselfe, for which he most honourably rewarded him. He so seuerely punished theft, as that in his time all the waies were safe, and a theefe scarcely to be heard of. But these good parts were in him obscured with most horrible and notorious vices: for why, he was altogether irreligious, and of all others most perfidious, ambitious aboue measure, and in nothing more delighted, than in blood: in so much that it is probably gathered, that he was in his time the death of eight hundred thousand men: craft, couetousnesse, and dissimulation, were in him accounted for tollerable faults, in comparison of his greater vices. In his loue was no assurance, and his least displeasure was death: so that he liued feared of all men, and died lamented of none. He had issue three sonnes, *Mustapha* (dead before him, as is before declared) *Bajazet*, and *Gemes*, or rather *Zemes*, of some called *Zizimus*, competitor of the Empire with his eldest brother; whom he exceedingly troubled in the beginning of his reigne, so that he could not well attend any other thing but him: which opportunity (by God himselfe no doubt offered for the safeguard of Italy) *Alphonse* Duke of Calabria (King *Ferdinand*s eldest sonne) taking hold vpon, with all the power he could make in Italy, besieged the Turks in Otranto; with whom he had many sharpe skirmishes, wherein he lost diuers of his great Captaines and Commanders, as the Countie *Julio de Aquaina*, *Loy de Capua*, and the Countie *Julio de Pisa*, with others, and was still by the strong garrison of the Turks put to the worse; vntill such time as being strengthened with aid out of Spaine and Portugall, (but especially with certaine companies of most valliant souldiers sent from *Matthias Coruinus* out of Hungary, whose forces the Turks most feared) he began to cut them short, and streitly besieged the city both by sea and land: vntill at length the besieged Turks hearing of the death of the great Emperour, and now hardly pressed with the dangers of a streit siege, no longer expecting the returne of *Achmetes* their Generall, (then ready to haue come to their rescue with five and twenty thousand souldiers) yeelded vp the city vnto the Duke, vpon composition before made, That they might with bag and baggage in safety depart thence: which they did, after they had to the great terrour of all Italy holden that strong city by the space of a yeare. And so was that rich Countrey rather by the mercy of God (in taking away the great Tyrant) preserved, than by the strength or policy of the

1481 He is buried at Constantinople, the description of Mahomet's

The sonnes of Mahomet, Mustapha, Bajazet, and Zemes.

Otranto yeelded up to the Turks vpon composition.

Inhabitants, which was then in great danger to haue for euer giuen place vnto the power of the great tyrant, had he longer liued; yea, and after his death, to the power of *Bajazet* his son, had he not by domesticall troubles bene inforced to turne himsele another way, and as it were to neglect in time to relieue his distressed garrison in Otranto, as shall hereafter be declared.

FINIS.

Christian Princes of the same time with Mahomet the Great.	Emperors	Of the East	Constantinus Palaeologus, last Christian Emperor of Constantinople,	1444. 8
		Of the West	Frederick the third, Archduke of Austria,	1440 54
	Kings	Of England	Henry the sixth,	1422. 39
			Edward the fourth,	1460. 22
		Of France	Charles the seventh,	1423. 38
			Lewis the eleventh,	1461. 22
		Of Scotland	James the second,	1437. 24
			James the third,	1460. 29
	Bishops of Rome	Nicolas the V,		1437. 8
		Calixtus the III,		1455. 3
		Pius the II,		1458. 6
		Paulus the II,		1464. 7
		Sixtus the IV,		1471. 13



Phil. T. enicer.  
Tur. H. & L. t.

*Arma manu quatunt fratres hostilia regnum,  
Hinc Bajazethes, Zizimus inde petit.  
Bajazethes rerum potitur, Rhodon, inde Quiritum.  
Zizimus extrema mania sorte petit.  
Sustinet & bello, variis & pace, procellas,  
Bajazethes salix & miser, inter opes.  
Iam senio tremulus, fert bella domestica, regno,  
Agnato eiectus, dira venena bibit.*

Like earth borne brethren, Bajazet and Zizimus in armes,  
Seek for the Turkish Empire great, the one by th' others harmes.  
Vntill that Bajazet preuail'd, and Zizimus was faine  
To fly to Rhodes, from thence to Rome, whereas he caught his baine.  
Great stormes endured Bajazet in peace and bloody broyles:  
A man both happy and accurst, amongst his richest spoiles.  
But now forworne with trembling age, and ciuill discords new,  
Thrust from his Empire by his sonne, died poysoned by a Jew.



## THE LIFE OF BAI AZET, SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND SECOND EMPEROR OF THE TURKES.



Pon the death of Mahomet the late Emperor, great troubles began to arise about the succession in the Turkish empire; some of the Bassa's and great captaines seeking to place Bajazet, the eldest son of Mahomet, in the Empire; and others with no lesse deuotion labouring to preferre Zemus, or Gemes, otherwise called Zizimus, Bajazet his younger brother. By occasion whereof there arose two great and mighty factions, which in few daies grew to such heat, that many great tumults and hot skirmishes were made in the imperiall city, betwixt the fauourits of both factions, and great slaughter committed. In these broiles the proud Ianizaries for an old grudge slew Mahomethes one of the foure great Bassa's, a man by whose graue counsell most of the weighty affaires of the Turkish empire had been managed during the reign of the late Emperour: and proceeding further in their accustomed insolency, spoiled all the Christians and Lewes which dwelt amongst them, of all their wealth and substance; at which time the rich merchants and citifens of Constantinople which were naturall Turks themselves, escaped not their rauinous hands, but became vnto them a prey and spoyle also. The other three Bassa's of the court, Isaac, Mesithes, and Achmetes, (lately returned from the winning of Hydruntum in Italy) although they secretly maligned and enuied one at the greatnesse of another, yet to appease these so dangerous troubles, and to assure their owne estates, joyned hands together, and by their great authority, and multitude of followers and fauourits, found meanes that Corcutus (one of the younger sonnes of Bajazet, a young Prince of eightene yeres old) was as it were by the generall consent of the Nobility and souldiers saluted Emperour, and with great triumph and solemnity placed in the Imperiall seat. In whose name, the aforesaid Bassa's at their pleasure disposed of all things, litle or nothing regarding either Bajazet or Zemes, then both absent, the one at Amasia, and the other at Iconium in Lycaonia. For the jealous Turkish Kings neuer suffer their sonnes to liue in court neere vnto them, after they be growne to yeres of discretion; but send them to gouerne their prouinces far off: where they are also vnder the command of the Emperours lieutenants generall in Asia or Europe, and may not depart from their charge without great danger, not so much as to visit their father, without expresse leaue and commandement. So jealous are those Tyrants, yea, euen of their owne sonnes.

Bajazet and Zemes hearing of the death of their father, and of the troubles in the imperiall city, hastened thitherward with all speed, where Bajazet being the neerer, first arriued: but finding the Empire already possessed by Corcutus his younger son, and himselfe excluded, he in griefe of his heart, poured forth most grieuous complaints before God and man, calling heauen and earth to witness of the great wrong and injury done vnto him by the proud Bassa's. And what by tears and humble obtestations, what by great gifts and greater promises, but most of all by the earnest labor and sollicitation of Cherseogles Viceroy of Grecia, and the Aga or captaine of the Ianizaries, both his sons in law, preuailed so much with the great Bassa's & souldiers of the court, that Corcutus being of a mild and courteous disposition, ouercome by their intrea-

Bajazet com-  
meib to Con-  
stantinople.

ty, and the reuerence of his father, resigned vnto him the imperiall government, which he presently took vpon him with the generall good liking of the people, and made *Corutus* Governour of Lycia, Caria, and Ionia, with the pleasant and rich countries thereabouts, allowing him a great yearly pension for the better maintenance of his estate, with promise also of the empire after his deceale: and so sent him away to his charge, where he most pleasantly liued during the reigne of his father *Bajazet*, giuing himselfe wholly to the study of Philosophy, which made that he was afterwards lesse fauoured of the Ianizaries and other men of war.

*Zemes* thus preuented by his elder brother, and vnderstanding by his friends how all things stood at Constantinople, and that *Bajazet* was already possessed of the empire; returning with great speed, raised a puissant army in the countries which were vnder his command, and marching through the heart of Asia the lesse, by the way as he went, tooke into his possession such cities and strong places as he thought best; and so entring into Bichynia, tooke the great city of Prusa, the ancient seat of the *Othoman* Kings. Purposing in himselfe, that as *Bajazet* had shut him out of Europe, so he would also in requitall thereof exclude him out of that part of the Turkish empire which is beyond Hellepontus in Asia, & to make himselfe lord thereof. When in fortune at the first seemed vnto him most fauourable, all the people wheresoeuer he came yielded vnto him obedience as vnto their Prince and Soueraigne: so that in short time he seemed both vnto himselfe and to others, in strong possession of that part of the Empire.

Of these his proceedings *Bajazet* hauing intelligence, and perceiving the greater part of his empire now in danger to be lost, and doubting further, that *Zemes* his ambitious mind would hardly rest therewith long contented; for remedy of so great a mischiefe leuied a strong and puissant army, wherewith he passed ouer into Asia, and came to Neapolis a City of Anatolia, neere where vnto *Zemes* lay with his army strongly incamped. As *Bajazet* was vpon the way against his brother, *Achmetes* the great Bassa (in the confession of all men the best man of war and most expert Capitaine amongst the Turks, and of all others most entirely beloued of the Ianizaries) came, and vnarmed presented himselfe vpon his knees before *Bajazet*, his sword hanging at his saddle bow: to the admiration of many, who could not but wonder to see so worthy a Chieftaine of so great place in time of seruice, without any apparant cause, in such humble manner to appeare before his Soueraigne, as if he had had nothing to do with armes. It chanced many years before, in the mortall warres betwixt *Mahomet* the late and great Emperour of the Turks, and *Assymbelus* *Vsun-Cassanes* the King of Persia, that *Bajazet* hauing the leading of the right wing of his fathers Army, had not martialled it in so good order as was to *Achmetes* his good liking: for which cause he commanded this *Achmetes* to goe and set that part of the battell in better order. Which his Soueraignes command whiles he most skilfully performed, *Bajazet* taking it in euill part, as tending to his owne disgrace, in great choler threatned the Bassa, to finde a time when he would be reuenged vpon him. But hee being a man of great spirit, and one that durst both do and say much, perceiving his meaning, bid him doe what pleased him; and laying his hand vpon his sword, solemnly vowed, That whentoeuer he came to command as Emperour, he would neuer weare sword in field: the remembrance whereof was the cause that he then came in manner aforesaid, ready to serue if he were there to be commanded, or otherwise, to endure what so his Princes pleasure was. *Bajazet* perceiving that the vnkindenesse so long before conceiued, was not yet digested, in token of grace stretched out to him his scepter, and taking him vp, commanded him to girt his sword vnto his side, and not to remember that which he had long before both forgien and forgotten. And knowing right well that he was a most valiant and expert capitaine, made him Generall of his army, to the great contentment of the Ianizaries and the rest of the army; who as they saw him, gaue out diuers great shouts for joy, as if victorie had most assuredly attended vpon him. *Achmetes* taking vpon him the charge, came and incamped so neere as he could to *Zemes*, and so lay by the space of ten daies: during which time, many sharpe skirmishes were made with diuers fortune; sometime the one side preuailing, and sometime the other. At length the matter was brought to a generall battell; wherein after a long and cruell fight, and great slaughter on both sides, the fortune of *Bajazet*, conducted by the policy of *Achmetes*, preuailed against *Zemes*. Who seeing his Army ouerthrowne, betooke himselfe to flight, and came to Iconium: in which flight many of *Zemes* his followers were taken prisoners; whom *Bajazet* would haue pardoned and enlarged, but that by the persua-

sion

A sion of *Achmetes* he changed his mind, and to the terrour of others suffered them all to be put to the sword.

*Zemes* doubting after this ouerthrow to fall into his brothers hands, and finding no means to make head againe: when he had staied three daies at Iconium, caused his treasure, plate, jewels, and other things of great value and light carriage to be trusted vp, and taking with him his mother and his two yong children, a sonne and a daughter, accompanied with a small retinue, fled into Syria; then part of the dominion of *Caytbey*, commonly called the great Sultan of Egypt and Syria. It was not long after the departure of *Zemes* from Iconium, but that *Bajazet* came thither with his army, to haue surprised him: but vnderstanding of his flight, hee tooke order for the peaceable government of that part of his Empire. And so hauing suppressed that dangerous rebellion, and againe reduced that troubled part of his Empire to his obedience, returned with victory to Constantinople.

The distressed Prince *Zemes* traueilling through Syria, came at length to Ierusalem: where he stayed a good space, deuoutly visiting the monuments of that most antient and famous city. From thence he trauelled into Egypt, where at his first entrance into the country, he was met by diuers of the greatest nobility of that kingdome, sent from the great Sultan, by whom he was honourably conducted to Caire, and there presented to *Caytbey*, of whom he was graciously welcommed: vnto whom after due reuerence done, he declared the cause of his coming, as followeth:

C If it were not to me certainly knowne (most victorious) that you are not ignorant either who I am, or from whence descended, or with what injury enforced, after long and painefull trauell I am here arrived, it would much concerne me to use another manner of beginning of my speech, and with greater protestation of words to seeke your gracious fauour. But forasmuch as all these things are vnto your most royall Majesty sufficiently knowne, as I do well perceiue in this, that your infinite clemency hath entertained me with farre greater kindenesse, than I in such my aduerser fortune durst wish for, much lesse request: Now nothing remaineth for me to say, more than justly to complaine vnto your inuincible Majesty, of the wrong and injury done vnto me by *Bajazet*, whom I may more justly tearme my cruell enemy than kinde brother. For he not contented to haue taken vnto himselfe my fathers Empire by great tumult and slaughter, hath with all hostility and force of armes persecuted me his brother, excluded out of the Imperiall City, and then lying in Bythinia, troublesome neither to him, nor any of his people, and neuer rested untill he had chased me out of the bounds of my fathers Empire. Neither hath the jealous desire of Soueraignty (whereof my father whilest he liued, had him alwaies in distrust) so much moued him vnto this so cruell fact, as a certaine vnnaturall cruelty towards all his kindred in generall, and mortall hatred against me his brother in particular: for he which is already possessed of the Empire, and doth with all hostility persecute a private person, subject and exposed to his injury, that man thirsteth not after Soueraignty, but after blood; neither desireth he to conquer, but to kill. And whereas after my fathers death great troubles arose in Constantinople, and many bloody skirmishes were fought betwixt the fauouriers of both of vs, it cannot with any truth be laied to my charge, as done by mine aduise or counsell, I being at the same time so farre from thence. Neither am I justly to be blamed, if that after my fathers departure I put my selfe vpon the way towards Constantinople, especially being sent for thither by many my good friends, men of great marke and quality: but his fortune preuailing, I gaue place, and left my coming to the Imperiall City might haue bene the occasion of new troubles, I returned aside into Bythinia, and so to Prusa, with purpose there to haue rested in quiet, if my brother would haue giuen me leaue. But so farre was he from that, to suffer me there to rest, as that I was by him most cruelly assailed as an open enemy: and had I not by speedy flight withdrawn my selfe from the imminent danger, and departed quicke out of my fathers kingdome, I must haue geelded my selfe, my blood, and life, as a sacrifice into his cruell hands. Neither is he to me so mortall an enemy, or thirsteth after my life so much for feare, as for venging hatred and malice: for what is there in me to feare? Verily nothing: Constantinople is his, the fauour of the great Chieftaines and men of warre is his, the treasure and regall riches are all his; wherefore he hateth his brother, but feareth him not. He will sway all things alone, he will haue all that belongeth to the Othoman family alone, and he, yea, none but he, must liue alone. Xerxes was a mighty King, and yet in that great and large Kingdome he not onely preserved his brethren in safety, but had them also in great honour and estimation. What did Alexander the Great? Who not onely tooke pleasure in

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his brother, but had him also as a companion of his most glorious expedition: and many other famous Kings of strange Nations, and of our owne family, haue ruled both more safely, and better strengthened, with the counsell and aid of their most louing brethren, rather than with others. But Bajazet is of a far other minde, reputing violence and haughtinesse of heart to be his greatest and surest defence: herein his fortune delighteth, more than in the lawfull course of nature, justice, and equity; he had rather haue his brother his enemy than his friend, and to drine him into exile, than to make him partaker of his counsell. But I beseech thee most puissant Monarch, the faithfull keeper and maintainer of our Law and Religion, by the sacred reliques of our great Prophet Mahomet, which thou hast at Ierusalem and Atecha, suffer me not, a Kings sonne, to liue in banishment and exile, poore and miserable, a pson of his brothers cruelty, farre from home, farre from his country and Kingdome; but regarding the Law of the great Prophet, lift up the afflicted and oppressed, and by the great authority which you haue, to alleuie domesticall wrong; or if that will not take place, reuenge it with thy sword, and suffer not our Empire, with so great a trauell founded, by the cruelty or folly of one wilfull man to be overthrowne: which should be no more grievous and lamentable to vs, than dangerous to your most high estate, and all other Kings and Princes of our Religion. For you of your selfe vnderstand right well, what deadly enemies the Christian Princes are vnto the Turks: and do you thinke that if any great warre (which I must needs should arise) of this our discord, what they would long rest in quiet, and as idle beholders stand looking on, until it were of it selfe appeased? Or rather hauing such an opportunity presented, would not with might and maine suddenly inuade our Kingdome, before shaken with ciuile warres, and seeke the utter ruine and destruction of the same? Which their desire if that hatefull people could bring to passe (which thing Mahomet turne vpon himselfe) my minde abhorreth to thinke how farre that mischief would runne: For the Ottoman family once rooted out, there is none of our Religion, (your Maestie only excepted) which is able to withstand their power: wherefore you must then stand for your selfe and all the rest, you alone must withstand the force of the Christians, you must maintaine that warre with much losse, and greater charge, and most vncertaine successe. Wherefore, inuincible Monarch, I most humbly beseech thee, that pitying our estate, whiles the matter is yet whole, and remedy is yet to be had, to deale with Bajazet by your Embassadours, That though he will not receiue me his brother as partner of the Empire, yet at least to admit me into some small part of my fathers Kingdome: Let him name and rule, let all things be at his command; let it be lawfull for me poore man but to liue in rest and quiet somewhere, possing but so much as may suffice me honestly to leade a priuate life. Which thing, if he shall refuse to grant, although he neither feare the Lawes of God or man, yet as I haue at Ierusalem, so will I also shortly at Atecha (if by your leave I may) complaine vnto the great Prophet, of the injuries done vnto me by my cruell and unnatural brother; and afterwards make prooffe of your compassion towards me, at which I hope shall much auaile. But if (which I would not) I shall proue all these things in vaine, with desperation enforce me to all extremities, I will goe with fire, sword, and slaughter, by secret and open force, by right and wrong, and hatred, will vex my hatefull brother by all manner of misdeeds, by all manner of reuenge. Neither will I make an end of confounding of all, until I be either receiued into part of the Empire, or else together with my life leaue those desperate and lost things for him alone to enjoy. For I deeme it much better, quickly to die, than with disgrace and infamy to protract a long and loathed life.

The great Sultan in courteous manner comforted the distressed prince, willing him to be of good cheere and patiently to beare his present hap: forasmuch as it became a man borne in so high fortune, not to be discouraged with any mischance, or dismayed if things fell out otherwise than he looked for: commending him withall, for that he saw in him no lesse courage than might well haue becommen his better estate; and willing him to liue still in hope, promised to do what in him lay, to reconcile him to his brother, and to persuaade him that he might be receiued into some part of the kingdome: and to that purpose shortly after dispatched away an honorable embassage to Bajazet. Zemes in the meane while, by the same Sultans leave, vpon a superstitious deuotion trauelled into Arabia, to visit the temple of Mahomet at Mecha, and his sepulchre at Medina. Vpon his returne to Caire, the Embassadors before sent, returned also, but not hauing obtained any thing they desired: for Bajazet would not giue eare to any agreement, but seemed altogether to contemne and despise his brother. Wherefore Zemes more vpon stomacke & desire of reuenge, than for any hope he had of the Empire, determined with himselfe

A) himselfe, to make open war vpon him; reposing some good hope in his secret friends, and in the reuolt of some of the great capitaines, who discontented with the gouernment of Bajazet, secretly wished for his returne.

Whilest he was thus plotting these weighty matters, a messenger with letters came slyly from the King of Caramania, offering with all the power he could make, to ioyne with him, if he would take vp armes against his brother. This poore titular King then liued in Armenia, and being able by his friends to make some good force, was in hope by joyning with Zemes, to recouer some part of the Caramanian Kingdome, from whence his father was not many yeres before driuen by the force of the late Turkish Emperour Mahomet the Great, Bajazet his father. It is hard to say, whither of these distressed and exiled Princes gaue the greater encouragement to the other, to take this desperate war in hand, being both together far vnable by all the friends they could make, to encounter with the great power of Bajazet. But what is so dangerous or desperat, which aspiring minds will not attempt in hope of a Kingdome whose brightnesse so dazeleth their eies, that they can see nothing but it.

Hereupon Zemes hauing received great gifts of the Egyptian Sultan, with promise of aid, departed from Caire (the Sultan earnestly persuaading him to the contrary) and as it was before appointed, met with the Caramanian King vpon the borders of Asia the lesser: where they concluded to ioyne together such forces as they had, and to inuade Bajazet. Which they accordingly did: for raising all the power they could, they entred into Cilicia, (now called Caramania) and joyning their armies together, incamped betwene Iconium and Larenda. C) Neither did Bajazet in time of so great a danger sit still; not so much fearing his brothers power, as the reuolting of his capitaines: souldiers, whom he knew either to loue, or at least not to hate the young Prince his brother. Wherefore he raised a great army, and sent Achmetus (the great wan of war) before with the one part thereof, himselfe following after with a far greater strength: for at that time he had vnder his ensignes two hundred thousand men.

As he was marching with this great army, a rumor was raised in the campe, That some of his chiefe capitaines had conspired to betray him into the hands of his brother, and that many of the souldiers secretly fauouring Zemes, would vpon the joyning of the battell forsake him, and take part with his brother. Which report so troubled Bajazet, that he stood in doubt what to doe, or whom to trust: but knowing that nothing winneth the heart of the common soldier D) more, than the Generals bounty, he forthwith caused a wonderfull masse of money to be diuided amongst the capitaines and souldiers, lading their minds with ample promises of far greater rewards, for their fidelity and valour to be shewed in that present seruice. Hauing thus assured himselfe of the wauering minds of his souldiers, he began to draw neere to Iconium, where his enemies lay incamped: and by glosing letters and flattering messengers made shew openly, as if he had beene very desirous to come to some good agreement with them, but secretly went about to stop all the streits and passages, in such manner as that it should not be possible for them againe to retyre backe into Syria: for he doubted nothing more, but least they being few in number, and in strength far vnequall vnto him, would not vpon so great disadvantage hazard the fortune of a battell, but retyre themselves into Syria, and so to his exceeding trouble and infinite charge protract that war.

Zemes perceiuing his brothers subtil drift, and seeing no such reuolt as he had hoped for, and as had before by letters to him bin promised; and weighing with reason his owne weak forces, retyred in good time vnto the streits of the mountain Amanus, which diuideth Cilicia from Syria. Here, despairing of all good successe in the enterprise he had taken in hand, he persuaaded the Caramanian King his confederate to giue place vnto the time, and to reserue himselfe vnto his better fortune: and so breaking vp his army, with a few of his followers came down to the sea coast of Cilicia; where he hired a tall ship to attend in readinesse, that if any sudden danger should arise, he might go aboard, and so saue himselfe by sea. In the mean time he sent a messenger vnto Damboys Great Master of the Rhodes, certifying him; That for as much as he had no place of safety left amongst his owne people, wherein he might shroud himselfe from the fury of his brother, still seeking after his life, he would vpon his safe conduct come to him into the Island of the Rhodes. Which his request the Great Master easily granted, deeming the flight of so great a Prince from the Turke, to be a thing much profitable to the Christian Commonweale: and thereupon he presently sent forth certaine gallies to fetch him

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The king of Caramania solicited Zemes to take up armes against Bajazet

Zemes flyes to sea.

him from the troublesome coast of Cilicia. But before these galleys were come, Zemes was in-  
forced by the sudden access of his enemies, for the avoiding of present danger, to go aboard  
on that ship which hee had providently before prepared to be in readinesse for such purpose.  
And having put a little from the shore, shot back again an arrow with letters made fast vnto  
it, directed vnto his brother Bajazet, containing as followeth:

*Thou knowest (most unkind and cruel brother) that I fly not vnto the Christians, the mortal Enemies  
of the Othoman family, for hatred of my religion and nation; but enforced therunto by thy inuasions  
dealing, and dangerous practises which thou incessantly attemptest against me, yea even in my extreme  
miserie. But this assured hope I carry with me, that the time will come when as thou the author of so  
great wrong, or thy children, shall receive the iust guerdon of this thy present tyrannie against mee thy  
brother.*

It is reported, That when Bajazet had read these letters, he was so troubled in mind, that for  
certaine daies he gaue himself wholly to mourning and heavines, and would in no wise be  
comforted: in somuch that he was brought into the campe by the Bassaes, as a man halfe di-  
straught of his wits, shunning for a season all mens speech and company.

Zemes failing to the Rhodes, was there honorably received of the Great Master, and all the  
rest of the knights of the Order: to whom in their publick assembly three days after, he openly  
declared the causes of the discord betwixt his brother and him; alledging, for colour, of his  
rebellion, That although Bajazet were his elder brother, yet that he was born whilst his father  
yet liued in priuat estate, vnder subiection and command, long before he possessed the King-  
dome, and so no Kings son: whereas he himselfe was the first born of his father; being an Em-  
perour, and so not heire of his fathers priuat fortune, as was Bajazet, but of his greatest honor  
and empire; and yet not of such an haughty mind, as that he could haue bin content to haue  
given place to his brother, so that he could haue bin contented, likewise to haue granted him  
some small portion of the empire, wherein he might safely haue liued as a poor prince, and his  
brother: but that such was his pride, as that hee would not vouchsafe to suffer him to liue so  
much as a poor priuat life in any corner of so large an empire, and was therefore by his vnna-  
turall and tyrannous dealing, enforced to craue aid of the Christian princes; of whom forso-  
much as he had alwaies heard much honor, he was in good hope to find succor and reliefe in  
that his distressed estate; protesting vnto God and the world, That if euer it should bee his  
good fortune by their means and help to obtain the empire, he would neuer be vnmindfull of  
so great a benefit, but to make with them a perpetual and inuolable peace, and so to rest their  
fast friend for euer. The great Master on the other side, comforting him with cheerfull spee-  
ches, promised to keep him in safety from the fury of his brother, and further to commend  
his cause to the other Kings and Princes of Christendome.

This exiled prince Zemes was about the age of 28 years when he came to the Rhodes; of  
stature tall, somewhat corpulent and well limbd, gray eyed, but looking somewhat askint; hook  
nosed, and in the middle rising, in such maner as the Persians commend in their Kings; of co-  
lour brown, spare of speech, and by nature cholericke; a great feeder, so that he seemed rather  
to deuour his meat, than to eat it; much delighted in swimming, & to lie abroad in the night;  
pensieue and melancholy, which men imputed to his great cares, neuer merry but in the com-  
pany of the grand Master: a religious obseruer of the superstition from which he could neuer  
be withdrawn during the long time he liued in exile: learned as among the Turks, so that hee  
wrote the history of his fathers life. But leauing him in safe keeping with the grand Master  
of the Rhodes, let vs again return to the course of our history.

Bajazet having now the second time chased away his brother, after he had well quieted that  
part of his troubled kingdom in Asia, returned againe to Constantinople, carefully attending  
when some new motion should be made by his brother to his further disquiet. But when hee  
vnderstood that he was with the Great Master of the Rhodes, he sent certain of his Bassas (a-  
mongst whom Achmetes the great souldier is reported to haue bin one), vnto the Great Ma-  
ster, requesting him to deliuer vp Zemes, offering for him a wonderful sum of money. Which  
dishonourable request when it could by no means be obtained, the said Embassadors in the  
name of their master concluded a peace very commodious for the Rhodians; wherein among  
other things it was agreed, That the Great Master should keep Zemes in safe custody, so that  
hee should no more trouble the Turkish Empire: in consideration whereof, and for his ho-  
nourable

A notable vsage, Bajazet should yearely pay vnto the Great Master thirty thousand duckats the  
first of August, which was afterward accordingly paid.

It fortuned that whilst Achmetes the great Bassa (employed in matters abroad) was absent  
from the court, Bajazet discoursing with the other Bassaes his graue counsellors, vpon his late  
expedition into Asia against his brother, seemed to be highly offended with the vntrustinesse  
and doubtfull faith of some of his greatest captains and souldiers; yet vpon whom he might  
justly lay the blame, he well knew not, although it seemed by his talke, he should somewhat  
distrust the great capitaine Achmetes. Hereupon Isaac the most ancient Bassa of the court, and of  
greatest authority next vnto Bajazet himselfe (whose daughter, a lady of exceeding beauty,  
Achmetes had long before married, but doubting that she had yeelded her honour to the wan-  
ton lust of Mustapha the eldest son of Mahomet the late Emperour, had put her from him, and  
would by no means be reconciled; for which cause there was a secret hatred euer after betwixt  
those two great Bassaes) perceiuing the Emperours discontented and suspitious humour, and  
desiring nothing more than the destruction of Achmetes, took hold vpon this opportunity, and  
by all meanes he could deuise, encreased the suspicion of the treason, which had already too  
much possessed the jealous Emperour: sometimes craftily imagining, intelligence to haue pas-  
sed betwixt Zemes and Achmetes; and forthwith amplifying his power and authority, which  
(as he said) was so great with the Ianizaries and souldiers of the court, that they by reason of  
his often imployments, were wholly at his deuotion; so that he might at his pleasure do more  
in Zemes his quarrell, than should stand for the safety of Bajazet; a matter well to be considered

C of, and also carefully preuented. For remedy of which dangers, it was thought necessary, that  
Achmetes at his returne to court, should be taken away and slaine.

*Achmetes his  
death contri-  
ued.*

Achmetes fearing nothing lesse than that which was contriued against him, came after his  
wonted manner to the court; and was with the other great Bassaes inuited to a solemne supper  
which Bajazet had commanded to be prepared, to solace himselfe after his trauels (as it was  
given out) with his chiefe Bassaes. To this royall supper came Achmetes with the rest of the  
bidden guests, mistrusting nothing, and was there sumptuously feasted by Bajazet: who to  
make his guests the merrier, dranke wine plentifully himselfe, causing them also to drinke in  
like manner; so that they were full of wine: a thing vtterly forbidden by their law, yet dayly  
more and more vsed, especially by their great men in their feasts. Supper now ended, and the  
D night far spent, Bajazet in token that they were welcome, and stood in his good grace, caused  
certaine rich robes of pleasing colours to be brought forth, and to be cast vpon euery of his  
guests one, giuing besides vnto euery one of them a faire guilt boule full of gold. But vpon  
Achmetes was cast a gowne of blacke veluet, which among the Turks may well be called the  
mantle of death, being so sure a token of the Emperours heauy indignation, as that it is death  
for any man once to open his mouth, or to intreat for him vpon whom it is by the Emperours  
commandement so cast. Achmetes seeing himselfe now vnder the shadow of death, and know-  
ing it but vaine to intreat for mercy, as he was a man of great spirit, brake forth and said, *Oh  
casspegly* (which is as much as to say, thou sonne of a whore) sith thou intendedst so much cru-  
elty against me, why didst thou not put it in execution before thou hadst inforced me to drinke  
E this impure and forbidden wine? and so casting his eyes vpon the ground sat still. The other  
Bassa's hauing leaue to depart, giuing thanks to the Emperour, and craving pardon for their ex-  
cesse, kissed the ground at his feet and so departed: with whom Achmetes offered to haue gone  
out also, but was forthwith commanded to sit still, for that the Emperour had to talke with  
him in secret. The Bassa's were no sooner departed, but the terrible executioners of Bajazet his  
wrath stept in, and laid hands vpon Achmetes to haue slaine him; when one of the Eunuchs in  
greatest fauor with the tyrant, standing by, aduised him not to be too hasty in executing of so  
great a man, so entirely beloued of his best souldiers and men of war, but rather to stay his ex-  
ecution for a while to see how the matter would be digested; and in the meane time by tor-  
ture to wrest it out from him what might be got, to make it in some sort appeare, that he died  
F for his due desert. Hereupon Bajazet deferred his execution to a further time, and caused him  
there presently to be stript, and carried away to be tortured.

Amongst other gallants of the court which attended the comming out of the great Bassaes  
whom they followed, was one of Achmetes his sons, a gentleman of great hope, who missing  
his father among the rest, began presently to mistrust that all went not wel; & speedily running  
from

*Achmetes his  
son stirreth up  
the souldiers, who  
help his father.*

from one of the Bassaes to another, with much ado learned the hard estate of his father: where of he was also at the same instant aduertised by a secret friend neere about *Bajazet*. Hereupon this young gentleman began forthwith piteously to lament his fathers mishap, and to exclaim against the cruelty of *Bajazet*; called on the Ianizaries for aid, putting them in remembrance of his fathers great and manifold deserts towards them, together with his imminent danger: and so running vp and downe the city in the dead time of the night, had in short time raised vp all the Ianizaries in armes: who vnderstanding of the danger of their antient commander, who they generally loued and honored as their father, came running by heaps from all parts of the city vnto the court gate, there with terrible exclamations doubling and redoubling their *Bre, Bre,* (which barbarous word they commonly vse in expressing their greatest discontentment and fury) & did indeed so furiously beat at the court gate, that *Bajazet* fearing least they should breake in by violence, caused the outer gate to be set open, and shewing himselfe from above out of a yron window demanded of them the cause of that tumult and vprore: To whom they insolently answered, That they would by and by teach him as a drunkard, a beast, and a rascall, to vse his great place and calling with more sobriety and discretion: and among many other opprobrious words wherewith they shamefully loded him, they called him oftentimes by the name of *Bengi, Bengi* (that is to say, Batchelor or Scholler) which amongst those martiall men, contemptners of all learning, is accounted a word of no small reproch and disgrace. And after they had in most despihtfull manner thus reuiled him, they proudly commanded him forthwith to deliuer *Achmetes* vnto them, or else to take that should ensue thereof. *Bajazet* terrified with this insolency of the Ianizaries, and fearing some sudden violence to be offered, commanded *Achmetes* to be without delay deliuered vnto them: which was done in such hast, that he was brought forth before them almost naked, bare legged, and bare headed, bearing in his body the manifest markes of his hard vsage. The Ianizaries receiuing him with great reioyting, supplied his want of apparell with such habiliments, as they for that purpose vpon the sudden tooke from *Bajazets* minions: and so taking him vpon their shouldders, with great joy carried him out of the court, still crying vnto him, How he did, and how he felt himselfe? And so guarded him home, ready no doubt to haue slaine *Bajazet* and rised the court, if he would haue but said the word. But he yet loyall, laboured with good words to appease that tumult, and to pacifie the fury: excusing that which *Bajazet* had done against him, to haue beene done only to corre& him, for that happily he had forgotten some part of obedience and duty. Neuerthelesse, hereupon remained no small heart burning betwixt *Bajazet* and the Ianizaries for a long time after: yet *Bajazet* for teare of them reconciled himselfe vnto *Achmetes*, and in open shew had him in greater honour than before, promoting him enue vnto the highest degrees of honor, howbeit he inwardly hated him to death. And the more by the continuall instigation of the old Bassa *Isaac*: by whose persuation, when it was thought that all had been forgotten, he was by *Bajazets* commandement as he sat at supper in the court, thrust through the body and slaine. This was the miserable end of *Achmetes*, the great champion of the Turks, and one of the greatest enemies of Christendome that euer liued in the Turkish court: for by him, *Mahomet* subuerted the Empire of Trapezond, tooke the great city of *Cassa* (called in antient time Theodosia) with all the countrey of Taurica Chersonesus, the impregnable city of Croia, with all the kingdome of Epirus, the strong city of Scodra, and a great part of Dalmatia, and last of all Otranto, to the terror of all Italy: by him also, *Bajazet* vanquished and put to flight his brother *Zemes*, as is before declared. In reward of which good seruices, he was by the tyrant (vpon a meere suspicion) thus cruelly and shamefully murdered. About this time also, *Caignubus* (*Zemes* his sonne) then but a childe, was by the commandement of *Bajazet* his vncle, strangled, in the new tower of Constantinople.

*Bajazet* now grievously offended with the pride and late insolency of the Ianizaries, caused secret inquiry to be made, of them which were the authors of those late stirs; & finding them to be the officers of their companies, and specially those which had before slaine *Mahomet Bassa* the great politician, immediatly after the death of *Mahomet* the late Emperour, at which time they had also raised great tumults, and done much harme in the city; he vnder color of preferment, sent away those authors of sedition into diuers parts of his Empire, appointing vnto them (as vnto old soldiers and men of good desert) certaine lands and reuenues for their maintenance and preferment. But as soone as they were departed, he by secret letters commanded the

A the gouernors and magistrats in those places wherunto they were sent, suddenly to apprehend them, and as traitors put them to death; which was accordingly done. The Ianizaries of the court and about Constantinople, hearing what had hapned to their fellows, became wonderfull discontented, and began to mutine in diuers places of the city, vttering speeches against the Emperour full of despiht and reuenge. Which thing when *Bajazet* vnderstood, and had well considered the late danger he was in, together with the intollerable pride and insolencie of those his masterfull slaues; he secretly purposed in himselfe for curing of so dangerous a disease, to vse a most desperat remedy: which was, suddenly to kill and destroy all the Ianizaries, especially those which were belonging to the court, or about Constantinople. This his purpose he imparted to diuers of his greatest Bassaes, charging them vpon paine of his heauy displeasure not to discloset it: and for the execution therof, had sent for great numbers of those soldiers, which are called *Acanziz*, who are among the Turks reputed for the best sort of common souldiers. Most of all the Bassa's to whom he had imparted this his cruell deuise, much disliked thereof, as too full of perill and danger: yet seeing him fully resolved for the performance therof, would not, or durst not say any thing to the contrary. Only *Alis Beg* and *Isender Bassa* (both discended of the honorable family of *Michael Ogli*) dissuaded him from attempting any such thing: alledging first, that the Ianizaries were in number many, soldiers of great courage and experience, resolute men, and such as would sell their lues deare: Then, admitting that he should kill all them about the court and in Constantinople; yet so much as all his strong towns and castles, especially in the frontiers and chiefe places of his dominions, were possessed and holden by strong garrisons of other Ianizaries, fellows & friends of these (who would vndoubtedly take vp arms in defence of themselves, and reuenge of their dead friends) it were a thing very like to endanger himselfe, together with the whole state of his empire, beside the great dishonour which would grow vnto himselfe thereby for euer.

This so dangerous an exploit, wherein the hands of so many were to be vsed, was not kept so secret, but that the vigilant and wily Ianizaries had got an inkling therof; and therupon began dayly more & more to suspect the matter, both by the often and secret repaire of the great men to the court, more then they had before seen, & also by the vntoward multitude of those *Acanziz*, which were dayly brought vnto the imperial city by great troupes. Wherefore fearing to be suddenly surprised, they banded themselves together, and openly stood vpon their guard: and by chance lighting vpon *Alis Beg* as he came from the court, (who was indeed their best friend) after their barbarous manner, with many opprobrious & contumelious words, demanded of him, if he were not one of them who had conspired their destruction: and without more ado had presently slaine him, had he not (as a wel spoken man) with great protestations & oths perswaded them, that he neuer consented to any such thing, or that they needed to feare any such thing from him: and so with much ado rid himselfe out of their hands.

*Bajazet* seeing his purpose discovered, and that he could not without great bloudshed, and danger both to his estate and person, worke his will vpon the Ianizaries; by the counsell and aduice of them that saw further into the matter, to colour his former intention, commanded by open proclamation, That the Ianizaries and other his men of war (of whom he had a great power now assembled at Constantinople) to be in readinesse against a certain prefixed day, to go with him into Moldauia, as if he had raised that power for that purpose only. But when the time was come that he should set forward, the Ianizaries put themselves in order of battel by themselves, and would in nowise ioyne themselves with the rest of the army, or receiue the Emperour into the midst of their ranks, as they had alwaies before accustomed; but furiously shaking their weapons at him, told him plainly, that he had sought their destruction, and bid him therefore if he thought it so good, to set his executioners to worke vpon them, whom he should find both ready and able to defend themselves. To pacify their fury, *Bajazet* was glad to giue them good words, and to vse al the means he could (by his great Bassa's and other captains which were able to do any thing with them) to persuade them to be quiet, (wearing vnto them by the holy soule of his father (a solemne oath amongst the Turks) that he would not harme or wrong the meanest of them. So with much ado they were at length appeased, and receiued *Bajazet* into the midst of them, as their wonted manner was.

This dangerous tumult so quieted, *Bajazet* set forward, and passing ouer Danubius, entred into Moldauia, where he first layd siege to a strong town standing vpon the Buxine sea, called

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Bajazet purposed to destroy the Ianizaries.

Bajazet intended to destroy the Ianizaries.

of the Turks Kele, but in ancient time Achilleia, which was at length deliuered vnto him by composition. From thence he went to Ac. Girmen, otherwise called Asprocastron, which after a months siege was also deliuered by composition: which two strong places sollowon, he returned again to Constantinople.

Many great Princes yet to the Master of the Rhodes for Zemes.

Many great Princes desirous of *Zemes*, labored by their embassadors to haue obtained him of the Great Master of the Rhodes: first *Bajazet* his brother, fearing lest he should at one time or other again break forth vpon him, or els set vp by the Christian Princes, trouble his estate, offered great sums of money to haue had him deliuered into his hands: and *Charles* the French king purposing the conquest of Naples, (which he in few yeres after performed) and after that to haue invaded Grecia, thought *Zemes* a most fit instrument for the furtherance of those his high designs, and was therefore wonderfull desirous to haue had him. *Matthias* also K. of Hungary (a fortunat Warriour against the Turke) perswaded that the hauing of him might be vnto him a great furtherance in the course of his victories, fought by all the meanes he could to haue obtained him. At which time also *Innocentius* the eight of that name, B. of Rome, no lesse desirous than the rest, to haue in his keeping so great a pledge of peace and war (the bridle of the Turks fury, together with the large pension he was sure to receiue yearly from *Bajazet* for the safe custody of him) so wrought the matter by *Lyonel* Bishop of Concordia, his cunning Legat, that the Great Master, fearing on the one side to be constrained by the great power of *Bajazet*, to grant that he had so often refused, and now so earnestly solicited on the other side by the Bishop, caused *Zemes* to be deliuered to him at Rome in the yeare 1488: for which doing he was by the Bishop honoured with the honour and title of a Cardinall. So *Zemes* to the great profit of the Bishop (who receiued from *Bajazet* a yerely pension of forty thousand ducats) remained in safe custody at Rome all the time of *Innocentius*, and also of *Alexander* the sixth his successor: vntill that the French King *Charles* the eight, passing through the heart of Italy with a strong army against *Alphonso* king of Naples, in the yere 1495, and making his way through the city of Rome, so terrified the great Bishop (who altogether fauoured & furthered the title of *Alphonso*) that he was glad to yeeld to such articles and conditions as pleased the king: and among the rest, to giue in hostage vnto the king his gracelesse son *Cesar* *Borgia* *Valentinus*, and also to deliuer to him *Zemes* his honourable prisoner, as shall be afterwards in place conuenient at large declared.

In the beginning of *Bajazet* his reigne, whilest he was busied against his brother *Zemes* in Asia, *Iohn* *Castrion* the son of *Scanderbeg*, aided by the Venetians, after he had fortunatly overthrowne the Turke in a battell nere vnto Croia, recouered a great part of Epirus out of their possession. At which time also *Iohn* *Chernouich* a Christian Prince of Albania, casting off the Turkish yoke imposed vpon him by the late Emperor *Mahomet*, suddenly took vp armes, and by the help of the Venetians valiantly repulsd the enemies out of that part of Albania; and so troubled *Bajazet*, that he was glad to suffer him peaceably to inioy all that he had by force recouered, and further to content himselfe with a small tribute for the rest.

*Bajazet* highly offended with *Abraham* (whom some call *Pyramet*) the King of Caramania, for aiding his brother *Zemes* against him; in reuenge thereof raised a great army both in Europe and Asia, and marching alongst Asia the lesse, through the countries of Phrygia, Myfia, Caria, Lydia, and Pamphilia, entered at length into Caramania. But the king of Caramania, hearing before of his comming, and knowing himself too weak too meet him in field, fortified the strong Cities and places of his Kingdome, and rettyred with his army into the streits of the mountain Taurus, where it parteth Cilicia from Syria; wherein he was in more safety than in any of his strongest holds. *Bajazet* finding no way to come to him, spent most part of the Summer in spoyling of the open country: but perceiuing his enemies could not so be drawn into the field, he layd siege vnto the famous city of Tarsus, being the chiefe City of the champaigne part of Cilicia (the native place of *S. Paul* the Apostle) and in short time so battered the wals of his City with his great ordance, that he had made them faultable. The Citizens considering the danger they were in, offered to deliuer vp their City, their liberty, liues, and goods referred. Of which their offer *Bajazet* accepted, and most honourably performed his promise for their safety; not permitting any of his souldiers to enter the City, more than such as must needs for the guard of his person, and safe keeping of the City. And forasmuch as Winter began now to grow fast on, he disperfed his souldiers into the Countrey

1486  
Bajazet raised  
dub. carman-  
nia.

Tarsus in Cilicia  
needed to  
Bajazet.

A trey villages round about, not suffering the countrey people to til or sow their land, or to do any thing els which might turne to their profit or good, whereby they were inforced to yeeld themselves wholly to his deuotion. The Caramanian King seeing his people dayly fall from him, & fearing to be at length forsaken of his soldiers also, in this his distres obtained aid both of men and money from *Caytbeius* the great Sultan of Egypt, and so withal the power he could make, tooke the field, with the first of the next Spring, fully resolu'd to try the fortune of a battell, although in strength and power he knew himself much inferior to his puissant enemy.

*Bajazet* glad to see his enemy so forward, speedily assembled his army, and without delay offered him battell: which the Caramanian King refused not. So between them was begun a fierce and terrible fight; which by the skilfull conduct of the leaders, and exceeding courage of the souldiers, was maintained the whole day with doubtfull victory and great slaughter on both sides, new supplies still comming on in stead of them which were slaine. The day declining, the Caramanian King (whose fatall destiny had now appointed him vnto his last work) seeing his wearied soldiers rather overlaid with multitude, than vanquished by force, to begin to giue ground to their enemies; courageously thrust forward with his guard and other valiant soldiers about him, with such fury, that he brake into the midst of his enemies battraile, where being known, he was forthwith enuironed by the Turks, and so hardly charged on euery side, that hauing his horse slain vnder him, he was inforced to fight on foot, where after he had with his owne hand slain diuers of his enemies, he fell down dead in the midst of them. His soldiers discouraged with his death, turned their backs & fled, and in flying were for the most part either slain or taken prisoners. After this victory, *Bajazet* speedily ouerran all that large countrey, and without resistance in short time brought vnder his obeyfance all the countrey of Cilicia.

Along and terrible  
battell  
between  
Bajazet  
and the King  
of Caramania.

There was at that time in that part of Cilicia which is called Trachea, and lieth toward the sea side, an ancient Mahometan Prince who had vnder his command most part of that countrey, with the famous and populous city of Scandoloro, the chiefe place of his residence. This prince had of long time liued betwixt the Christian kings & the kings of Caramania, as neuter, still fearing the greater, but indeed louing neither: and had till then chiefly maintained his state by the alliance he and his ancestors continually held with the Kings of Cyprus and the grand masters of the Rhodes. Against this poore prince, the only one now left in Asia the lesse, not subiect to the Turkish kings, began *Bajazet* now to turn his forces; purposing before he proceeded any further, to make a full conquest of the lesser Asia, and so to make all sure behind him. Of which his purpose the Prince hauing knowledge, and wisely weighing his own small power to withstand so puissant an enemy, offered by his Embassadors to deliuer to *Bajazet* his chiefe city of Scandoloro, with all the rest of his territory in Cilicia, vpon condition, that *Bajazet* should giue vnto him other possessions for it, in some other part of Asia the lesse, to the like value. Which his offer *Bajazet* accepted, and so became lord of all the sea coast, from the streits of Bosphorus, to the confines of Syria.

After he had thus conquered Cilicia, with a great part of the mountain Taurus, he descended into Armenia the lesse, and in short time brought vnder his subiection so much of that country, as also of Cappadocia, as was sometime belonging to the Caramanian Kings. When *Bajazet* had thus slain the Caramanian King, and subdued that most ancient kingdome of the Turks, which had long and many times mightily contended with the glory and power of the Ottoman Kings, he left *Mustapha*, one of his great Bassies, at Iconium, with his Asian army, to keep in obedience those new woon countries: and as a triumphant conquerour returned himselfe to Constantinople, where he was of his subiects ioyfully receiued.

After that *Bajazet* had thus enlarged his Empire with the kingdom of Caramania, and was now become an vnwelcome neighbour vnto the great Sultan of Egypt and Syria; he began to swell in disdain against that mighty Prince, for that he had giuen aid against him, first vnto his brother *Zemes*, and after that to the Caramanian King in these late wars: of which wrong purposing to be reuenged, he shortly after appointed one *Caragosa* Bassa his lieutenant in Asia, with *Ishender* another of his great Captaines, with a strong army to invade Syria, then part of the great Sultans Kingdome. These two great commanders well appointed for the purpose, when they were come to the vttermost parts of Cilicia, the new bounds of *Bajazet*'s Empire, were then to passe by the confines of *Aladenes* his Kingdome, before they could passe the

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great mountaine Taurus to come into Syria. This *Aladules* commanded as king over the rude and fierce people which dwelt along that great and rough mountaine, and was then in league with the Sultan. He hearing of the approach of the Turks army, with a great number of his mountaine people lay in ambush in the streits whereby the Turks must needs passe, of purpose to intercept them. *Ishender* marching in the vanguard with a great number of the voluntary souldiers called *Acanzi*, as the manner of the Turks is, and fearing nothing lesse, than to be set vpon by the mountaine King, before he was aware was come into the midit of his enemies, and was by them so fiercely charged on euery side for their places of aduantage, that he there lost most part of his men, and forsaken of the rest, which fought by flight to saue themselves, he with his two sons and others were taken prisoners. *Michael-Beg* the eldest of the two, being fast bound, was slain by one of *Aladules* his followers, whose brother he had slain in that skirmish. His head being cut off, was by the commandment of *Aladules* carried to his father *Ishender*, the more to grieve him: who disdainfully willed the messenger not to shew it vnto him, but to bid his maister eat it if he would. With which answer *Aladules* was exceedingly moued; neuertheless pittying the old mans misery, he shortly after set *Iaxis-Beg* the yonger brother at liberty: but *Ishender* himselfe he sent prisoner to *Caitbeius* the great Sultan at Caire, where he remained in prison fye yeres after. *Caragofes* the Bassa discouraged with the losse of so great a man, retyred with his army backe againe into Cilicia, and from thence aduertised *Bajazet* what had hapned, by whom he was commanded to return to Constantinople, as a man unfit for so great an enterprise.

1488  
Achmetes being discomfited in taken prisoner, and sent to Caire.

1489

The next Spring following, *Bajazet* constant in his former resolution for the inuasion of Syria, sent *Achmetes* another of his Bassa's, with a far greater army than had *Caragofes*, against the Sultan: who no sooner came to the further part of Cilicia, but he was there at a place, called of the Turks, *Taucur Oua*, encountered by the Egyptians & Arabians, and there in a great battell ouerthrowne; wherein he himselfe fighting most valiantly, lost two of his fingers, and being taken prisoner was sent to Caire.

*Bajazet* with this ouerthrow rather infenced than discouraged, made great preparation the next yere against the Sultan both by sea and land, such as he had not before at any time made. And when all things were now in readines, sent *Alis Bassa* (of some called *Calibemus*) and *Chersigles* his sonne in law, two notable captains, with a great and puissant army by land, against the Egyptian Sultan: at which time he requested of the Venerians, with whom he was then in league, That he might by their good leaue, as occasion required, refresh his fleet (then ready to put to sea for the inuasion of Syria, as he said) in their Island of Cyprus. Which his request was by the generall consent of the Senat denied, as a thing tending to the great danger of their State: yet wisely doubting lest *Bajazet* taking that deniall in euill part, should seeke to haue that by force, which he could not obtain by request, they presently sent *Francisco Priuolo* their Admirall, to sea with thirty gallies for the defence of that Island. He hearing that one fleet of the Turks gallies, lately come out of Hellespontus, lay houering at the Island of Sciros, expecting a far greater from the coast of Ionia; and carefully considering how secret and sudden the Turkish designements were, although it was giuen out that at this great preparation was made against the Sultan: yet to provide that they should not suddenly surprize the Isle he speedily sent sundry companies of souldiers, especially archers, out of Creta into Cyprus, for the better defence thereof; but stayed himselfe with his fleet at the Island of Naxos, that so at hand he might be the readier to withstand whatsoeuer the Turks intended. But when he vnderstood that all their fleet was met, and now set forward, the hoyed sayle, & held his course directly for Cyprus. In the meane time the Turkish fleet sayling along the coast of Lycia, Pamphilia, and Cilicia, kept on their course vntil they came vpon the coast of Syria by which time *Calibemus* and *Chersigles* were come with a mighty army into Cilicia, neer to the mountaine Taurus.

*Caitbeius* the Egyptian Sultan hauing before had certain intelligence of the great preparation that *Bajazet* had made against him, had before sent *Isbeg* a most valiant and politick captain, with a strong army of his Mamalukes and other his most expert souldiers into Syria, to be ready at all times to withstand the Turks. This worthy Chieftaine vnderstanding of the coming of the Turks army, thought it greater policy, to carry the calamities which alwayes wait vpon great armies, into the enemies country, than to receiue it into his own bosom. And there-

A therefore although he knew himselfe for number to be far inferior to his enemies, yet supplying that want with the valor, courage, and assured confidence he had reposed in the approued and inuincible forces of his Mamalukes, he expected not the coming of the enemy into Syria, but passing over the mountain *Antanus*, and so descending into Cilicia, met him not far from Tarsus, in the same place (as it was thought) where *Alexander* the great had long before in a great battell vanquished *Darius*.

These two puissant armies come from far out of diuers parts of the world, the one to meet the other, were no sooner come together, but that with like cheerfulness they joined battell; and that with such violence and fury, that the earth seemed to tremble vnder their feet, and a most present destruction threatned vnto them all: which terrible and cruel fight was maintained all that day, with doubtful victory, and exceeding slaughter on both sides; the politike Generals with new supplies of fresh souldiers continually relieuing the most distressed parts of their battell; and they likewise as men prodigall of their liues, resolutely offering themselves to all dangers. When this most dreadful fight had in this sort endured the whole day, and many thousands of valiant men of late aliue, lay now dead vpon the ground, the approaching night brake off the battell, and both the armies fore wearied and weakned (but especially the Turks) retyred to their camps, where they rested that night.

But the Egyptians coming to their camp, found all their Carriages with their prouision of victuals and other necessaries quite taken away and gon. Which thing (as some write) the bordering people of the country (for most part liuing vpon robbery) had don in time of the battell, to please the Turks: or as some others report, they which had the charge thereof, terrified with the greatness of the Turks army, and doubtfulness of the battell, fled away, & taking their way along the sea side, fled into the hands of the Turkes which were put on shore out of the gallies, and so were of them spoiled. Howsoeuer it was (for in so great vncertainty I dare not affirm) certain it is, that the Egyptians were fore troubled with the losse of their prouision, fearing that if they should now stay longer in the Country, they should forthwith be driuen to great extremities for want of necessaries. Wherefore when they had euil rested that night, the next day early in the morning they presented themselves in order of battell before their enemies, brauing them into the field, and daring them battell. The Turks disdainig to see any prouder in field than themselves, after they had in good order ranged their battells, set forward with ensignes displaid against their proud enemies. There began a most terrible bloody battell, fought with such desperate resolution, as if they had solemnly vowed, either to ouercome, or die in the place where they stood. A man would haue said that the former daies fury had bin but a play in comparison of this: many valiant souldiers with their dead bodies covered the same ground wheron they liuing stood, when they receiued the first incounter of their Enemies. Of both those great armies none were seen to giue ground, or once look backe; the Turks Ianizaries & the Egyptians Mamalukes (the vndoubted strength of the greatest Mahometan Monarchs, souldiers for their valor much feared, & through the world renowned) there buckled together, and standing foot to foot, spent the vttermost of their forces one vpon another; as if they would in that battell haue made it known vnto the world, which of them were to be accounted the best souldiers. Whilst victory stood thus doubtfull, and the day was now far spent, *Isbeg* the Egyptian General, with fifteen thousand valiant horfmen (whom hee had reserved for that purpose) gaue a fresh assault vpon the Turks squadrons, with such force, that they had much ado to keep their order, and began now to giue ground: which was by and by made good again by other fresh men speedily brought on by the Bassa's. Then became the battell more fierce than before, euery man straining to the vtmost of his power to sel his life to his enemies as dear as he could. In which maner of fight all the rest of the day was spent, vntill that after the going down of the Sun, the darknes of the night comming fast on, they were glad for lacke of light to breake off the battell, and to retyre themselves into their camps, not knowing as yet who had got the better.

F The Turks Bassa's taking view of the army, and finding that of an hundred thousand fighting men, which they brought into the field, there was scarce a third part left, and most of them also maimed or hurt, & doubting to be set vpon again the next morning by their resolute enemies, fled away secretly the same night, leauing behind them for haist their tents well stored with victuals and all other things needfull. The Egyptians also hauing lost one half of their army,

A long and terrible battell betweene the Turks and the Mamalukes.

The Turks flee away by night,

army (which was at the first seuentie thousand) and wanting their necessary provisions, were G  
retired also the same night into the mountaine Taurus, not knowing any thing of the flight  
of the Turks. And some of the souldiers passing quite ouer the mountaine without stay, into  
Syria, raised a report all ouer the countrey as they went, That the Sultans army was ouer-  
thrown, and that the Turks had got the victory: so vncertaine was the true knowledge of the  
event of that battell, euen to them that were present therein. The Egyptians lying that night  
vpon the side of the mountaine, had speedy intelligence from *Aladules*, of the flight of the  
Turks: which being also confirmed by his espials to be true, he presently came downe from  
the mountaine, and entred into the Turks campe, where he found plenty of victuals and of all  
other things needfull for the refreshing of his army.

*Aladules* the mountain king, with the people called *Varfacide*, by whose confines the Turks H  
must needs in their returne passe, robbed and slew many of them in their disordered flight;  
and had so stopped the passages, that they were in flying overtaken by the *Mamalukes*,  
and slaine with so great a slaughter, that of all that great army of the Turks few remained  
aloue to carry news home. *Calibeius* and *Chersogles* the Basses, were in that flight both taken  
prisoners, and afterwards presented to *Caytheius* the Sultan, at Caïre, with eighteen ensignes  
of the Turks Sanzacks, which are great men amongst them, having euery one of them the  
regiment and command of some one prouince or other, and are in degree next vnto the  
Basses.

Neither was the fortune of *Bajazet* his nauie at sea, better than that of his army at land: for  
as it lay at rode vpon the coast of Syria at the mouth of the riuer *Orontes*, which runneth by  
the famous city of Antioch, his gallies were by tempest and rage of the sea put from their an-  
chors, and in the sight of their enemies swallowed vp of the sea, or else driuen vpon the maine,  
and there with the furies of the sea beaten in pieces. *Bajazet* not a little troubled with these  
losses both by sea and land, at length with much ado, by his Embassadors concluded a peace  
with the Sultan, vnto whom he restored all such places as he had before taken from him: for  
which the Sultan deliuered vnto him *Calibeius*, *Chersogles*, *Achmetis*, and *Ishender*, with all the  
rest of the Turks prisoners, which he had in great number in his keeping.

Shortly after this peace was concluded betwixt these two great and mighty Princes, *Cay-  
theius* the Sultan died: who of a Circassian slaue, by many degrees of honour, and by the fauor  
of the *Mamalukes* his fellowes, obtained the rich Kingdome of Egypt, which he right wor-  
thily gouerned to his immortal praise by the space of two and twenty yeares, commanding  
at one time the great and rich countrey of Egypt, with all Affricke, as farre as Cyrene, West-  
ward; and Iulca, with a great part of Arabia, and all Syria, vnto the great and famous riuer Eu-  
phrates, Eastward. In the latter end of his reigne he (ouercome with the importunitie of his  
wife *Dulibe*, an Arabian borne, a woman of a haughty spirit) ioyned his sonne *Mahometes*, a  
yong man of about foure and twenty yeares old, with him in the fellowship of his kingdome;  
that so possessed of it his father yet liuing, he might the better inioy it after his death. Con-  
trary to the custome of the *Mamalukes*, who of long time had not vsed to haue their king by  
succession, but by their free election. Who grudging to be thus defrauded of their wonted  
choise, immediately after the death of *Caytheius* slew *Mahometes* his son; and in a few months  
after, foure moe, who one after another without their good liking had aspired vnto the King-  
dome; neither could they be contented, vntill such time as that they had according to their  
wonted custome set vp a Sultan of their owne choise.

About the same time that the aforesaid peace was concluded betwixt the two great *Maho-  
metane* Princes, *Bajazet* and *Caytheius*, the French King was making great preparation  
against *Alphonfus* king of Naples, giuing it out, That after he had recovered that kingdom, he  
would forthwith from thence inuade the Turks dominions in Grecia. Which great attempt  
the haughty King was induced to take in hand, by the persuation of diuers of his Nobilitie,  
but especially by the solicitation of *Lodouicus Sfortia* Duke of Millan: whereby the whole state  
of Italy was in short time after sore shaken, and *Sfortia* himselfe, Author of these troubles, at  
last carried away by the French, miserably ended his dayes as a prisoner in France. *Alphon-  
fus* the Neapolitan King, doubting the greatnesse of the French King his enemy, entered  
into a confederation with certaine of the States of Italy, against the French, but especially  
with *Alexander* the sixt then Bishop of Rome: for the better assurance whereof, hee gaue  
his

A his base daughter in marriage to *Godfrey Borgia*, the Bishops son, and made him Prince of Ca-  
rinula: his other son *Francis* he entertained also in great pay to serue him in his wars. And by  
his Embassadour *Pandonius Camillus*, lately returned out of France, gaue *Bajazet* to vnderstand,  
what the French King had purposed against them both, requesting him to aid him with six  
thousand horsemen and as many foot against their common enemy, promising to giue them  
honourable entertainment during those wars. And to further the matter, *Alexander* the great  
Bishop sent *George Bucciarde*, a Ligurian, skilfull in the Turkish language, Embassadour to *Baja-  
zet*, to declare vnto him with what great preparation, both by sea and land, the young French  
King (desirous of honour and the enlargement of his kingdome) was about to inuade Naples;  
and then, with what great power (after he had dispatched his warres in Italy) he purposed to  
passe ouer into Græcia; and that he had to that end earnestly travelled with him to haue *Zemes*  
his brother deliuered into his hands, whom he desired to vse as a most fit instrument for the  
troubling of his state and Empire, by reason of his many friends: yet that his Holinesse ha-  
ving the French in distrust as a proud and ambitious people, as also carefull for the danger of  
the city of Rome, and of the state of Italy in generally) had entered into a confederation with  
*Alphonfus* King of Naples, with their vnited forces to withstand that proud nation, both by sea  
and land, wanting nothing more for the accomplishment thereof, than mony: by which means  
only, *Bajazet* might (as he said) provide for the safety of his kingdome in Græcia, if he would  
put to his helping hand, to furnish them with mony for the entertainment of souldiers: for-  
asmuch as the city of Rome, and the kingdome of Naples, were the surest walls of that side of  
C the *Orthoman* Empire; if he not altogether refusing the charge, would not spare for a little cost  
to maintaine the war rather in that forreine country, than to receiue it, brought home to his  
owne doore: concluding, That it were much more commodious and easie with his treasures  
to repress his enemy in a strange country a far off, than by dint of sword and plaine battell in  
his owne. A thing by experience well knowne, That they which haue neglected and set at  
nought remote dangers, for sparing of charge, haue afterwards bin inforced with greater dan-  
ger to receiue the same into their own bowomes, when as they were become desperat and past  
remedy. *Bajazet*, who both by his espials and often letters and Embassadors from *Alphonfus*,  
knew all this to be true, gaue great thanks to the Bishop by his Embassadour, for that he sitting  
in so high place, did so friendly and in so good time admonish him, both a stranger and of a  
D contrary religion, of things of so great consequence: yet for answer, he willed him to returne  
again vnto his master with one *Dancius* his Embassadour, who should carry with him both mo-  
ny and other his secret resolutions concerning those matters. Among other things giuen him  
in charge, was an Epistle written in Greek, wherein the barbarous king with great cunning per-  
suaded the Bishop to poison *Zemes* his brother, as a man of a religion altogether contrary to  
his: for indeed of him alone for his great vertues *Bajazet* stood in feare and doubt, least hee  
should by some chance escape out of prison to the troubling of his state. For the performance  
of this his request, he promised faithfully to pay vnto the Bishop, two hundred thousand duc-  
kats, and neuer after so long as he liued to take vp armes against the Christians. Otherwise  
than had his father *Mahomet*, and his grandfather *Amurath* done, who both as deadly enemies  
E vnto the name of Christians, neuer ceased by continuall wars to worke their woe.

But *George* the Bishops embassadour, and *Dancius*, traouelling towards Italy, and hauing now  
happily passed the Adriatique, as they were about to haue landed at Ancona were boded by  
*Io. Rouerem*, brother to *Julianus* the Cardinal (a man of great account in those quarters) and  
cleane quit of their treasure and whatsoever else they had aboard. *Rouerem* pretending for the  
defence of the faith, That the Bishop did owe him a great sum of mony, due vnto him for his  
good service done in the time of *Innocentius* his predecessor, for which he now paid himselfe.  
Neither could the Bishop, much troubled with that injury, euer after recouer one part there-  
of, although he threatened vengeance with fire and sword, and also sought for recompence of  
the Venetians, whom it concerned to saue the Turks harmelesse in those seas: for why, *Roue-  
rem* bearing himselfe vpon the French, which were now vpon comming, whose faction he fol-  
lowed, kept the mony, and set at nought the Bishops thundering curses and vaine threats. *Dan-  
cius* himselfe, *Bajazets* Embassadour being set on shore, was glad to goe on foot to Ancona:  
and so from thence passing vp the riuer Padus, came to *Franciscus Gonzaga*, duke of Mantua, of  
whom (for the ancient friendship betwixt him and *Bajazet*) he was courteously entertained  
and

*Alphonfus* king  
of Naples, and  
*Alexander* Bi-  
shop of Rome  
crave aid of  
*Bajazet* against  
*Charles* the  
French King.

*Bajazet* sendeth  
*Dancius* his  
embassadour to  
*Alexander* Bi-  
shop of Rome.

*Io. Rouerem*  
robbeith the  
Turks Embas-  
sador.

and furnished both with money and apparell, and so spoiled returned into Grecia, to carry G newes vnto his master how he sped.

When Bajazet vnderstood by *Dantius*, the euill successe he had in his late journey, he forth with sent *Musapha* one of the Bassaces of the court, vnto the great Bishop *Alexander*, with like instructions as he had before giuen to *Dantius*: who with better hap arriued in Italy, and came to Rome in safetie; where he forgot no part of that was giuen him in charge by his great Master. But amongst many other things, the life of *Zemes* was that he most sought for at the Bishops hands.

1435

At the same time, which was in the yeare 1435, the French King *Charles* the eight of that name, passing through the heart of Italy with a strong army against *Alphonse* King of Naples; and taking his way without leaue through the city of Rome, so terrified *Alexander* the Bishop who (as we haue before said) altogether fauoured, and as much as in him lay, furthered the cause of *Alphonse*; that he was glad to yeeld to all such articles and conditions as it pleased him then to demand: not purposing in himselfe at all the performance of any of those things, which for feare he had with great solemnity promised, as the sequel of the matter afterwards declared. Amongst other things, he was enforced to giue vnto the king his gracelesse son *Cesar Borgia Valentinus* (then one of the Cardinals) in hostage, for the performance of the other of his promises. Which disgrace the crafty old Bishop sought to couer, by gracing his son with the title of the Legat: and with him he was also enforced to deliuer *Zemes* the Turke, *Bajazets* brother, his honourable prisoner; who to the great profit of the Bishop and his predecessor, had remained in safe custody at Rome about the space of seuen yeares. But *Zemes* within three daies after he was deliuered to the French, died at Caieta, being before his deliuerance poisoned (as it was thought) with a powder of wonderfull whitenesse and pleasant tast; whose power was not presently to kill, but by little and little dispering the force thereof, did in short time bring most assured death: which pleasant poyson, *Alexander* the Bishop, skilfull in that practise (corrupted by *Bajazets* gold, and enuying so great a good vnto the French) had caused to be cunningly mingled with the Sugar wherewith *Zemes* vied to temper the water which he commonly dranke. His dead body was not long after sent to *Bajazet*, by *Musapha* his Embassador, who to the great contentment of his master, had thus contriued his death with the Bishop. Not long after this dead body so far brought, was by the appointment of *Bajazet*, honorably interred among his ancestors at Prusa. *Cesar Borgia* also the Bishops son, a little before giuen in hostage vnto the French King, deceiuing his keepers at Velitras, returned againe to Rome before the French King was come to Naples. This wicked impe come of an euill strain, not worth the remembrance but by way of detestation (the very monster of nature, if a man should well consider the course of his whole life) shortly after his escape, enuying at the honor of *Candianus* his brother, who then was Generall ouer the Bishop his fathers forces, which were at that time great: when he had one time merily supped with his said brother, with their mother *Vannetia*, traiterously caused him to be vnawares murdered in the streets as he was going home, and his dead body to be cast into the riuer of Tiber. Then casting off his priestly habit with his Cardinals robes, he took vpon him the leading of his fathers army in his brothers stead, and gaue himselfe wholly to martiall affaires; a vocation best fitting his fierce & bloody disposition: and with exceeding prodigality, wherewith he exhausted his fathers coffers and the treasures of the church, bound fast vnto him desperat ruffians and soldiers (especially Spaniards, his fathers country men) such as he knew fittest to serue for the execution of his most horrible deuises. Which manner of his proceedings, although they were such as all good men detested, yet did the old hypocrit his father wink therat, fearing (as it was thought) to be murdered of the viper, himselfe, when it should serue for his purpose. Now when he had thus strengthened himself, and that he was become a terror to all the nobility of Rome and the seignories thereabout, he by the deuice and help of his father (who desired nothing more than to make him great) first draue the most honourable family of the *Colunnij* out of the city, and afterwards out of Latium: and by most execrable trechery, poysoned or killed the honorable personages of the great houses of the *Prisini* & *Cajetani*, taking to himselfe their lands & possessions. With like cruelty he strangled at one time four noblemen of the *Camarietis*; & draue *Guldo Velitrus* out of Vrbis. He took the city of Pisarum from *Io. Sfortia*, who with much difficulty escaped his bloody hands: and draue the *Malatestas* out of Ariminum. The great lady *Catherine*

*Zemes* death,  
poisoned by  
*Alexander* the  
Bishop of Rome,

The euill life of  
*Cesar Borgia*

*A* *rine Sfortia* he thrust out of Forum Liuij and Forum Cornelij, and shamefully led her in triumph through Rome. And neuer satisfied with blood, which he without measure shed, he took the city of Fauentia from *Astor Manfredus*, a young gentleman of rare perfection: whom after the beastly tyrant had most horribly abused against nature, he caused to be cruelly strangled, and his dead body to be cast into Tiber. Having thus filled the measure of his iniquity, and as a fretting canker, hauing either deuoured or driuen into exile most part of the Roman nobility, and purposing by the supplantation of his father, to make himselfe Lord and Souerain both of the City, and of all Latium, in the pride of his thoughts he was by the hand of the most Highest attached and cast down, and that by such means as he least feared: for being with his father at a solemne supper in the Vatican, of purpose prepared for the destruction of certain rich Cardinals and some other honorable citisens, they were both poysoned by the fatal error of one of the waiters, who mistaking of a flaggon, gaue the poisoned wine to the accursed Bishop and his son, which was prepared for the guests; whereof the old Bishop in few daies after died. But his sonne who had drunk the same more delaid with water, although he died not of long time after, yet presently fell into such an extreme sicknesse, that he was not able to help himselfe, or to command his desperat followers, whereof he had great store: but lying sicke, in short time saw himselfe of them forsaken, and two of his enemies, *Pius* the third, and *Iulius* the second, one after another sitting in his fathers place. Of which two, *Pius* enioyed that pontificall dignity but sixteen dayes: and *Iulius* succeeding him, caused this *Cesar Borgia* (who of right had deserued a thousand deaths) to be shut vp in the castle called Moles Adriani, from whence he set him at liberty vpon the deliury of certaine strong holds which were yet holden by his garrisons. After he had thus rid himselfe out of *Iulius* the Bishops hands, he fled to Ostia, and so by sea to Naples: where he was by the commandment of *Ferdinand* king of Spain, apprehended by *Gonsalvus* the Great, and transported into Spaine, for feare least he, being of a most troublesome nature, and much resorted vnto by his old fauorites, should raise some new stirs in Italy. He was no sooner arriued in Spaine, but he was cast into prison in the castle of Medina, where after he had lien three yeres he deceived his keepers, and with a rope which he had gotten, let himselfe down from an high tower of the castle: and so escaping, fled to the king of Nauarre, whom he afterwards serued in his wars, and was in an hot skirmish against the kings enemies (wherin he had obtained the victory) slain with a small shot. Vnworthy after so many horrible villanies, to haue ended his days so honorably. His dead body was found stript, and so brought to the king vpon a bad beast, as if it had bin a dead calf all naked; which was by his commandment honourably buried at Pamphilonia.

The death of  
*Cesar Borgia*,

But to return again from whence we haue something too long with this troublesome body gone astray. The French King hauing thus lost both his great hostages, *Zemes* the Turke by death, and the Cardinal *Borgia* by escape, held on his iourney towards Naples, and with wonderfull successe preuailed as he went, all places yeelding to him without any great resistance. *Alphonse* seeing himselfe destitute of such aid as he had in vaine requested both of the Turkish Emperour and of the Venetians, and now almost beset with his mighty enemy, to whom so many strong places had in shorter time bin deliuered than any man had before imagined; and withall considering with himselfe, how that he had lost the hearts of his subiects (the strongest defence of Princes) for that most of the Nobility, and especially the Neapolitanes, hated him for his too much feuerity in punishing the offenders in the late rebellion, wherein the Princes of Sarne and Salerne were chiefe; and the common people were no lesse offended with the grievous and heauy exactions, required of them for the maintenance of these wars, inso much that their murmuring speeches came oftentimes to his own hearing; as oftentimes it falls out. That the hatred of the subiects against their Princes, which hath for feare of long time bin dissembled during their prosperity, more frankly and fiercely breaketh out in their declining estate: for these causes, *Alphonse* fearing to be forsaken of his people, as a man in despair, with abundance of tears openly in the sight of all the Neapolitanes, resigned his kingdom of Naples to his son *Ferdinand*, when as he had as yet scarcely reigned one whole yeare after the death of *Ferdinand* his father: and with foure gallies passed over to Mazerea, a city of Cilicia. His son *Ferdinand* a Prince of rare perfection and singularly graced with all the virtues of true nobility, and thereto dearly beloued of all the people, was to the wonderfull contentment of the Neapolitanes with great ioy & acclamations saluted King, and so hauing performed

The French  
King Inuadeth  
Naples

formed all the ceremonies belonging to his coronation, returned presently to his army. By this time the French King with all his forces was entred farre into the kingdome of Naples; and hauing taken by assault certaine cities which trusted too much to their owne strength, strucke such a generall terror into the minds of the Neapolitanes, that they thought no place now strong enough to abide his batteries, or power sufficient to encounter his forces. *Ferdinand* and the yong king with his army had taken the streits of the Forrest of *S. Germane*, thereby to impeach the further passage of the French King. But whilst he was there busied, he was suddenly aduertised, that *Fabritius Colonna* with a great power of Frenchmen had by the Appenines broken into Campania, and so was marching towards him: wherefore doubting to be shut vp betwixt two strong armies of the enemies, he retired speedily to Capua, a strong city situate vpon the riuer *Vulturnus*; purposing thereby meanes of that deepe riuer, to stay the French from passing farther. But whilst he lay there, news was brought to him, that all the city of Naples was in an vtore, and that the citifens were all vp in armes, as men in doubt which way to turn themselves. *Ferdinand* not a little troubled with these bad news, commended the charge of his army and the defence of the City of Capua to his chiefe Captains, and rid himselfe in post back againe to Naples.

*Ferdinand departed from Capua to Naples.*

It is a strange thing to tell, what a sudden alteration ensued vpon his arriuall there: for suddenly all the tumult was appeased, euery man laid down his arms, and welcommed him with a generall gratulation: for he was a man of a great and inuincible courage, and of so comely a personage, as might easily win the hearts of his subiects; insomuch, that when he earnestly requested them, that they would not traiterously betray him to his barbarous & cruell enemies, being their naturall King, or rather their brother borne and brought vp amongst them: they all with one consent answered, That they would spend their liues and goods in his quarrell, so long as he should keep his army whole, & defend the city of Capua: but if it should so chance that the Aragonians should be ouerthrowne, or els for feare abandon that city, and the French King, as victor, to approch the city of Naples, he should do both against reason and equity, if by exacting fidelity and allegiance of his subiects, apprehended with so iust a feare, he should expose that noble city with the fruitfull countrey thereabout, to be spoiled and destroyed by a mercilesse and cruell enemy. Whilst *Ferdinand* was thus busied in appeasing and confirming his wauering subiects at Naples, the French king had taken diuers cities, and was come before Capua. The citifens of Capua, although they were alwaies well affected to the Aragonian kings, yet seeing the French King as a most violent tempest to beare downe all before him, began now to consult amongst themselves of yeelding vp the city, whereunto they were the more prickt forward, by the sudden reuolt of the great capitaine *Triumfius* with his followers; as also by the departure of *Virginus* and *Petilius*, two great and famous commanders, who seeing themselves forsaken of *Triumfius*, fled with their companies vnto the city of *Nola*. In this discomfiture of King *Ferdinands* army, the Frenchmen had entred into the suburbs of the city: which thing *Gothfredus* and *Gaspar* (two valiant Germane captaines) beholding, sallied with their companies out of the city, of purpose to abate the pride of the French, and to confirme the doubtfull citifens. These worthy Captains, when they had with exceeding valour repulsed the French, and thought to haue againe returned into the city, could not be suffered to enter, but were by the citifens shut out of the gate, in danger to haue had their throats cut by the enemy. In which perplexity they were glad vpon their knees to intreat the cowardly citifens standing vpon the wals, not in such traiterous manner to betray their friends ready in their defence to bestow their liues: and with much intreating, at length obtained of those heartlesse men that they might by ten and ten in a company be receiued in at one gate of the city, and so put out at another, farthest from the danger of the enemy: in which sort when they had passed through the City, they took the way towards Naples: and vpon the way met with the King at *Auersa*, vnto whom they declared all that had happened in his absence at Capua: who although he saw his army disperfed, and all things now desperat, yet went he on forward, and came to the very gates of Capua, and there called vpon diuers of the chiefe men of the City, requiring to be let in. But when he saw there was none to giue him answer, and an ensigne of the French King displayed vpon the wall, in token that the city was become French, he returned to Naples: where he found the gates now shut against him, and all the citifens vp againe in armes, and not willing to receiue any of the souldiers which came from Capua: more

A more than the King himselfe; for flying fame preuenting his return, had filled euery corner of the city with report, That all the chiefe captains of his army were either gone ouer to the enemy, or els for safeguard of their liues fled: That the whole army was broken vp, and Capua yeelded to the French. Wherefore the Neapolitanes framing their fancies according to the condition of the time, began now also to fawne vpon the good fortune of the French, and to haue King *Ferdinand* in contempt: which he well perceiuing, and ferching a compasse farther off from the city, came to the castle, wherinto he was receiued with his followers by his faithfull captains therein before left. But prouidently foreseeing that he could not there long stay, but that he should be besieged by his enemies both by sea and land, he commended the keeping of that peece to *Alphonfus D'aualus*, a most valiant capitaine, and departed himselfe with twenty gallies well appointed vnto *Anaria*, an Island not far from Naples, hauing in it a commodious harbor and a strong castle: where fortune, neuer firme but in misery, seemed again to deride the poore remainder of his honor: for comming thither, the Captain of the castle, vnworthily named *Iustus*, forgetting his duty towards his soueraigne, of whom he had before receiued many extraordinary fauors, most traiterously now in his so hard distresse shut the gates of the castle against him at his landing, and vnkindly refused to receiue him. With which vnexpected ingratitude, the poore King was wonderfully perplexed and almost abashed: yet with earnest intreaty and ample commemoration of the benefits and preferments which both his father and himselfe had in times past bestowed vpon him, he preuailed so much with this vnthankfull man, that he was content to receiue him into the castle, so that he would come but himselfe alone: of which his offer, when no more could be got, the king seemed to accept. So the captain hauing opned a port to receiue him in, was in the very entrance thereof suddenly stabd to the heart with a dagger by king *Ferdinand* and slain in the midst of his armed soldiery: which was don with such acountenance & maiesty, that the warders with the weapons in their hands, dismayd with his look, forthwith at his commandment opned the gate, and receiued him in with all his followers. Whereby it appeareth, That in the countenance of Princes resteth a certain diuine Majesty, in al fortunes about the common course of nature: which is of power to daunt the hearts of most disloyall traytors in the performance of their vnnaturall treasons. The next day after the departure of king *Ferdinand* from the castle of Naples, *Charles* the French King was receiued into the city, with such pomp, triumph, and acclamation of the Neapolitanes, as if they had euen then by the benefit of that forraigne King, bin restored to perfect liberty, and deliuered out of some long and hard bondage. Shortly after, the castle of Naples, with all the strong places thereabout were yeelded to the French, and Embassadors sent from all the princes and people of that Kingdome, yeelding themselves into the power of the French King. Then *Ferdinand* seeing all lost and gone, departed from *Anaria*, where he lay expecting the euent of his hard fortune, and sailed into Sicilia. Thus the house of Arragon in lesse than fife moneths, lost the Kingdome of Naples, about 63 yeares after that it was first taken from the French by *Alphonfus* the elder, this *Ferdinand* his great grandfather.

*A most resolute act of King Ferdinand.*

*Charles the French King receiued into Naples.*

The report of the great preparation made by the French for this war, had long before filled the eares of them which dwelt in any part of the Turks dominions in Europe; but when they saw the French ensignes displayed vpon the wals of the Castles and strong townes along the coast of Calabria and Salerne, such a sudden feare fell vpon the Turks garrisons along the coast of Epirus and Macedonia on the other side of the Adriatick, ouer against that part of Italy, that many of them forsook their charge: the Christians in those places, as also in Grecia and Peloponessus, beginning then to lift vp their heads in hope of their deliuerance, & to make the best preparation they could to ioyn with the French against the Turks: but especially the rough and wild people inhabiting the high mountaines called *Acrocheranij* in the borders of Epirus, who presently took vp armes, refusing to be any longer tributary vnto the Turkish Emperour.

This prosperous and speedy successe of the French King in the conquest of Naples, filled the minds of most of the Christian Princes, as also of the Turkish Emperour, with a doubtfull expectation, whither his greatnes would grow: many being of opinion, that he couertly affected the empire of Rome, and to make himselfe the sole monarch of Italy. Which conceit no little troubled both the great Bishop *Alexander*, and *Maximilian* then Emperour. *Bajazet* also feared much, least hee should vpon the sudden turne his forces into Epirus or Grecia, to his

his no small disquiet. And *Ferdinand*, the aduised King of Spaine, was no lesse careful for the safety of Sicilia. *Lodouicus Sfortia* also (shortly after created Duke of Millan, the chiefe occasion of the French Kings comming into Italy, and a great aider of him in those warres) began now to consider better of the matter, and to stand in doubt of the King, whom he well perceived to make small reckoning of his word or promise, so that he might thereby enlarge his dominions. And the Venetians, who in all these wars had stood looking on as neuters (in hope that when the Aragonians and French had with long wars, which they vainly imagined, well weakened one another, that they might then at their pleasure share out something for themselves) were now in doubt with the rest of the states of Italy to lose some part of their owne territory: for now there was no Prince or state in Italy able to oppose themselves against the French, but stood all as it were at his deuotion.

A great league made by divers Christian Princes against the French King.

Wherefore the aforesaid Princes, namely *Maximilian* the Emperour, *Ferdinand K.* of Spain, *Alexander* Bishop of Rome, the state of Venice, and *Lodouicus Sfortia*, Duke of Millan, for the more assurance of their estates, by their Embassadors speedily sent from one to another, concluded a strong league among themselves, whereof the chiefe capitulation was, That if any of these confederats should vpon their own accord make war vpon any other prince, they should do it vpon their owne charges: but if any of them should chance to be inuaded, by any other, that then every one of these confederates should of their owne charge send foure thousand horse and ten thousand foot in aid of their confederat so inuaded, vntill the wars were ended: which league was to endure for twenty yeares. The same of this league was welcome to many other Princes, but especially to *Bajazet*, who now feared nothing more, than the forces of the French, and had therefore offered to the Venetians, to aid them both by sea & land against the French, if their affaires should so require. This league so much pleased not other Princes, but it troubled the French king more, as of purpose made against him, although it was by the confederates pretended to be made only for their own safety. Wherefore he with all expedition placed his best Captaines with strong garrisons in all the cities and strong holds of the Kingdom of Naples, and left *Mompenser* his viceroy in the city of Naples, and with the rest of his army returned into France, purposing by the way as he went to terrify the dissembling bishop, so if it were possible to draw him from the league: and afterwards to deale with *Sfortia* & the rest as he might. But when he was come neer vnto Rome, the Bishop for feare fled out of the city to Perusum, intending from thence to haue fled to Venice, if the French King should haue further pursued him. *Charles* deceived of his purpose, in peaceable maner entred the city, and there stayd three dayes, and so departed; vsing violence against none, but against such as were well known to be of the Aragonian faction. From Rome he marched to Pisa; and with much paine passing the Appenines, was at the riuer of Tarrus, not far from Parma, set vpon by *Franciscus Gonzago* Duke of Mantua, Generall of a great army which the Venetians and *Sfortia* had raised vpon the sudden to haue stopped his passage: in which battell he was in great danger to haue bin taken or slaine, and there lost his Tents, with all the rich spoyle gotten in the rich kingdom of Naples: yet hauing at length with great slaughter valiantly repulsed his enemies, he afterwards returned in safety home.

*Ferdinand* contriue his kingdom of Naples from the French, and die.

About the same time that this battell was fought at Tarrus, the yong king *Ferdinand*, lately driven out of his Kingdom by the French King, returned againe out of Sicilia to Naples: where he was ioyfully receiued of the Neapolitans, and by the help of his friends (but especially of the great *Gonsalvus*, sent in his aid by *Ferdinand* King of Spaine) in lesse than a yeres space recovered the Kingdom of Naples againe from the French: and then dying without issue, left the same vnto his vnckle *Fredericus*. Wherein the vncertainty of worldly honours, the chiefe felicity of ambitious minds, is well to be noted; when as in that one kingdom the chiefe government was six times changed in lesse than the space of three yeares: for first, *Ferdinand* the elder dying, left that kingdom vnto his sonne *Alphonso*, at such time as the French King was making preparation for those wars: *Alphonso* despairing of his owne forces, resigned the Kingdom to his son *Ferdinand*, when he had scarcely reigned fully a yere: *Ferdinand* in lesse than three moneths was driven quite out of Italy by *Charles* the French King: *Charles* possessed of the kingdom, in short time after was againe dispossessed by the same *Ferdinand*: *Ferdinand* hauing with much trouble thrust out the French, died within lesse than a yere: After whom succeeded *Fredericus* his vnckle, no lesse vnfortunat than the rest: and *Charles* the French King

A king himself liued not long after, but died suddenly as he came from playing at Tennis, being then but 27 yeares old; leaving the flourishing kingdom of France, with the troublesome title pretended to the kingdom of Naples, vnto *Lewis* his successor, who liued with great trouble to conquer the same, and with greater grief to lose it again.

The death of Charles King of France.

1496.

But to return again to the course of our history, from whence the great occurrences of that time (not altogether impertinent to our purpose) haue a little too far led vs. *Bajazet* deliuered of two great fears, first by the death of his brother *Zemes*, and afterward by the casting out of the French out of Naples; began now to turn his forces vpon the Christians, and by his Lieutenant *Bali-Beg* Sanzack of Silistra, inuaded the countries of Podolia and Rasia, beeing part of the Polonian kingdom, where the Turks did great harm, and carried away many prisoners. But comming again the second time, and making such like spoils as before, they stayd so long, that the cold of Winter (which in those Countries is very extreame) was now come on: and in their return, as they were about to haue passed through Moldavia, they were by *Stephanus* Prince of that Countrey, denied both passage and victuals, and forced to take the way alongst the sea coast: where many of them stragling from their Army, were by the way cut off and slain by the Moldavians; and the rest, what by the extremity of the cold, what for want of food, and foulness of the way, perished: so that of that great Army, very few returned home. The Turks Historicks report, That in this Expedition were lost forty thousand Turks.

1497.

The Turks invading Podolia and Rasia, are in their return for most part lost.

He sent also *Cadumner* one of his Bassa's into Illyria, who spoiling that countrey, with a part of Croatia, was encountered by 9000 Croatsians and Hungarians, neer vnto the Riuer Morava, vnder the leading of Count *Bernard Francopain*, where after a cruel & bloody fight the Christians were put to the worse, & about 7000 of them slain; the rest saved themselves by flight through the woods and mountains. Of the Christians that were lost, many were drowned in Morava, chusing rather so to end their daies, than to fall into the hands of their bloody Enemies. This ouerthrow was imputed to the General, who would needs giue the Turks battell in plain field, although he was earnestly intreated by Count *Jo. Torquatius*, to haue kept the streits of that countrey, whereby he might haue had great aduantage of the enemy. *Torquatius* himself hauing lost all his horsemen in that battell, and his horse killed vnder him, fought valiantly on foot, vntill he was by the multitude of his enemies oppressed and slain. The Bassa to giue *Bajazet* a sure testimony of the victory, caused all the noses of the slain Christians to be cut off and put vpon strings, and so by Waggon sent them as a barbarous Present to Constantinople.

After the death of *Charles* the French King, *Lewis* the twelfth hauing obtained that Kingdom, wrote himselfe also Duke of Millan, as descended of one of the daughters of *Jo. Galeatus* first Duke of Millan: in which his supposed right he was fully resolved to make warre vpon *Sfortia* then Duke of Millan. And for his better success in those wars, sought by all means he could to draw some other of the Princes and States of Italy into the fellowship of that intended war; but about all others the Venetians, as most commodious for his purpose, with whom he made a firm league, and for the aid they were to giue him, couenanted, That they should haue for their share the city of Cremona, with all the pleasant countrey about Abdua, then a part of *Sfortia's* dominions. Which was afterwards accordingly performed.

*Sfortia* vnderstanding of this compact made against him, & knowing himselfe far too weak of himselfe to stand against so puissant enemies; attempted first to set *Maximilian* the Emperour, with the States of Germany, vpon the French King. But that not sorting to his desire, he sought to agree with the King, by offering to hold his Dukedome of him, by paying him a yearly tribute. After he had thus in vain proued all the meanes he could deuise, to haue appeased the French King, and provided for his own safety; he by his Embassadors sent of purpose, certified *Bajazet* of the confederation betwixt the French King and the Venetians, and that their purpose was after they had oppressed him and some other of the States of Italy, then with their vnted forces to inuade his dominions: and that therefore it were good for him in time to looke vnto it, and to giue aid against those who would in short time become his most dangerous enemies. By this meanes the Duke was in good hope, so to busie the Venetians, by bringing in the Turk vpon them, as that they should stand the French in small stead. At which time also the Embassadors of Florence did what they could to pricke forward the

R r

Turk

Turk to make wars vpon the Venetians, for the malice they bare against them for protecting G them of Pila against the oppression of the Florentines.

Bajazet perswaded by the Embassadors, and called to remembrance the injuries before don him by the Venetians; first by aiding *Iohn Castriot* the son of *Scanderbeg*, and *Iohn Cherna- vich* another prince of Epirus, (whereby he lost a great part of that country, and was also further inforced to yeeld to such conditions as altogether stood not with his honor) and again, by denying to give his fleet leave to put into their harbors of Cyprus, in the time of his wars against the Sultan of Egypt: all which he was glad then to endure, for fear lest that his brother *Zemes* (then living) should by their means bee set vp against him; promised now to doe what the Embassadors had requested: glad in his mind, that the discord of the Christian princes had presented vnto him so fit an opportunitie of reuenge.

1499.

Triuli: part of  
the Venetian  
territory posses-  
sed by the  
Turks.

Herupon he made great preparation both by sea and land against the Venetians, and vpon the sudden caused *Scander Bassa* his Lieutenant in Illyria, with twelue thousand horsemen to break into the country of Friuli, part of the Venetian territory vpon the borders of Italy. The Bassa as he had in charge, passing ouer diuers great riuers, at length entred the country, burning and destroying all before him as far as Liquentia, carying away with him all the poore country people prisoners. But when he was come to the banks of Tiliaventum, & vnderstood that he came too late to pleasure the duke of Millan (for why, the French with the Venetians had before without resistance driuen him quite out of Italy & Germany) he there with more than barbarous cruelty put 4000 poore prisoners to the sword: and so hauing filled the country with mourning and with blood, returned from whence hee came, loded with the spoyle of that rich country.

At the same time also, *Bajazet* put to sea such a fleet, as none of his predecessors had before set forth; and with a great army in person himselfe marched alongst the sea coast of Morea, in such sort, as that his army by land, and his fleet at sea, as neer as they could keepe euen pace the one within sight of the other. Neither were the Venetians vnmindfull of themselves, but set forth a strong fleet vnder the charge of *Anthony Grimani* their Admirall; in number far inferior to the Turks, but for equippage, strength, skilful mariners, and al other maner of warlike provision much superior. For which cause the Turkes, although desied and braued by the Venetians, yet durst not at the first join with them in battell, but stil kept alongst the coast of Morea, not daring to put farther off into the sea. In this their course the Venetians troubled them exceedingly, sometimes making shew as if they would haue constrained them to fight, and otherwhiles giuing them chafe, neuer departing far from them, wisely accounting it right good seruice, if they could but keepe that huge fleet from landing in Italy or other place of the Venetian territory. Most men were in good hope, that if those great fleets should haue joined in battell, the Venetians should haue had a notable victory, for that the enemy as afraid kept so dangerous a course, and so neer the main. The longer they thus sailed, the more was the State of Venice offended with their Admirall, that he contrary to all expectation delayed to fight, stil suffering the dangerous enemy to approach neerer and neerer their territories; and there were none which had not rather hee should haue set all vpon the hazard of one battell, than to protract by delay a long and doubtful war. Whilst all men were thus in expectation of some great exploit to be don vpon the enemy, newes came to the city, That the Turks fleet had put into the haven Sapiientia in the Island Sphragia, to water, and was there embayed by the Venetians. This report was of all men joyfully receiued, as if the victory had bin already assured; and so much the more, for that it was vainly supposed that it would be gained without any great losse. But others which better knew the place, deemed of the matter far otherwise, saying, That the place wherein the enemy lay was such, as that he might safely at his pleasure depart thence. Yet forso much as the Turkes fleet was more subiect vnto danger in putting out of the Harbor, than in the wide sea, there was no man but was of opinion, That the Venetian Admirall would set vpon them as they should come forth again. Whilst men were thus diuining to and fro, and the Venetians attending the coming forth of the Enemies fleet, it M fortuned that *Andreas Lauvedanus* and *Albanus Amerius* (two valiant gentlemen) but a little before come from Corcyra of purpose to be present at the battell, were the first that began the fight; and with their two nimble ships (after they had exchanged a few bullets) boord- ed a tall Ship of the Turkes, being of such beauty and burthen, that she seemed rather a Ca-  
ble

Fight at sea  
between the  
Turkes and  
Venetians.

A ble than a ship, whereof one *Baruch* of Smyrna (a notable pirat) was Captain: who after a long and cruel fight, perceiuing that he must either yeeld, or by force be taken, desperately fired his own ship, by the rage whereof both she and the Venetian ships fast grappled vnto her, were all three together burnt downe to the water. Many of the men, to shun the violence of the fire, leapt ouer boord into the sea, where some of them were taken vp by other ships, and some perished. Some few other of the Venetian fleet courageously assailed the Turkes at their coming out, and doing great harm, put the Turkes whole fleet in no small fear. But most part of the Venetian gallies lay looking on a far off; vnto whom the other, before in fight with the Turkes, after they had don what they could, rettyred also. But by that they had don it appeared plainly, that the Venetian Admirall that day let slip out of his hands a most notable victorie, B if he as a resolute man had with his whole fleet charged the enemy.

After this fight the Turkes held on their course, stil keeping Morea on the right hand, whom the Venetians stil followed: at length the Turks fleet was come to the entrance of the gulf of Patras, where the Venetians again faintly setting vpon them, suffered them to recouer the gulf, with no lesse dishonor than they had before let them escape at the port Sapiientia: for the Venetians hauing the aduantage of the place, and better appointed for fight at sea, might easily (as it was supposed) haue gained the victory, if the commanders (but especially the admirall) had bin so forward in that seruice as became men of their spirit. But many of them afraid to fight, lay aloof; so that *Danthes* the Turkes Admirall, who perceiuing himselfe too weake, had purposed to run his gallies on shore, and so to haue fled to the army at land, if he had felt C himselfe ouercharged by the Venetian fleet; had now contrary to his expectation, recouered the gulf he desired, though not without losse of some of his gallies. Within this gulf stands the ancient city of Naupaetum (now called Lepanto) then subiect to the Venetians, whither *Bajazet* was now come by land with his Army: and now by the coming of his fleet into the gulf, laid hard siege to the city both by sea and land. They in the city seeing themselves on euery side beset with their enemies, without any great resistance fel to composition with *Bajazet*, and so yeelded vnto him the city, which the Turkes hold at this day.

Lepanto yeeld-  
ed to the  
Turkes.

*Grimani* the Venetian Admirall returning to Venice, was for all his euil seruice (or rather for that he, according to his mild nature, had not vld seueritie against those Capitaines that refused to fight) cast in prison: and although he was a man mightily befriended, yet was hee D by a publique decree banished into one of the Abysyides, Islands vpon the coast of Liburnia. From the first foundation of the city of Venice, was neuer man impugned with more spight, or defended by greater friends; but Common hatred preuailing, hee was neuertheles exiled. Thus *Bajazet* hauing made a rode into the Venetian territory by *Scander-Bassa*, and taken from them the City of Naupaetum, with the Countrey thereabout, returned with victory to Constantinople.

The next year following, being the year 1500, *Bajazet* put to sea a greater and stronger fleet than he had the year before; and himselfe in person with a puissant army of 150000 men entered by the streit of Corinth into Peloponesus, and marching thorow the Countrey, came and incamped before the strong City of Methone (now called Modon) then vnder the gouern- E ment of the Venetians; at which time his great fleet met him there also by sea, as he had before appointed. When he had thus beset the city both by sea and land, and with long and continual battery made three great and fair breaches in the walls, he gaue vnto the same two terrible assaults, and that with such desperate fury, that many of them which went first vnto the breach, ouerthrown by the presse of them that followed, were troden to death. Yet neuertheles the city was both times valiantly defended by the citifens and garrison soldiers. So that when he had don what he could, he was glad to retyre from the walls, hauing filled the Town ditches with the bodies of his slain Turkes. The Venetian Admirall *Trivisanus* lying then at the Isle of Zacynthus, (but far too weak to fight with the Enemy) in the beginning of the siege sent *Valerius Marcellus* and *Baptista Polanus*, with two Gallies full of men and munition F relief of the besieged; and now doubting their further wants, sent *To. Maripetru*, *Alex. Col- thim* of Corcyra, and *Cachuris* of Hydruntum, with three other great Gallies, with men, munition, and such other things as he thought needfull for defence of the City. These three resolute Capitaines coming with a full winde, and packing on all their sailes brake thorow the Turkes great fleet lying in their way, and ran themselves aground vnder the Walls of the town:

1500

Hereupon besie-  
ged both by sea  
and land by  
*Bajazet*.

Town: for they of the Towne had so barred the haven for fear of the enemy, that they could not possibly get in that way. The Citizens and Soldiers joyfull of the coming of this fresh supply, and withall fearing lest the Gallies should be set off again from them by the Enemy, came running by heaps from all parts of the City, towards the sea, to receiue this new come aid. Which was don with such a confused disorder, that diuers places of the city toward the land were left without defendants, as if there had been no Enemy neer. Which the Ianizaries quickly perceiuing, presently entred by those forsaken places, with very little or no resistance. Then the Citizens all too late began to make head: for the Ianizaries already entred, made way for the rest of the Army; which swarming into the City, slew without pitty every one that came in the way, as well Grecians as Venetians, with all the souldiers but then newly landed out of the three Gallies. In this slaughter, *Antonius Fabritius* and *Bardella* (both H Governours of the Town) with *Andreas Falco* Bishop of Methone, in his Pontificalibus, and his Mytre on his head, were slaine. None escaped their fury, but such as were for their strength referred for seruile labor, or for beauty, to the Victors lust. And of these, a thousand bound fast together in long ropes, were brought to *Bajazets* Pavillion, and there in his sight, by his commandement cruelly murdered. The Cities of *Corone* and *Pylus* (now called *Navarrinum*) sometimes the dwelling place of old *Nestor*, terrified with the taking of Methone, yielded themselves by Composition to *Bajazet*. The City of *Chrissium*, now known by the name of *Caput S. Galli*, was taken also by *Chersieogles*, *Bajazet* his son in law. All these were Cities belonging to the Venetians. *Nauplium* also was besieged by *Haly Bassa*, but yet still defended by the Venetians. *Bajazet* hauing new fortified the city of Methone, and stored it with new inhabitants, left in it a strong garrison, and so with victory returned to Constantinople.

At about this time  
by the Turks

Corrected, Pylus  
and Chrissium  
yielded to the  
Turks

1501

About this time *Trivisanus* the Venetian Admirall died, of griefe of mind, as some supposed. In whose place the Senat sent one *Benedictus Pisaurius* a noble & valiant Gentleman, who with the Venetian fleet followed the enemy, then departing from the siege of *Nauplium*, pursuing them even vnto the streits of *Hellespontus*, still cutting off such as stragled or taried behind the rest of the fleet. By which means he took about twenty of their Gallies, and in his return took from the Turks the Island of *Agina*; and landing in diuers places of the Turkes Dominions, left vnto them the wofull remembrance of his being there. Afterward meeting with *Gonsalvus*, surnamed the Great (sent by *Ferdinand* King of Spain, to aid him against the K Turks) at *Zacynthus*, hee invaded *Cephalenia* (which *Trivisanus* his predecessor had in vain attempted the year before) and layd hard siege vnto the City; which for a space was valiantly defended by the Turks, but yet at length by the good conduct of *Gonsalvus* it was by force taken; when as *Gisdure* the Gouvernor thereof, with his garrison of Turks, had before fought it out euen to the last man. The City being taken, all the whole Island yielded forthwith to the Venetians.

Cephalenia taken  
by the Venetians.

*Pisaurius* hauing taken *Cephalenia*, repaired the city, and leauing a strong garrison for the defence of the Isle, departed for *Corcyra*; where he was aduertised that the Turkes were rigging forth a great fleet against the next Spring, wherof some part lay in the Bay of *Ambracia* not far from *Corcyra*, some at *Eante*, and the rest within the streits of *Hellespontus*. Wherefore purposing to do some exploit vpon those gallies which lay in the Bay of *Ambracia*; to auert the mind of the enemy from perceiuing of that which he had secretly with himself intended, he sent the greatest part of his fleet vnto the Island of *Neritos*, who suddenly landing should put the inhabitants in fear. The Captains sent about the businesse, cheerfully put in execution what the Admirall had commanded, and by their sudden landing raised such a tumult, that all the Countries therabout were filled with the expectation of that which should ensue thereof. The Bay of *Ambracia* is so streitned on either side with the mountains of *Epirus*, that the entrance thereof is but half a mile ouer: but by and by opening it self into a great widenesse, and running vp into the land, maketh a most pleasant and safe harbor for ships and Gallies to ride in. *Pisaurius* with a fair wind coming thither with eight Gallies well appointed, when the Turks thought him to haue bin at *Neritos*, and entering the streit, rowing farther into the Bay, burnt one of the Turkes great gallies, to the terror of all them that dwelt round about the Bay; and carried away with him cleuen more, laded with munition and Victual, through the streit; the Turkes in vain fretting thereat, and doing what they could with their

A their great ordnance from shore, to haue sunk him in going out of the Bay. But hauing done what he came for, he returned with his prey again to *Corcyra*. Not long after he also recovered the castle of *Pylus* in *Morca*; which as it was suddenly gotten, so was it as suddenly lost. For *Camalia* a notable Turkish pyrat, who had bin abroad seeking after purchase, putting in that harbor by chance, took 3 gallies there left by the admiral for defence of the place, and so terrified the faint-hearted captain, that he fel to composition with the pyrat to yeeld him the castle, so that he and his souldiers might in safety depart. Which the pyrat granting, had the castle deliuered vnto him, which he could not with far greater strength haue possibly won. So was *Pylus* for fear twice in one yeare yeelded vp vnto the Turkes, and was both times the death of the cowardly captains that gaue it vp, being both beheaded by commandement of the Admiral. About the same time *Pisaurius* attempted to haue burnt other of the Turkes gallies lying in the riuer *Eante*, vpon the coast of *Macedonia*, but not with so good success as before; for the Turkes made more carefull by the losse they had but a little before receiued at *Ambracia*, did now more vigilantly look vnto their gallies. So that when *Pisaurius* had in certain small vessels made of purpose for that seruice, imbarcked two hundred resolute souldiers, to haue gonvp the riuer to haue fired the gallies, they were by the way, after they had a good way entred into the riuer, incountried by the Turkes and inforced to return. But before they could get out of the riuer, the wind rose so contrary, with such a stiff gale in the mouth of the riuer, that the mariners ouermasted with the violence of the weather, when they had done what they could, and spent all their strength, were driuen on shore, some on the one side of the riuer, some on the other, and so fel into the hands of their enemies, of whom it bootied not to craue mercy.

Pylus taken from  
the Turkes, and  
again yeelded  
vnto them.

About this time *Bajazet* took also the antient and famous city of *Dyrrachium*, now called *Durazo*, from the Venetians; before ruinous, and almost quite abandoned by the inhabitants, as a place of danger, and not to be kept now that the Turk had got all the Country round about it. The Venetians sore pressed with these wars so long maintained against the Turkes, had many times craued aid of other Christian princes, and were well holpen by the Spaniard in the taking of *Cephalenia*. And now *Lewis* the French King, vpon a good deuotion to that war, sent the Lord *Rauestein* with seuen tall ships and fifteen gallies well appointed, out of *Provence* and *Genoa*, to aid the Venetians his friends. This fleet departing from *Naples*, where D they had by the way put in, and passing about *Italy*, and so through the *Ionian* sea, came vnto *Melos* one of the *Cyclads*; at which Island *Pisaurius* with his fleet in short time arrived also. From whence they by mutual consent departed together to invade the Island of *Lesbos*; and being there safely arrived, landed their forces, and laid siege vnto the strong City of *Mytilene*, where by the fury of their artillery they in short time had made a fair breach in the wall. In the time of this battery, whilst the breach was in making, *Pisaurius* with part of his fleet sailed to *Tenedos*: for it was reported, that certaine of the Turkes Gallies were then coming for that place out of *Hellespontus*. Which report, as some write, was of purpose given out by the French, thereby to draw the Venetian Admirall from the siege; that so in the mean time they being in good hope to take the town in his absence, might themselves carry away the honour thereof, together with the rich spoile. Others fauouring the French, blame the Venetian Admirall, as if he had of purpose departed, enuying at the honor of the French. Which is hardly to be beleeued in so honourable a personage, and in an action so much concerning the good of his Commonwealth. Howsoeuer it was, the breach being made, in his absence was by the French presently assaulted; although that *Paulus Valaresius* the Venetian Vice-admiral earnestly requested the French Admirall to deferre the assault for a while, and to expect the coming of *Pisaurius*. Which his counsell the French Admirall gaue him the hearing of, but yet went forward with the assault. The Frenchmen after their manner furiously assailing the breach, were valiantly repulsed by the Turkes; so that in the breach was made a deadly and horrible fight, many falling on both sides. Yet for all that, the City was manfully defended by the Turks, and the Frenchmen were inforced to retyre. The French Admirall hauing taken this repulse, commanded all things to be caried aboard, purposing to haue forsaken the siege, and so to haue departed. When in the mean while the Venetian Admirall returned, and with much ado persuaded the French to stay. Whereupon the battery was again begun with

Dyrrachium  
taken by the  
Turks.

Mytilene  
besieged.

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greater

greater fury than before; and now the leaders were consulting of a fresh assault to be given, when suddenly news was brought, That the Turks fleet was coming to relieve the city: and thereupon the assault was for a time deferred, and the battery continued. But those Turks that came being in number but few, were for most part by them in the galleys taken and cast overboard; some few that got to land, saved themselves in the woods & desert places of the Isle. By this time the city was again made faultable, and the Venetians with great courage assailed the breach, and had twice gained the top of the Rampiers, from whence they were again both times beaten down by the Turks, the French at the while looking on. Many valiant men were there slain and hurt; and in the end the Venetians were glad with losse to retire, as had the French done before. Whilst this was in doing, a pinnace came to the fleet with news, That the Great Master of the Rhodes was coming with his galleys to the siege: whereupon the Admirals determined to maintain the siege untill his coming. But the next day after, the French Admiral changing his purpose, shipped his men, and hoisting sail departed to Chios, and sailing thence toward Italy, was overtaken with a terrible tempest, wherein the Admirall gally with two others were lost, with 800 good soldiers; the Admiral himself with about forty others were by chance contrary to all hope saved, and with much danger with his weather-beaten fleet recovered the haven of Tarentum. The Venetian Admiral thus forsaken of the French, and seeing the time past wherein he expected the coming of the Great Master of the Rhodes, brake up the siege and departed from Lesbos to Chios, and from thence to Paros, where he found the Master of the Rhodes with his galleys, unto whom he complained greatly of the inconstancy of the French, imputing it to them, that the city of Mytilen was not won.

The Siege of Mytilen broken up.

1502.

Neither were they behind with him, but in all places where they came laid the fault as much or more upon him. From Paros the Venetian Admiral took his course to the Island of Melos, where he found one *Rhichius* an arch pirat of the Turkes, who by force of tempest was driven on shore, and by the sudden coming down of the Island people taken. Him (for that he had exercised exceeding cruelty upon certain Christians that he had taken) *Pisaurius* caused to be fast bound to a spit, and with a soft fire to be roasted to death. From Melos he returned to Corcyra, and there wintered.

Mytilen taken by the Venetians.

The next Spring, *Pisaurius* with certain galleys which *Alexander* Bishop of Rome had sent unto him, under the command of *Jacobus Pisaurius* Bishop of Paphia, sailed to Neritos, now called S. Maura, which is an Island parted from the firm land with a little fret of the sea, long time before that way let in by the Corinthians. Here *Pisaurius* suddenly landing his men, surprised the Island, and with wonderful celeritie and industry cast up two great trenches, in such fort and to so good purpose, that 3000 of the Turks horsemen coming at a low water, over that narrow streit which parts the Island from the maine, were with losse repulsed, and forced to retire. Whereupon S. Maura the chief city was forthwith delivered to *Pisaurius*, with the rest of the Island.

The Venetians weary of this long and chargeable war against so mighty an enemy, sent *Lodovicus Manetius* their ambassador to *Bajazet*, to treat with him for peace: but *Bajazet* stood upon such hard points, that nothing could at that time be concluded. Yet *Manetius* so discreetly used the matter, that *Bajazet* sent with him at his returne to Venice, his Ambassador, to propound unto the Senat such conditions as it pleased him to grant them peace upon. This ambassador had audience in the Senat twice, where he in his masters name propounded such unreasonable and proud conditions, that they were by the Senat rejected, and so he himselfe dismissed and sent back again.

1503.

The year following, the Venetians sent an Ambassador to *Bajazet*, who moved with the pitiful complaints of his own subjects, for the daily harmes they received of the Venetians along the sea coast, as also for want of trade, and fearing also some troubles like to arise in his kingdom in Asia (as indeed there did not long after) yielded himself more willingly to heare of peace than before. This ambassador, called *Zacharias Phisicus*, was well heard of *Bajazet*, and after long suit, brought the matter he came for into some good terms, and being honourably rewarded by the Turkish Sultan, returned home, carrying with him to the Senat far more reasonable conditions of peace than had at any time before bin by *Bajazet* propounded. Herupon the Venetians shortly after sent *Andrew Gritti* (an honorable Senator) a man well knowne

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A to *Bajazet*, both for his famous traffique in former time at Constantinople, and also for that in these late wars he was taken prisoner at the winning of Methone, and his life spared at the intercession of *Cherfogeles* (*Bajazets* son in law) and afterward ransomed: hee in the name of the State from whence he came, concluded a peace with *Bajazet*. The capitulations whereof were, first, That the Venetians should deliver up the Islands of Neritos and Leucadia, reserving to themselves the Island of Cephalenia only. Then, That *Bajazet* should restore all such goods as had bin taken from the Venetian merchants in these late wars. And that it should be lawful for them (as they were wont) safely to traffick into the Euxine sea, and to Constantinople, and there to have their Consul or governor as they had in former time. And lastly, That the Venetian territory should be certainly known, and separated from the Turks by certaine bounds and limits. These conditions were solemnly agreed upon, and confirmed both by *Bajazet* and the state of Venice; and so a firm peace concluded in the year 1503, after the Wars had continued betwixt them about the space of five years.

Peace concluded betweene Bajazet & the Venetians.

The same year *Bajazet* assembled a great and puissant army of his best and most approved soldiers, as well in Asia as Europ, which met together at Sophia, purposing as it was thought, to have invaded Hungary: but worthily doubting the success of that war against so warlike a nation, he changed his purpose, and leaving *Achmetes Bassa* with his Asian soldiers at Sophia, turned himself with the rest of his Army into Albania, to reduce those rebellious people again to his obedience; and had before sent a fleet of galleys to stop the passages of that country along the sea coast. But the country people understanding of his coming, fled into the high and rough rocks and mountains, from whence they did the Turks great harm. Who nevertheless with incredible labor and adventure mounting those difficult places, and killing an exceeding number of those mountain and savage people, carried all the women and children they could light upon, away with them prisoners; and with fire and sword made all the country desolat. After which spoil don, *Bajazet* returned with his army to Manastirum: and departing thence, upon the way met with a *Dervissar* (which is a phantastical and beggarly kind of Turkish Monks, using no other apparel but two sheepe-skins, the one hanging before, the other behind) a lusty strong-far fellow, attyred after the manner of his order, with a great ring in each ear: who drawing neer unto *Bajazet*, as if he would of him have received an Almes, desperately assailed him with a short scimitar which he had closely conveyed under his hypocritical habit. But *Bajazet* by the starting of the horse whereon he rid (beeing afrakl at the sudden approach of the hobgoblin) partly avoided the deadly blow by the traitor intended, yet not altogether unwounded. Neither had he so escaped the danger, had not *Ishender Bassa* with his horsemen mace presently strook down the desperat villain as hee was about to have doubled his stroke, but now struck dead, he was forthwith rent in pieces by the soldiers. This treacherous and desperat act so much moved *Bajazet*, that he proscribed all them of that superstitious order, and banished them out of his empire.

Bajazet in danger to have bin slain by a Dervissar or Turkish Monk.

After so many troubles, *Bajazet* gave himself to a quiet course of life, spending most part of his time in study of philosophy, and conference with learned men. Unto which peaceable kind of life he was by natural disposition more inclined than to wars; albeit that the regard of his state, and the earnest desire of his men of war, drew him oftentimes even against his will into the field. As for the civil government of his kingdom, hee referred it wholly to his three principal Bassas, *Alis*, *Achmetes*, and *Zachia*, who at their pleasure disposed of all things. After he had in this pleasing and quiet kind of life, to his great contentment passed over five years; of a little neglected sparke suddenly arose such a fire in Asia, as was hardly after with much bloud of his people, and danger of that part of his Empire quenched: the reliques whereof yet troubleth those superstitious people at this day. Which thing was brought to passe by the crafty device of *Chafan Chelise* & *Schach Culi* his boy (whom some call *Teckel Schachoculis*, and others *Techellus*) two hypocritical Persians; who flying into those countries, with the counterfeit shew of feigned holines having procured to themselves a great name among those rude people, with a number of windy headed fellows (filled with the novelty of their new doctrine) raised first such a diversitie of opinions about the true successors of their vnture prophet, and afterwards such a rebellion amongst the people, as that the one yet remaineth, and the other was not a good while after with great bloudshed appeased.

Bajazet by nature peaceable.

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But for the better vnderstanding of the ground of these troubles, which hapned at this time in the reign of *Bajazet*, by occasion of these two fugitiue Persians; as also for the mortall wars which afterwards ensued betwixt *Hyssmael* (commonly called the great Sophy of Persia) and *Schymus*, *Bajazets* succesor; it shall not be much from our purpose, briefly to declare the great mutation which at this time hapned to the Persian kingdom, as well in the State it self, as in matters of their superstition. At such time as *Alymbeius Vsun-Cassanes* reigned in Persia, there was one *Haider Erdebil* (whom *Iovius* calleth by the name of *Harduelles*) a man honorably descended among the Persians, who contemning worldly honor, riches, pleasure, and whatsoever els belonged to delicacie of life (commonly accounted the greatest part of humane felicity) as vanities and trifles, led such a streit and austere kind of life, with such continencie and contempt of the world, as that the vulgar people, for most part giuen to pleasure, wondring at that in him, which they could not or would not imitate; began to haue the man in singular admiration, for the opinion they had conceiued of his vpright life and rare vertues. The fame of this new prophet (for so he was accounted) was grown so great in the Persian kingdom, that people without number resorted out of all parts of Persia and Armenia, vnto the great City of Tauris, to see the man. And he the more to seduce the multitude (delighted in nouelties) began to inueigh against the common receiued opinion of the Mahometans, concerning the true successors of their great Prophet; and to reuiue the opinion of *Giuni*, surnamed *Sofy*, persuading the people (as if he had bin inspired with some diuine inspiration) that none of the professors of the Mahometan religion should inherit the kingdom of heauen after death, but such as were the followers of *Haly*, the true successor of their great prophet *Mahomet*, and his fellow in writing. Whom he taught them only to honour, as priuie to the mind of the great Prophet, and so to reueile his writings, as most wicked and accursed men: whom the Turks had euer, and yet do with the other Mahometans, honor and worship as the true successors of their great Prophet, and his sincere Interpreters, together with the aforesaid *Haly*; whom the Persians do only acknowledge, and therefore in their prayers do commonly say, *Cursed bee Ebubekir, Omer, and Osman*, with their writings, as of all others most authentical; reje&ing *Ebubekir*, *Omer*, and *Osman*, and yet do with the other Mahometans, honor and worship as the true successors of their great Prophet, and his sincere Interpreters, together with the aforesaid *Haly*; whom the Persians do only acknowledge, and therefore in their prayers do commonly say, *Cursed bee Ebubekir, Omer, and Osman*, and *God be fauorable to Haly, and well pleased with him*. Which their difference about the true successor of their Prophet, in whom was no truth, hath bin, and yet is one of the greatest causes of the mortall Wars between the Turkes and the Persians; and not the diuers interpretation of their Law (as many haue written) which amongst the Turks and Persians is all one.

*Vsun-Cassanes* moued with the fame and vertues of this new Prophet, or rather (as some thought) desirous to win the hearts of the multitude that had receiued this new phantassie; gaue him in mariage his daughter *Martha*, begotten of the Christian lady *Despina* the daughter of *Calo-Ioannes* Emperour of Trapezond. Which mariage the Christian Emperour made with the Mahometan prince, and he also accepted thereof, thereby to strengthen themselves against the Turkish Emperour *Atahomet* the Great, whose power was then become a terror vnto all his neighbor princes: but to how smal purpose this policie serued them both, is before declared in the life of the said *Mahomet*. At the conclusion of this mariage, the emperor had specially covenanted with *Vsun-Cassanes*, that his daughter *Despina* might haue the free exercise of the Christian religion. Whereby it came to passe, that this *Martha* her daughter, instructed by her mother, became a Christian also: who now married by her father vnto this precise hypocrite *Haider Erdebil*, in short time bare him a son called *Hyssmael*; whom she so much as shee could trained vp in the principles of Christian religion. Whereby it came to passe that afterwards when he had by rare fortune obtained the kingdome of Persia, hee alwaies during his life had the Christians in good regard, and neuer found fault with their religion.

*Haider* thus graced with the mariage of the great kings daughter *Martha*, only for his rare vertues and puritie of life, as was commonly supposed, grew now into far greater credit and estimation of the people than before. So that his doctrine and opinions began generally to be receiued, and the number of his followers so greatly augmented, that *Iacup* succeeding his father *Vsun-Cassanes*, but lately dead, began to haue his brother in law *Haider*s power and credit in suspect, and to distrust lest the Persians (who secretly fauored the remainder of the posteritie of their antient kings) should assemble together vnder color of this new superstition, and

A and raise some dangerous rebellion before he was well settled in his seat. For he was not ignorant, that *Asembeius Vsun-Cassanes* (his father) had but by force and policie vsurped the Kingdom, hauing killed *Moloonchres* the lawfull King. Whereof there arose two factions, some fauoring the vsurper, and other some the poor remainder of the descent of their antient Kings of the race of *Tamerlane*. For which cause *Iacup*, as he was of a suspitious and troublefom nature, and about measure jealous of his estate, nothing regarding the neere allyance or reputed holinesse of his godly brother in law, caused him (suspecting no such matter) to be secretly murdered: and so hauing struck off his head, with fire and sword persecuted all the professors of that new doctrine; so to deliuer himself for euer of that his vain and needlesse fear: *Hyssmael* the son of *Haider* (who was afterwards called the great Sophy of Persia) beeing then but a child, as it were by fatal destiny escaped the fury of his cruel vncle *Iacup*, and fled into Syria, vnto one *Pyrcuales* his fathers friend, who then ruled in a small territory neere vnto the Caspian sea.

Amongst many others of the disciples and followers of *Haider* (which in that cruell persecution were glad to fly for safegard of their liues) the two before named, *Chafan Shilife* and *Schach Culi*, afterwards surnamed *Cusclibas*, in outward shew both of vertue and learning not inferior vnto their master, flying that dangerous tempest, and passing ouer the riuer Euphrates, came into Armenia the lesser, and there took vp their dwelling at the great mountaine Antitaurus; at the foot whereof the broken rocks haue diuers dark and obscure caues, made partly by art, partly by nature; which place is by the Inhabitants called *Teke-Ili*: whereof diuers Historiographers, I know not whether deceiued by the name of the place, or els wittingly transferring the name of the place vnto the man that liued therein, haue called this *Schach Culi* (who of the two proued of greater fame) by the name of *Techellis*, by which name wee wil also from henceforth call him. A thing heretofore much vsed among the religious, and also some of the children of great princes, who oftentimes bare the names of the places where they were born, or where they most liued. This place is both wholsom and exceeding pleasant, for the varietie of fruits and liuely springs, wherewith the plaines adioyning are continually watered, and the mountains at all times of the year garnished.

Here *Shelife*, with his companion *Techellis*, hauing separated themselves from the company of men, and giuen themselves wholly to a contemplatiue life; for diuers yeares liued most strictly and severely, contenting themselves with such things as the earth of it selfe afforded, without seeking for better. These hypocrites were first scene, and afterward acquainted with the shepherds and herdsmen liuing vpon the mountains, and in proces of time with the rude husbandmen and country people, who wondring at their streit and deuout kinde of life, relieved them with all things necessary. Yea *Bajazet* himself, hearing of their austere and deuout manner of liuing, sent them yearly six or seuen thousand aspers, as his alms giuen them vpon charitie and deuotion. But afterwards when they began to tell fortunes, and as it were by the way of diuination to prognosticate of things to come, the rurall people held them for more than men, and conceiued of them a firm opinion that they were some diuine prophets. And so were by the country people first drawn into the country villages, and afterward, as if it had bin against their wils, into the cities, where they had in short time filled all the countrey far and neer with the admiration of their fame. But after they began to publish their new phantassied doctrine concerning the true successor of their great prophet *Mahomet*, they wanted not their new fangled followers (as had *Haider* their master before amongst the Persians) who had them in singular reuerence, persuaded now by them, that they should be condemned for euer, if they did not, as they were by them taught, giue the honour of the true succession of their great Prophet, only to *Haly*, and him only to reuerence and call vpon next vnto the great Prophet himself.

When they had thus with their often sermons and blinded prophecies seduced the people, and in short time won great credit among the vulgar sort, of themselves too much giuen to nouelty and superstition; they commanded their disciples &c followers to wear vpon their Turkish hats a red band or riband, whereby to be knowne from others that were not of their profession. Of which red bands or ribands, they who professed this new superstition, were, and yet are ouer all the East part of the world called by the name of *Cusclibass's*, that is to say, Red-heads.

*Haider Erdebil* secretly murdered.

The beginning of the *Cusclibass's* is

*Hyssmael*

*Hyfmael* also living in exile, most earnestly embraced that new superstition which *Haider* G his father had before taught in Persia, but with far better fortune and successe. For as soon as he was grown to mans estate, he following his fathers maner of life, and being by nature wonderful eloquent, comely of person, exceeding wise, and of an invincible courage, was of the vulgar people accounted of more like a god than a man; so that hee grew to be of great fame and power amongst those barbarous people with whom he lived. And not the base and vulgar sort only, but diuers noblemen also, and others of good reputation, once allured with the novelty of his doctrine, the more to manifest their good will toward the author of their sect after they had forsaken their old superstition, ceased not (as the maner of men is) to commend him in the highest degree of vertue and honor. And he himself as yet but a youth, alto- H gether bending his wit to the setting forth of himself, making semblant of more than was indeed in him, obtained, as if it had bin against his wil, riches, honor, fame, and authority; of all which things he as a notable dissembler seemed to make no account or reckoning. Neither were some wanting who would swear, that *Haider* his father (as hee was an excellent Astronomer) calculating his natiuitie, should say, That he should proue a great prophet, and the Author of true religion, who subduing the greatest part of the East, should become as glorious both in matters of religion and martial affairs, as was *Mahomet* the great Prophet himself. Which report being bruted abroad among the common people, greatly increased his authority, & gaue them ocaſion to talk of wonders. Not long after, *Hyfmael* was first by the admiration, or rather assentation of his friends and followers, and afterwards as if it had bin by general consent, tyrrnamed *Sophos*, which amongst those people signifieth a Wife man, or the I Interpreter of the gods. These prosperous beginnings, with the troubled state of the kingdom of Persia, encouraged him to take in hand great matters: for his vnkle *Iacup* the Persian King was long before dead, being together with his son poisoned by his adulterous wife; the which he presently perceiving, enforced her to drink of the same cup; and because he would be sure he should not escape, with his own hand struck off her head, and immediatly after died, with his son. After whose death great troubles arose about the succession, and diuers great men one after another aspired to the kingdom, which they enjoyed not long. And among the rest *Elean* King (whom *Iovius* calleth *Aluantes*) at that time stood in no sure possession of the kingdom, being mightily impugned by his brother *Moratchamus*.

*Hyfmael* taking hold of this opportunitie, armed diuers of the most able men of his followers, and receiving some smal aid from his poor old friend *Pyrchales*, entred into Armenia, and there partly by the same that ran of him, and partly by the good wil of the people, rather than by any force, recovered his fathers inheritance, wherunto the remembrance of his dead father did not a little further him. He encouraged by this good beginning, daily grew stronger and stronger, by the continual repairing vnto him of such as hauing once received the doctrine of *Haider*, were glad of long, for fear of persecution, to dissemble the same: but now hauing got an head and chieftain to cleaue to, began openly to shew themselves again, and in great number to resort vnto him, in hope of the good successe of their Religion, not so happily begun by his father.

His power thus daily increasing beyond his expectation, he besieged *Sumachia*, a City in the confines of Media, which he took by force and sacked, and with the spoil thereof both enriched and armed his soldiers, which before were for most part naked men. The taking of this city wonderfully increased both his fame and credit; as oftentimes it falleth out, That haughty minds, courageously attempting high exploits, by the good euent of their first attempts make way vnto the full of their stately desires. So after this, *Hyfmaels* thoughts were not so low as to think of the taking of this or that little city; but how hee might now compass the great City *Tauris*, the very seat of the Persian kings, and afterwards the kingdom it selfe. Wherupon reposing no lesse confidence in his own good fortune, than the valor of his soldiers, he marched with his army directly to the City of *Tauris*, and that with such expedition, that he was come before it before any such thing was feared, much lesse provided for it. *Elean* the Persian King was then at *Tauris*, and had but a little before fought a great battell against his brother *Moratchamus* for the kingdom: and hauing vanquished him, draue him out of Armenia and Persia. And afterwards, as it commonly falleth out in the winding vp of Civil Wars, had caused diuers of the chief Citizens of *Tauris*, which had taken part with his brother

A brother against him to bee seuerely executed, filling the eies of their friends with the horrible spectacle of their dismembred bodies, and the hearts of most men with sorow and heaviness: wherby he had so alienated the minds of the Citizens from him, that now vpon *Hyfmaels* approach, they were al ready to forsake him: of which their disposition *Hyfmael* was beforehand informed, and vpon the good hope thereof had halted his comming. *Elean* the Persian King thus ouertaken on the sudden, had not time to raise such forces as might suffice either to encounter his enemy, or defend the city; wherfore despairing of his own strength, and iustly fearing the reuolt and fury of the discontented Citizens, as a man dismayed suddenly fled out of the city. After whose departure, the gates were presently set open to *Hyfmael*. For the citizens which in those troubleſome times (wherin the two brethren contended for the kingdom) had suffered great calamitie, chose rather in that present danger to receiue a Conqueror as then was *Hyfmael*, than to their vtter destruction to oppose themselves against him in the quarrel of their cruell King. And the rather, for that they saw a general securitie and open way to preſent propoſed vnto all such as should receiue the reformed Religion of this new Conqueror.

*Hyfmael* entring the city, slew certain of the Kings gard which were not yet departed, and then vtterly rased the stately tomb wherein his vnkle *Iacup* was after the manner of the Persian Kings royally buried. And to mitigate the sorrow hee had so long conceived for his fathers death, and with reuenge to appease his angry ghost, he caused the tyrants bones to be digged vp and scattered abroad, and the memorial of his name to be quite rased out of all the places C of the city.

Although *Hyfmael* was thus possessed of the royal city of *Tauris*, and had thereby made way for obtaining the whole kingdom, yet hee knew that so long as *Elean* lived, his conquest was not vnto him assured: and therefore to the vtmost of his power hee augmented his Army with new supplies taken vp in that populous city, whom he furnished with armor and weapons taken out of the Kings armory. In the mean time news was brought vnto him, That the Persian King before fled into the farthest part of his kingdom, was now comming from *Scyras* with a great army against him: and that *Moratchamus* his brother forgetting in this common danger all former quarrels, had raised a great army about *Babylon* in *Assiria*, in short time to join with his army.

D *Hyfmael* neuertheless nothing terrified with the report of the great preparation of the two brethren against him, to the intent he might seeme to vndertake this War by Gods appointment, and vpon a greater assurance than his own strength, resolved to go against them. And so after he had mustred his army, and in best maner he could provided all things necessary, hee set forward from *Tauris*; vſing no other persuasion to encourage his souldiers, but that they should all, as became resolute men, make haſt and follow him whom God had giuen them for a chieftain and leader, vnto a most assured victory. The Persian King was at the same time ten daies journey from *Tauris*, when *Hyfmael* with incredible celeritie preuenting the same of his comming, was come to the mountain *Niphates*, which parteth Armenia from *Assyria*: which mountain *Elean* purposing shortly after to passe over with his populous Army, had sent before his scouts to discover the streit passages, and a multitude of pioners to make the wayes more commodious for his great army to passe. Which thing *Hyfmael* vnderstanding, andpolitically considering that it should be much for his aduantage, if he should first himself passe over those great mountains, and so vpon a sudden set vpon his enemies then lying in securitie, and fearing nothing lesse than such a desperat attempt, vpon that resolution aduanced his ensignes vpon the mountains, and hauing with small resistance discomfited them which kept the passages, came down the same mountaines like a tempest, and furiously assailed the King then lying in his camp on the other side at the foot of the mountain: vpon whose approach such a hurly-burly was raised in the Kings camp, that what for the confused tumult of the souldiers, and fearful outcries of the multitude of base people that followed the Camp, the King could scarcely giue order to his captains what he would haue don, or yet encourage his souldiers, or put them in order of battell. So that *Hyfmael* giuing a fierce onſet with his Armenian soldiers, there was suddenly begun a most terrible and bloody battell. Neither did that day the fortune of *Hyfmael* faile him, whose courage and prowesse did neuer faile: for assailing the Kings battell of footmen with three squadrons at once, hee had overcome them and put them

*Hyfmael* takes the city of *Tauris*, & defaceb the tomb of his vnkle *Iacup*.

*Hyfmael* goeth against the Persian King.

them to flight before that the horsemen could arm themselves and mount their horses, which were for most part unbridled and unbridled at his coming. The king, who had nothing either feared or foreseen this so sudden a mischief, but had vainly persuaded himself, That the very same of his coming with so huge an army, would so terrifie his enemies, as that he should find none either at Tauris, or in all Armenia, that durst make resistance; was glad now to run to and fro to encourage his souldiers, to stay his discomfited battels, yea and to come to handy blows himself. But when neither his captains nor souldiers could put in execution his sudden directions, which he was enforced to give in that imminent danger, being overcome with shame and desperation, he resolutely thrust himself into the head of his battel, and there valiantly fighting was slain. Whereupon the Persian horsemen, the greatest strength of the kings Army, having now no King for whom they should fight, betooke themselves to flight; after whom followed the archers and all the rest of the Kings army.

When as Hyfmael had with lesse losse than a man would have thought so great a victory could have bin achieved, possessed the enemies Tents, he made no great pursuit after them, for that he thought it more requisite to refresh his souldiers, thoroughly wearied & almost spent with long trauel and late fight: wherefore for certain daies he reposed himself and his Army in those his enemies forsaken tents. Afterwards, when he had received Embassadors from diuers places, yeelding their cities and towns, and that the fauour of the people generally inclined to him, together with the victory, he marched with his army to Seyras, where hee was of the citizens who had before heard of the victory, joyfully received, & his army relieved with all things he could desire. Hyfmael there entertained with the greatest honors that the fearful citizens could possibly attribute to him, did oftentimes preach vnto them of the truth & excellencie of his fathers doctrine, and withal gave out streit proclamations, That hee would account all them for his enemies, which did not within the space of thirty daies renounce all their old superstition, and receiue this new found verity (as he would haue it.) Wherefore, forasmuch as on the one side were proposed most certain rewards by the happy course of his victories; and on the other was threatened exile and torture to such as should obstinately persist in their opinion; in short time he drew al the vulgar people to embrace his new doctrine: and afterwards having paid his souldiers with the riches of that great city, he gallantly furnished both his old and new souldiers that wanted armour, with most excellent armor and furniture. For in that city, one of the greatest and most famous of the East, were many shops full of all kind of armor, which the armorers with wonderfull cunning vsed to make of iron and Steele, and the juice of certain herbs, of much more notable temper and beauty than are these which are made with vs in Europ; not only head-pieces, curiaffes, and compleat armors, but whole caparisons for horses, curiously made of thin plates of iron and steel. Departing from Seyras he took also the great city of Saphas, supposed to haue bin the city in ancient time called Susa, and Sultania; which for the wonderful ruins of the huge buildings, is deemed to haue bin the ancient and famous city Tigranocerta. These great matters quickly dispatched, and having in euery city placed gouernors of his own sect; he passed ouer the River Tygris, into Mesopotamia, of purpose to expulse Morachamus the late Kings brother out of Babylon; who was yet in arms, and had intended (as is before said) to haue passed into Armenia, to haue joynd his forces with the King his brother. But now terrified with his brothers calamity (who together with a most puissant army, and the strength of the Persian kingdom, was in one day fallen from the height of so great a fortune) thought it not best to try his fortune in the field against so fortunat an enemy, but forthwith to withdraw himself into the remotest places of that large kingdom, and from thence to expect some better fortune. For he well knew that hee was not able to withstand his victorious enemy, now leading after him a most puissant army; who not long before with a small power had vanquished and slain his brother in a great battel. Hyfmael now by the greatnes of his fame and forces, & as it were by the fauor of God himself, become a terror to all the princes of the East, entered into Mesopotamia after the flight of Morachamus, and receiued al that great prouince into his subiection, euery man stripping as it were who should brief by his speedy submission purchase himself the fauour of the victorious conqueror. In brief, Morachamus already terrified, and reposing no great hope in himself or his own power, neither deeming it safe to shut vp himselfe within the walls of any strong City, trust vp his things of greatest price, and with his Wiues and children fled into Arabia.

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A This Morachamus is he whom some Historiographers called Mara Beg, and is in the Turks Histories called Imirsa Beg, who (as they report) afterwards marrying the daughter of Bajazet; and recovering part of the Persian kingdom, was suddenly murdered by some of his Nobility, whom he purposed secretly to haue put to death, if they had not prevented the same by murdering of him first: Hyfmael having victoriously subdued a great part of the Persian kingdom, and filled all the East part of the world with the glory of his name, returned out of Assyria into Media, and tooke in such cities and strong holds as were yet holden by the garrisons of the late Persian King. And afterwards returning into Armenia, made wars vpon the Albanians, Iberians, and Scythians, which dwell vpon the borders of the Caspian: for that those nations, in ancient times tributaries to the Persian Kings, taking the benefit of the long ciuile wars wherewith the kingdom of Persia, and all the East countries, with the ruine of the Kings house, had been of late ruiroyled; had neither paid any tribute by the space of foure yeres; nor sent any honourable Embassage, as they were wont, and as was expected, especially in so great a victory and alteration of the State.

Hyfmael having thus obtained the Persian kingdom, in short time became famous through the world, and was justly accounted amongst the greatest Monarchs of that age. But nothing made him more to be spoken of, than the inuouation he had made in the Mahometane superstition: for by his deuice and commandement a new forme of praier was brought into their Mahometan Temples, far differing from that which had been of long time before vsed. By reason whereof, Ebubekir, Homer, and Ofsan, the successors of their great Prophet Mahomet; before had in great regard and reuerence, began now to be contemned, and their writings nothing regarded; and the honour of *Haly* exalted, as the true and onely successor of their great Prophet. And because he would haue his subjects and the followers of his doctrine knowne from the Turks and other Mahometans, he commanded that they should all weare some red hatband, lace, or riband vpon their heads, which they religiously obserue in Persia vntill this day: whereof they are of the Turks called *Cuselba's*, or *Red heads*. And in short time he had so vied the matter, that he was wonderfully both beloued and reuerenced of his subjects; inasmuch that his sayings were accounted for diuine Oracles, and his commandements for Law: so that when they would confirme any thing by solemne oath, they would sweare by the head of Hyfmael their King: and when they wished well to any man, they vsually said, Hyfmael grant thee thy desire. Vpon his coynewhich he made both of siluer and gold, on the one side was written these words, *La illah illallah Muhame dun resul allah*: which is to say, *There is no gods but one, and Mahomet is his Messenger*. And on the other side, *Ismail halife tullah*; which is to say, Hyfmael the Vicar of God.

Whilest Hyfmael was thus wrestling for the Persian Kingdom, Chafan Chelife and Techellis (whom we haue a little before declared to haue bin brought out of the mountains and deserts, into the country villages, and afterwards into the cities; and to haue filled the countries of Armenia and a great part of the lesser Asia with the nouetky of their new doctrine and opinions, first phantaised by one *Giunet Siech*, and afterwards reuiued by *Haider Erdebil*, Hyfmael his father) hauing gathered a great army of such as had received their doctrine, invaded the Turks dominion. For after that Techellis (this cold Prophet) had with wonderfull felicity in the presence of many prognosticated of things to come; and Hyfmael the Sophi (of late a poore exiled and banished man) was thought to haue grown vnto the highest type of worldly honours, not by mans helpe, but by vprightnesse of life, and the fortunat passage of an vndoubted religion: such a desire of receiuing that new superstition possessed the minds of the people in general, that the cities and townes thereabouts were now full of them which in token of their new profession had taken vpon them the wearing of the red hat, the knowne Cognisance of the *Cuselba's*. First they met together at the city of Tascia, at the foot of the mountaine Antitaurus, or as the Turkish history reports, at the city of Attalia, to the number of 10000, vpon a great Faire day; where they layd hands vpon the chiefe magistrate of the city, and executed him, setting his quarters vpon foure of the highest towers of the city: and further persuaded by these new masters of this new superstition, to take vp armes in defence of themselves and of their sincere religion (as they termed it) in case that any violence should be offered them by the irreligious Turks; they all swore, neuer to forsake their Captaines for any distress, or yet refuse any labour or aduensure for the honor of their most holy religion (as they

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would

Hyfmael exceedingly beloued and honored of his subjects.

1508

Chafan Chelife &amp; Techellis invaded the Turks dominions.

would haue it) in defence whereof they had already vowed their soules and bodies. These ring leaders of rebellion, seeing the minds of their frantick followers, so well prepared for their purpose, and reposing a great confidence in their valour and resolution; and withall considering that the money which was bountifully brought in vnto them by the country people, partly for deuotion, partly for feare, was not sufficient to maintaine so great a multitude, gaue leaue by publike proclamation to their vnuly followers, to forrage the country round about them, and to liue vpon the spoile of them which would not receiue their new found doctrine. Whereupon they diuiding themselves into diuers companies, and ranging vp and downe the country, brought into the camp abundance of cartell, and other such things as the country yeelded: and forthwith (their multitude stil increasing) they entred into Lycaonia, a populous & fruitful country, where they refreshed themselves many daies, roaming vp and downe to the great grievance and terrour of the people; and brought such a feare vpon the whole country, that they which dwelt in open dorps and villages, were glad to fly with their wiues, children, and goods, into the strong city of Iconium: for proclamations were in many places set vp in the names of *Chasan Chelise*, and *Techellie*, wherein many both spirituall and temporal blessings were in most ample manner proposed to all such as should forthwith take part with them, and follow that their new doctrine already established in Persia: but vnto such as should obstinately persevere in their old superstition, after they had once drawne their sword, was threatned utter destruction without hope of pardon of life. So that all the inhabitants therabouts, terrified with the terrour of this proclamation, some for feare of death, some vpon inconstancy, some for safegard of their goods and possessions (dearer vnto them than any religion) some other indebted, infamous, in danger of law, beside many fugitiue seruants, dayly resorted to these new matters. Not long after, whilst the Turks were making preparation for the suppressing of this dangerous rebellion, certaine troupes of horsemen sent from *Hyfmael*, came in good time to these new prophets: for *Hyfmael* in fauour and furtherance of that new superstition, had a little before by fit messengers exhorted them to proceed courageously in their so religious an enterprise, and to ioine martiall force vnto the religion they professed: promising further, not to be wanting vnto them at their need, but to send them skilfull Leaders, and from time to time to furnish them with coyne for the maintenance of that war. All this *Hyfmael* did openly in despite of *Bajazet*, of small beginning to sow the seed of greater war. For he bearing an old grudge against *Bajazet* for the former wars betwixt the Turks and the Persians, as also for their disagreement in matters concerning their superstition, and prickt forward with the heat of youth, desired nothing more in the greatnesse of his power, and prosperous success of his affaires, than to haue occasion to make war with the Turkish king: for which purpose he sent his Embassadors vnto the State of Venice, to joine with them in league and amity, in such forme and sort as they had long time before, by *Caterinus Zemes*, *Barbarus*, and *Contarenus* their Embassadors, concluded with *Vsun-Cassanes* the great Persian King his grandfather. The chiefe thing that he requested of the Venetians, was, That they would send him out of Italy by the way of Syria, men skilfull in the casting of great ordnance, and with their fleet to trouble *Bajazet* by sea: promising in the meane time himselfe to fill Asia the lesse with his army by land, and so to giue a faire occasion vnto them, to recover by sea all such places as they had before in the late wars lost vnto the Turks vpon the coast of Peloponessus and Grecia.

The Venetians hauing with all courtesie entertained the Embassadors, gaue them answer, That they would neuer be forgetfull of the antient league and amity they had made with the Persian King; the remembrance whereof was vnto their State a thing most pleasant: and that they were wonderfull glad, that the new King was an enemy vnto the Turks, and had them in such regard, as to participat to them the causes of that war: and further to promise vnto them those things, which if his grandfather *Vsun-Cassanes*, or his vnclie *Iacup* would haue performed, he should not now haue had need to make wars with the Turkish Emperor. But such was the alteration of things and times, that as the Persian kings then liued at home in peace, thought it not good to stir whilst *Bajazet* was busie in Europe; so now their State standing in far worse condition and fortune, could not performe that which they heartily wished, and most of all desired; for that they thought it not good to break the league which they had not long before made with *Bajazet* the Turkish emperor: especially then, when sundry warlike nations of Europe conspiring together, and diuers mighty Kings provoked with no injury, but only enuy-

ing at their happy estate, made warres vpon them; yet neuertheless were in good hope, that God would stand in their iust defence, and still preserve their state, which no enemies power had for the space of 700 yeares and more beene able to overcome. Wherefore they should shew vnto their King, that they would as occasion should serue, and as it should stand with the good of their State, do their vttermost deuoir to make him vnderstand, that nothing was deerer vnto them than the friendship of so great a King: nor any thing more honorable, than by mutuall counsell and combined forces to assaile the Turke their common enemy.

Shortly after, the Embassadors (hauing obtained nothing more than the hope of a league to be in time concluded, and being honourably rewarded) returned with their gallies to Cyprus, and so from thence to Syria, where they had secret conference with *Petrus Zenus* (the son of *Caterinus Zenus*, a man famous for his embassage vnto *Vsun-Cassanes* into Persia) Gouvernour of the Venetian Merchants at Damasco. Which thing *Bajazet* hauing intelligence of, and of the passage of the Persian Embassadors that way, complained grievously both by his Embassadors and letters vnto *Campson Gaurus* Sultan of Egypt, That he dealt not as a friend and confederat with him; in suffering these Embassadors to passe throughout the midst of Syria, vnto the Christians their common enemies, to stir them vp to war. Whereupon all the Venetian Merchants which were at Tripolis, Aleppo, Damasco, Berytus, and Alexandria, and especially *Zenus* himselfe, were forthwith apprehended by the commandement of the great Sultan, and carried in bonds to Caire, where they were many times inforced in chaines to answer vnto such things as were layd to their charge, and after they had by the space of a yeare endured the manifold despights of the proud Mamalukes, hardly obtained to escape with life and liberty.

The two seditious Prophets, *Chasan* and *Techellie*, well strengthened with the aid of the Persians, were now come vnto Iconium the most famous city of Lycaonia; and wasting all the country before them, drew a great multitude of people to receiue their new doctrine. For the repassing of which outrages, *Orchanes* and *Mahometes*, two of *Bajazet* his nephews (who in stead of their fathers *Alem Schach*, and *Tzian Schach*, the sons of *Bajazet* before dead, gouerned those countries) gathered together their forces, and disdaining to suffer such disgrace by such a rabble of rascal people, in the sight of so famous a city, came into the field to giue them battell. But they in their youthfull heat making too must haist, and joyning battell in a place of disadvantage, were by the rebels ouerthrowne and put to flight. Neither would these ring-leaders in that victory haue forborne to haue assailed Iconium, but that they wanted Artillery and engines of war requisite for the besieging of cities.

*Corcutus* also, one of the sons of *Bajazet*, hauing at the same time leuiued a conuenient Army about *Thiartira*, *Sypilus*, *Magnesia*, and *Phoceia*, durst not further stir or set forward against the rebels, although they lay disperfed about the country fast by him. These new prophets with ensignes displayed, marching from countrey to countrey through the heart of the lesser Asia, entered at length into Bythinia, where neere vnto the riuer Sangarius they met with *Caragofes Bassa* the Viceroy of Asia, comming against them with a great army well appointed, which he had a little before raised vpon the bruit of the comming of these rebels, and had also commanded *Achometes* (whom the Turks call *Achmetes*) the eldest sonne of *Bajazet* then liuing, Governour of the great countries of Capadocia and Pontus, to raise his power, and to follow at the backe of the rebels: who if they should hap to be put to the worke, would neither be able to retyre, neither to keepe the field, being so shut vp betwixt two so great armies. But *Techellie* by his speedy comming frustrated these designs of the Viceroy, for marching with all speed, he was vpon *Caragofes* before he was well aware of his comming, neere vnto the mountaine *Horminus*, as he was then taking vp of more soldiers, and daily expected the comming of others, as if he had been going against some puissant enemy. The Viceroy seeing the Rebels approach, although he had before not purposed to haue encountered them before he had raised far greater forces; thought it not now to stand with his honor, to refuse to giue them battell, although his army for most part consisted of the rude countrey peasants, taken vp vpon the sudden out of Paphlagonia, Galatia, Pontus, and Bythinia, raw soldiers, and for most part vnarmed: as commonly they are which in those countries are pressed against their wils out of the townes and villages, and are of the Turkes called *Asapi*, who of the Ianizaries are scarcely accounted for men. But his greatest confidence he reposed in the approued valour

*Orchanes* and *Mahometes* two of *Bajazet* his nephews ouerthrowne by *Techellie*.

of his antient horsemen, by whose means he doubted not in safety to retire out of the battell, and to save himself if any thing should fall out otherwaies than well, making no great account of the common souldiers, more than by them if he could, to weaken the force of the rebels: who on the other side (their greatest force consisting of footmen) had no hope to save themselves by flight, but only by plain valour and dint of sword. Which *Techellus* well considering, exhorted his souldiers to remember into what country they were come, and that there was no refuge, no new power, no other gods of defence to fly vnto, if they should not that day play the men: Wherefore let vs courageously (said he) set forward against our enemies, and by victory defend our liues, together with the truth of our religion, for which we haue vowed both our soules and bodies. He had scarcely said thus much, but that his whole Army, in token of cheerefulnesse, gaue a most terrible shout, and without further stay set vpon their enemies. The Viceroy had placed his footmen in the maine battell in the middle, and his horsemen in the wings, thereby to haue compassed in his enemies: but *Techellus* had set all his footmen in one great square battell, and his Persian horsemen for a refuge. But the Viceroy his fresh water souldiers could scarcely abide the sight of *Techellus* his army; for in the front of the battell stood souldiers throughly armed, and all the rest of his army with red hats vpon their heads, as if they had bene embued with bloud, which wonderfully terrified the Basses cowardly and vnskillfull souldiers: so that hauing endured the fight scarcely halfe an houre, they all turned their backs and fled. The Turkish horsemen which had valiantly assailed the rebels army on both sides, although they had slaine many with their arrowes and lances, and somewhat disordered the battell, for that the footmen were enforced to leaue their places, and to presse still on forward against them; yet when *Techellus* his souldiers (hauing ouercome the footmen, and diuiding themselves into diuers squadrons) began with their long pikes to kill their horses, and to lay hardly vnto them, they likewise betooke themselves to flight also. Then the Persian horsemen (which all this while had stood still as lookers on) left their standings, and following the chase slew many of the Turks in their disordered flight: and following last on, inclosed the Viceroy as he was slaying of his horsemen, and could not for the thicknesse of the dust well discern his enemies; so that he had bene there taken, if he had not bene speedily rescued by his guard, and so deliuered from that danger. The rest of the Turks horsemen saved themselves by flight. In this battell seuen thousand of the Turks footmen were slaine, and all their ensignes taken, with great store of prouision.

After which victory, *Chafan* and *Techellus* resting their army one day, marched to the city of Cutaie, neere vnto the mountaine *Hornatius*: this city is situated as it were in the mid of Asia the lesse, and is the seat of the Turkish Emperors Viceroy in Asia; as *Sophia* in Mosia is for his other Viceroy in Europe: for it was reported, that the country people had for feare of the present war conueyed thither the greatest part of their wealth; and the rebels well knew, that the Viceroy himselfe with his chiefe horsemen were fled thither also: neither doubted they, but that all the army might be greatly enriched by the wealth of that city, if they should without delay employ their whole forces for the gaining thereof, their enemies now altogether discouraged with their late ouerthrow. *Techellus* also deeming that enterprise of so much worth as whereon to gage his whole forces, comming before the city, placed such field pieces as he had before taken in the battell, & his archers in such fit places as might most annoy the defendants: afterward he caused scaling ladders to be set vp, and proclamation made thorow all his camp, That the whole spoile of the city should be the souldiers if they could take it; with promise of greater rewards to them that should first recover the top of the walls. Filled with this hope, the rebellious multitude approached the wall, fearing neither enemies force, multitude of shot, or danger of death, struing who should first mount the ladders, & some climbing one in the necke of another, so to get vp by the ruins of the wall. The defendants in the meane time from about casting down vpon them great stones, timber, fire, scalding water, lime, sand, and such like without measure: wherewith although many were ouerthrowne and crushed to death or spoiled, yet others presently stept vp in their place; neither was any of them seen, for feare of the present danger to shrink back or be discouraged: for the Viceroy on the one side, and *Techellus* on the other, were both eie-witnesses of euery mans valour in that hot seruice: the one prickt forward with doubtfull hope, for feare to be enforced to giue over the assault to begin; and the other with the due regard of his honor, life, and state, all subiect to that danger,

ger, and therefore in person himselfe performed all the parts of a worthy chieftaine and courageous souldier. But at length the defendants wearied with the fierce assault of the enemy, and for most part wounded, *Techellus* continually sending in fresh men, and withdrawing such as were hurt, by plaine force brake into the city in two places ouer the heaps of the dead bodies: and hauing repulsed the defendants, burst open one of the gates, and thereby brought in his whole army. Then began a miserable slaughter of the souldiers and poore citifens in euery house and corner of the city. At which instant the Palace (whither the Viceroy had retired himselfe with his family) was also taken: the Viceroy himselfe with his wiues and children were there also taken prisoners, and the stately Palace built with marble, in a trice consumed with fire.

*Caragesis the Viceroy with his wiues and children taken by Techellus in the City of Cutaie.*

The rich city of Cutaie, the seat of the great commander of the Turkish Empire in Asia, thus taken by *Techellus*, and his whole army both beautified and enriched with the spoile thereof: he perswaded himselfe, that it was now no hard matter for him to take the city of Prusa also, the ancient seat of the Turkish Kings in Bythinia, and so endanger the whole state of the Turks Empire in Asia, if he should now without delay carry the terror of himselfe thither, before the Turks could in that country make head against him, or the citifens be able in so sudden a feare to make any sufficient prouision for the defence of themselves and their city; and so in the course of his good fortune to vse the courage and cheerefulnesse of his souldiers. Wherefore appointing a day when he would set forward, he commanded all things necessary to be made ready for the taking of that rich city, being neither strongly walled, neither furnished with any good garrison for the defence thereof.

But whilst he was making this preparation, a new army, lately shipped ouer the Hellespont from Callipolis into Asia, enforced him to change his former determination. For *Bajazet* was at the game of *Techellus*, & the fame of the new superstition now generally receiued in Persia, had long before giuen commandement to his sonnes, nephewes, and the Viceroy of Asia, That they should with all carefullnes provide, that that part of his kingdome tooke no harme thereby. But after he saw *Techellus* of a poore hermit become a great captaine, and backt also with the Persian King, and all his dominions in Asia in danger of some great alteration, he sent *Aliu Bassa* with his European army. This *Aliu* an Eunuch borne in Macedonia (yet for his courage comparable with the greatest captaines) had for his many and worthy deserts, in the time of the great Emperour *Mahomet*, *Bajazet* his father, gotten to himselfe both the honour and name of a most famous chieftaine. He hauing made choice of the principall horsemen of Epirus, Macedonia, Seruia, Illyria, and Thracia, and joining vnto them seuen thousand Ianizaries (the most assured hope of the Turks in all their expeditions) passed ouer from Callipolis into Phrygia, and vpon the way directed his letters vnto *Achomates* and *Corcutus*, *Bajazet* his son, and to all the other Sanzacks and Gouernors of the Turks prouinces in Asia, That they should with as much speed as they could, raise their forces and meet him in Galatia. But *Techellus* aduertised of his comming, thought it best for him to depart out of Pontus, and to retire to some place of more safety, lest by longer staying he should be enclosed by his enemies, repairing thitherwards on euery side; or else vpon some great disadvantage to joyne battell: for he saw, that if he staid neuer so little, he should find no safe passage or place of refuge to retire vnto, hauing left such large and spacious Countries, so many enemies Cities, so many great rivers, so many discontented people behind him; all which the first fauor of the vulgar sort, and speedy course of his victory, had a little before layd open vnto him. Wherefore calling together his Captaines and most expert men of war to consult vpon the matter, it was generally thought to be a point of meere madnesse, or else of extreme necessity, with so small a power of vnskillfull souldiers, without any sufficient strength of horsemen, to joyne battell with such an enemy as better knew the countrey than he, and far exceeded him both for number and expertnesse of his souldiers. Wherefore *Techellus* trussing vp his rich prey he had before gotten, began now with speed to retire backe againe with his followers through Galatia. But the Bassa hauing intelligence almost euery houre by letters and espials, both of the retreating of *Techellus*, and the way he held, passed ouer the riuer Sangarius, and coasting the country, came and incamped betwixt the cities of Cutaie and Ancyra, which way it was supposed the enemy would passe. Where when he had there a while rested his wearied souldiers, and was certainly aduertised, that the rebels had taken another way, he set forward againe,

*Bajazet sent Aliu Bassa out of Europe against Techellus.*

and after five daies march in the plaines of Galatia, ouertooke the straglers of the enemies, who wearied or wounded, were not able to hold way with the army: all whom the Bassa commanded to be cruelly put to the sword. And *Techellis* to terrifie the great Bassa, or at leastwise with a most horrible spectacle, to stay his pursuit, caused *Caragofes*, the Viceroy, whom he had carried along with him in chains, to be cruelly empaild by the highway side, vpon a sharpe stake set fast in the ground, and so left him sticking for the Turks to wonder at. But *Alis Bassa* nothing dismayed with the horrible death of so great a personage, held on his way with more haile than good speed, exhorting his souldiers patiently to endure the painfullnesse of the long march, and to straine themselves to take reuenge of those rebellious theues and robbers, who destroying the country before them, spared not so much as the Turks children, and the temples of their religion; and so the day following came into the plaines of Ancyra. The same day also *Achomates* came vnto the Bassa with ten thousand souldiers. *Alis Bassa* perceiving that he could not possibly with his whole army ouertake his enemies, marching with greater speed before him, and grieved at the heart to see them escapes out of his hand, resolved to proue if he could with his horsemen ouertake them: whereupon leauing his footmen with *Achomates*, he himselfe with eight thousand horse, following the enemy vpon the spur, ouertooke the reuerend of their army at the mountaine Olyga, a little from the city of Ancyra, vnto whom he gaue an hot skirmish.

*Techellis* which a little before had taken a fit place for his campe, vpon the rising of the hill, although he saw his men faint with long trauell and the scorching heat of the Sun, yet quickly perceiving that he should haue to do only with horsemen, and that in a place of aduantage, turning his army, and orderly placing his souldiers, as the ground & the shortnesse of the time would giue leaue, valiantly receiued the impression of the Turks, and with their long pikes and arrows at the first repulsed them: so that it seemed they would neither haue giuen ground vnto the bragging horsemen, neither haue done any thing not becoming their former victories, had not *Alis Bassa* sent 1000 Carbines, who in troups orderly following one another, deliuered their shot as thicke as haile vpon the enemy, with which storme many of them being slain, and moe wounded, their ranks began to be somewhat disordered: whereupon the other horsemen breaking in, with great slaughter ouerthrew the vauntgard of *Techellis* battell: in which conflict *Chafan Chelise* himselfe was slain. *Techellis* alwaies at hand where most need was, even in the midst of the slaughter of his men set in order a new battell of his most ready and best armed souldiers, the only remedy in so great a distresse; and bringing them on into the front of the battell, opposed them against the horsemen, now (as they thought) in possession of the victory; commanding them by little and little to retire vnto the mountaine, to the intent that they might seeme to do that by commandment of the Generall, which they were like enough to haue done of themselves for feare: hoping that it would so come to passe, That the Turks finding the disaduantage of the place, would leaue so hardly to assaile them. But the Bassa encouraged with the first successe of the battell, exhorted his souldiers to vrge the victory, now almost as good as gotten, & not to giue the enemy space to recover the strength of the mountaine, but valiantly to charge them, and with a little short paines that day to end all the war, to the honor of *Bajazet* their soueraigne, and worthy commendations of themselves in generall. In this fort encouraging them, he with a troupe of his best horsemen (to animate the rest, and to shew his own valor) brake through the enemies battell, which thing he in the same heat, with more courage than discretion, attempting to performe the second time, was inclosed by his enemies and slain: vpon whose fall the fortune of the battell was in a moment changed; for the Turks, which erst fought courageously, hauing beaten backe and almost ouerthrown their enemies, now dismayed with their Generals death, began to fight but faintly, and by little & little to giue ground, and at last turning their horses about, fled. On the other side *Techellis* his souldiers who but a little before had reposed greater hope in the strength of the place and the mountain, than in their weapons and valour, now encouraged with new hope, and taking heart in the faint charge of their enemies, began to thrust forward, and with a most terrible noyse crying victory, put to flight the Turks horsemen, before wearied with long trauell, when as they had by the Generals rashnesse lost a notable victory almost already gained. *Techellis* although he knew that the enemy could neither refresh his horses, nor yet with any assurance keepe the field, if he should haue pursued him; yet hauing lost many of his best souldiers, & the rest

A rest of his army foreweakened with trauell, fasting and fighting, determined to refresh his wearied followers vpon the mountain Olyga. From whence after a few daies he marched ouer the riuer Halys vnto the city of Tascia, his old dwelling place, and so to the city of Celenis, which the riuer Marfya (much spoken of by the Poets) runneth thorow, and is now called by the name of Maras, but as then the regall seat of the mountaine King *Aladenles*. The Turkes horsemen hauing thus in some small sort rather reuenged the injuries done by the rebels, than obtained any victory, returned to *Achomates*, who was then comming on with the footmen. Not long after, *Bajazet* vnderstanding of the death of *Alis Bassa* his Generall, sent *Ionusis Bassa*, a warlike captaine, and of great experience (borne in Epirus) in his stead. Who as soone as he had receiued the charge of the army from *Achomates*, marching forthwith into Cappado-

*Ionusis Bassa* sent by *Bajazet*, Generall of his army against *Techellis*.

B cia, and keeping the way on the right hand towards the mountaine Anticaurus, came in few daies vnto the city of Tascia, the place of *Techellis* his abode: where burning and destroying the country all about, he came and encamped with his army at the foot of the mountaine. The Bassa had in his army about forty thousand horse and foot, well appointed, with many field pieces, and plenty of victuals which he brought with him, for feare of want in that bare country. *Techellis* terrified with his comming, hauing of late receiued no aid from *Hysmael* the Persian king, and wanting also great artillery, and besides that, seeing his souldiers greatly both diminished and discouraged with the late battell at Olyga, determined not vpon so great disaduantage to meet his enemy in the plaine field, but to keepe the rough mountains and thicke woods, hoping that if he could be able any time to keepe those strong places, he should either receive some aid from *Hysmael*, or by the heat of the Turks leaders take them at some notable aduantage. In the meane time many notable skirmishes passed betwixt the souldiers on both sides: for the Turks fetching a compasse oftentimes about the mountains, and seeking for the best passages, by the easie rising of the hills, came to skirmish with their enemies: and *Techellis* his souldiers on the other side, falling many times out of the woods and abrupt places of the mountains, valiantly assailed the Turks. After they had a long time in this sort, as if it had been in disport, rather proued their forces one vpon another, than done any great matter; the Turkes prying into euery corner, at length perceiued two waies whereby their whole army with ensignes displayed might without any great difficulty be brought vnto the top of the mountaine, and so into their enemies strength. The Bassa hauing well viewed and considered the places, caused the Ianizaries at one instant to march vp to the mountaine by one of the foresaid waies, and the rest of his army by the other: who with soft pace climbing vp the steepe mountains, with their targuets defended themselves as well as they could against their enemies darts and shot. For *Techellis* his souldiers hauing before taken the high mountaines and places of aduantage, cast downe vpon the Turks great stones and shot without number, as if it had beene out of some strong fort. But the Turks bending certaine small field peeces against the places which most annoyed them, easily draue them from their standings; the harquebusers still following their ensignes, shrouded close vnder the targuets, and deliuered their deadly shot as shoures of raine vpon their enemies. Whose desperat approach *Techellis* perceiuing, caused a retreat to be sounded, and with all his army retired further off into the higher mountaines and rougher woods. The night following, perceiuing that by the euill successe of the former skirmish he had lost a great part of his credit and strength, he with great silence forooke the woods, and passing quite ouer the mountaines fled into Armenia, then part of the Persian kingdome. Neither did the Turks perceiue their departure vntill it was light day, and that their scouts entering the thicke woods, and finding the enemies baggage, with some wounded souldiers not able to fly, brought newes vnto the Bassa of the enemies departure, and of his speedy flight into Armenia. Which thing, when he by them that were taken, vnderstood to be certainly true, fretting and chafing like a mad man, that he had not presently vpon the enemies retreat betwixt the wood round, he sent his horsemen forthwith to pursue them: but all in vaine, for *Techellis* was by direct and knowne waies gone into Armenia. Some few straglers not able to make so much haile as the rest, were ouertaken by the Turks horsemen, and brought backe to the Bassa.

*Techellis* thus put to flight, *Ionusis* caused streit inquisition to be made through all the cities of the lesser Asia, for all such as had professed the Persian religion: and them whom he found to haue borne armes in the late rebellion, he caused to be put to death with most exquisite torments.

ments, and the rest to be burnt in their foreheads with an hot yron, thereby for euer to be knowne; whom together with the kinsfolks and friends of them that were executed, or fled with *Techellus*, he caused to be transported into Europe, and to be dispersed through Macedonia, Epirus, and Peloponessus: for feare lest if *Techellus* now fled into the Persian Kingdome, should from thence returne with new forces, they should also repaire againe vnto him, and raise a new rebellion. This was the beginning, course, and ending, of one of the most dangerous rebellions that euer troubled the Turkish Empire: wherein all, or at least wise the greatest part of their dominions in Asia, might haue bene easily surprisid by the Persian King, if he would thoroughly haue prosecuted the occasion and opportunity then offered.

The remainder of *Techellus* his followers, flying into Persia, by the way lighting vpon a Carauan of Merchants laden with silkes and other rich merchandise, tooke the spoile thereof: for which outrage comming to Tauris, the captaines were all by the commandement of *Hysmael* executed, and *Techellus* himselfe to the terror of others burnt aliue.

The next yeare (which was the yeare 1509, the fourteenth day of September) chanced a great and terrible earthquake in the city of Constantinople and the countries thereabouts: by the violence whereof, a great part of the wals of that imperiall city, with many stately buildings both publike and priuat, were quite ouerthrowne, and thirteene thousand people ouerwhelmed and slaine. The terrour whereof was so great, that the people generally forsooke their houses and lay abroad in the fields: yea, *Bajazet* himselfe, then very aged and sore troubled with the gout, for feare thereof removed from Constantinople to Hadrianople; but finding himselfe in no more safety than before, he left the city and lay abroad in the fields in his tent. This earthquake endured by the space of eightene daies, or (as the Turkes Histories report) of a moneth, with very little intermission; which was then accounted ominous, as portending the miserable calamities which shortly after happened in the *Othoman* family. After this earthquake ensued a great plague, wherewith the city was grievously visited, and for the most part vnpeopled. But after that the earthquake was ceased, and the mortality assuaged, *Bajazet* caused the imperiall city to be with all speed repaired, and to that purpose gaue out commissions into all parts of his dominions for the taking vp of workemen: so that there were at once in work eighty thousand workemen, who in most beautifull manner in the space of foure moneths againe repaired the ruines of that great city.

*Bajazet* had by his many wiues, eight sonnes and six daughters, which liued to be men and women growne: and the sons all Governors in diuers provinces of his large Empire: whom the Turkish Histories reckon vp in this order, *Abdullah Zelebi*, *Alem Scab*, *Tziban Scab*, *Achmet*, *Machmut*, *Corcut*, *Selim*, and *Muhamet*. Yet *Antonius Virius* a Genoway, who long time liued in *Bajazet* his court, and (as he of himselfe writeth) waited in his chamber at the time of his death, reckoning vp the sonnes of *Bajazet*, maketh mention but of these six, *Sciemsia*, *Alemsia*, *Achomates*, *Mahometes*, *Selymus*, and *Corcutus*: naming the forenamed by names something differing from the other. *Sciemsia* the eldest, Governor of Caramania, for his towardnesse most deere beloued of his father, died of a naturall death before him, and was of him and his subjects greatly lamented. *Alemsia* died in like manner, of whose death as soone as he was advertised, by mourning letters written in blacke paper with white charactes (as their maner of writing is, in certifying of heauy news) he cast from him his Scepter with all other tokens of honor, and caused general mourning to be made for him in the court, and through all the city of Constantinople, by the space of three daies; during which time all shops were shut vp, all trading forbidden, and no signe of mirth to be scene: and for a certaine space, after the manner of their superstition, caused solemne sacrifices to be made for the health of his soule, and 7000 aspers to be giuen weekly to the poore. His dead body was afterward with all princely pompe conueyed to Prusa, and there with great solemnity buried. *Tziban* Governour of Caria, and *Mahomet* Governour of Capha, vpon their fathers heauy displeasure, were by his commandement both strangled.

Of his other foure sons, *Achmet* otherwise called *Achomates*, *Machmut*, or *Mahometes*, *Corcut*, or *Corcutus*, and *Selymus*: the second (namely *Mahometes*) was of greatest hope and expectation, not giuen to sensuality or voluptuous pleasure, as *Achomates* his eldest brother, neither altogether bookish as was *Corcutus*, nor yet of so fierce and cruell a disposition as *Selymus*: but of such a liuely spirit, sharp wit, bountifull disposition, and princely carriage of himselfe,

*Achmet*, that in the judgement of most men, he seemed already worthy of a kingdome. Which inmoderat fauour of this people, caused his elder brother *Achomates*, yea and *Bajazet* also himselfe to haue him in no small jealousy, as if he had affected the Empire; and was in short time the cause of his vntimely death: which thing he nothing doubting, hastned (as fatal things are) by such meanes as he least feared might haue procured any such mortall distrust or danger.

Most of *Bajazet* his children were by diuers women, yet *Achomates* and this *Mahometes* were by one and the same mother: for which cause, *Mahometes* tooke greater pleasure in him than in any his other brethren, although it were not answered with like loue againe. *Achomates* was Lord and Governour of Amasia; and this *Mahometes*, of Magnesia; who desirous to see the manner of his brothers life and government, disguised himselfe with two of his familiar and faithfull friends, as if they had bin religious men, of that order which the Turkes call *Smalier*. [These men are for most part comely personages, borne of good houses, who in cleanly attire made after an homely fashion, do at their pleasure wander vp and downe from towne to town, and country to country, noting the dispositions and manners of the people, whereof as fitteth best their purpose, they make large discourses afterwards to others: they commonly carry about with them siluer cymbals, wheron they play most cunningly, and therunto sing pleasant and wanton ditties: for which idle delight they receiue many of the people, as an almes giuen them of deuotion. These are the common corrupters of youth, and defilers of other mens beds, men altogether giuen to ease and pleasure, and are of the Turkes called, The religious brethren of Loue: but might of right, better be termed, *Epicurus* his hogs, than professors of any religion at all.] *Mahometes* and his two comforts, as men of this profession, trauelled vp and downe the countries of Pontus and Capadocia (where *Achomates* commanded) and so to the city of Amasia; receiuing for their mery glee by the way as they went, the almes and deuotion of the foolish countrey people. And being at length come to Amasia vpon a solemne holiday, they awaited the comming of *Achomates* to the church: who passing by, staid awhile listning attentiuely vnto their pleasant and alluring harmony; which was for that purpose most curiously and skilfully before deuised, and by them both with their instruments and voices performed. When they had ended their musicke, and according to the manner of their idle profession expected his deuotion; *Achomates* being a man of a spare hand, commanded five aspers to be giuen them in reward [which is about six pence of our money.] *Mahometes* disdainig his brothers base reward, as a signe of his miserable disposition, would in no wise discover himselfe, as he had before determined; but taking horse, returned with speed to Magnesia: from whence he wrote taunting letters to his brother *Achomates*, scoffing at his good husbandry (no praise to a Prince) and in contempt sent him backe againe his five aspers; which thing *Achomates* tooke in so euill part, as that he was neuer afterwards friends with him. The report of this fact was in short time dispersed throughout all parts of the Turkish Empire, diuers men diuersly deeming of his purpose therein.

Not long after *Mahometes* had in this sort plaid with his brother *Achomates*, he attired himselfe with certaine of his trusty followers as if they had bene seafaring men, and with a small barke came to Constantinople, and there landing as aduenturers from sea, tooke diligent view both of the imperiall city, and of the city of Pera standing opposit against it, curiously noting how all things were by his fathers appointment ordered and gouerned. It hapned whilest he was thus staying at Constantinople, that *Bajazet* had appointed a solemne assembly of all his chiefe Bassaes at the court; which *Mahometes* was desirous to haue the sight of, as also of the fashion of his fathers court: but as he with his companions pressed to haue entred in at the court gate, they were by their base apparell taken of the porters to haue bin rude mariners, and so by them kept out. Wherefore consulting what to do in that case, he went and presently bought a most beautifull Christian captiue boy, and the next day comming againe to the court with two of his companions (as if they had been aduenturers at sea) requested to be let in, for that they had brought a present for the Emperor. So finding meanes to be admitted to the presence of *Bajazet*, one of his comforts (as if he had bin a sea captain) boldly stept forth, and with due reuerence offered the present vnto the Emperor; which he thankfully tooke, and in token thereof gaue him his hand to kisse, and commanded a rich garment wrought with gold to be giuen vnto him, with two other of lesse value vnto *Mahometes* and his fellow, supposed to be the said captaines followers: who all this while stood astatte off, as if it had bene for reuerence of the Empe-

*Techellus* burnt  
at Tauris.

1509

A great earth-  
quake at Con-  
stantinople.

The children of  
*Bajazet*.

*Mahometes* dis-  
guised as a sea-  
faring man,  
commeth to  
Constantinople  
and so to the  
court.

Emperour, but indeed for feare to be discovered. As these counterfeit guests were returning from the court in their garments of fauour, they hapned to meet with three courtiers which knew *Mahometes*, who dismounting from their horses, had done him honour and due reuerence, as to the sonne of the great Emperour, had he not by secret signes forbidden them, as one unwilling to be knowne. When he had thus scene his father, the court, and the imperiall city, hewent againe aboard, and so with speed returned to Magnesia.

The report of this his doing, had in short time filled both the city and the court, and was at last brought to *Bajazets* ears: which raised in his suspicious head many a troublesome thought, greatly fearing, that in these fly practises lay hidden some secret and desperate conspiracy, dangerous to himselfe and his other children. Wherefore after long discourse had with the three great Bassaes then of his secret counsell, concerning the matter, to rid himselfe of all feare, he resolved in any case to take him away. And therefore caused them in his name to write vnto *Asmebemedi*, a gallant courtier, and alwaies neere vnto *Mahometes*, to poyson him with a secret poison, for that purpose inclosed in those letters sent vnto him: with promise of great rewards and preferments for that his seruice, to be afterwards received from the Emperour: charging him withall, that if he could not effect the matter, he should soconceale it, as that *Mahometes* should haue no distrust thereof; the least suspicion whereof, would tend to his vtter destruction. This *Asmebemedi* for some vnkindnes bare a secret grudge against *Mahometes*, which *Bajazet* knowing of, made choice of him the rather: and he on the other side, partly to performe the old tyrants command, and partly to reuenge his owne priuat wrong, vigilantly awaited all opportunities to bring to effect that he had in charge. At length it fortuned, that *Mahometes* hauing disported himselfe in the gardens of pleasure, and being thirsty after his exercise, called for drinke: *Asmebemedi* alwaies at hand, in a guilt boule fetcht him such drinke as he desired, whereinto he had secretly conueied the deadly poyson sent from *Bajazet*. *Mahometes* hauing drunke thereof, in short time began to feeble himselfe euill at ease, and presently sent for his physicians: who thinking that he had but something distempered himselfe with drinking too much cold drinke in his heart, perceiued not that he was poisoned, vntil that within six daies after, he died. Of whose death *Bajazet* aduertised, could not abtaine from mourning, although he himselfe had bin the only author thereof: and the more to manifest his heauinesse, commanded all the court to moune with him, and praies to made in their temples after their superstitious manner, and almes to be giuen to the poore for the health of his soule. His dead body was afterwards carried to Prusa, and there honourably buried with his ancestors. *Asmebemedi* the traitor in reward of his faithfulness towards his master, was by the commandement of *Bajazet* cast into prison, and neuer afterwards seene, being there (as it was thought) secretly made away.

Now had *Bajazet* but three sons left, *Achomates*, *Selymus*, and *Corcutus*. *Achomates* Gouverneur of Amasia, was a man both politick and valiant: but much giuen to pleasure and delight him *Bajazet* and most part of the great men of the court fauoured above the rest of his brethren; except such as were before corrupted by *Selymus*. *Corcutus* for his milde and quiet nature, was of most men beloued, but not thought so fit for the gouernment of so great an Empire, especially by the Ianizaries and souldiers of the court, for that he was (as they thought) altogether drowned in the study of Philosophy, a thing nothing agreeing with their humor. Yet might *Bajazet* seeme to do him wrong, if he should not according to his promise againe restore him vnto the possession of the Empire, which he had almost thirty yeares before received at his hands, as is before in the beginning of his life declared. But *Selymus* being of a more haury disposition than to brooke the life of a subject vnder the command of either of his brethren, and altogether giuen to martiall affaires, fought by infinit bounty, feigned courtesie, subtil policy, and by all other meanes good and bad, to aspire vnto the Empire. Him therefore the Ianizaries with all the great souldiers of the court, yea, and some of the chiefe Bassaes also (corrupted with gifts) wished about the rest, for their lord and soueraigne: desiring rather to liue vnder him which was like to set all the World on a hurly burly (whereby they might increase their honor and wealth, the certaine rewards of their aduentsures) than to lead an idle and vnprofitable life (as they termed it) vnder a quiet and peaceable Prince.

Whilest men stood thus diuersly affected towards these princes of so great hope, *Bajazet* now far worne with yeares, and so grievously tormented with the gout that he was not able

A to helpe himselfe: for the quietnesse of his subjects and preuenting of such troubles as might arise by the aspiring of his children after his death, determined whilest he yet liued (for the auoiding of these and other such like mischiefs) to establish the succession in some one of his sonnes; who wholly possessed of the kingdome, might easily repress the pride of the other. And although he had set downe with himselfe, that *Achomates* should be the man, as well in respect of his birth-right, as of the especiall affection he bare vnto him; yet to discover the disposition of his subjects, and how they stood affected, it was giuen out in generall termes, That he meant before his death to make it knowne to the World, who should succeed in the Empire, without naming any one of his sonnes; leauing that for euery man to diuine of, according as they were affected: which was not the least cause, that euery one of his sonnes with like ambition began now to make small account of their former preferments, as thinking onely vpon the Empire it selfe.

First of all *Selymus*, whom *Bajazet* had made Gouverneur of the kingdome of Trapezond, rigging vp all the ships he could in Pontus, sailed from Trapezond ouer the Euxine (now called the blacke sea) to the city of Capha, called in antient time Theodosia, and from thence by land came to *Mahometes* King of the Tartars called *Præcopon*es, a mighty Prince, whose daughter he had without the good liking of his father before married: and discovering vnto him his intended purpose, besought him by the sacred bonds of affinity betwixt them, not to shrink from him his louing sonne in law in so fit an opportunity for his aduancement: And withall shewed vnto him, what great hope of obtaining the Empire was proposed vnto him by his most faithfull friends and the souldiers of the court, if he would but come neerer vnto his father (then about to transfer the Empire to some one of his sons) and either by faire meanes to procure his fauor, or by entering with his army into Thracia, to terrifie him from appointing either of his other brethren for the successor. The Tartar King commending his high deuice, as a kind father in law with wonderful celerity caused great store of shipping to be made ready in the Ponticke sea, and *Mæotis*, but especially at the Ports at Gopa and Tana, vpon the great riuier Tanais, which boundeth Europe from Asia: and arming fiftene thousand Tartarian horsemen, deliuered them all to *Selymus*, promising forthwith to send him greater aid if he should haue occasion to vse the same. These things being quickly dispatched, *Selymus* passing ouer the riuier Borysthenes, and so through Valachia, came at length to Danubius, and with his horsemen passed that famous riuier at the city of Chelia: his fleet he commanded to meet him at the port of the city Varna, called in antient time Dionysopolis, in the confines of Bulgaria and Thracia: he himselfe still leuying moe men by the way as he went, pretending in shew quite another thing than he had indeed intended: which the better to couer, he gaue it out as if he had purposed to haue inuaded Hungary.

But *Bajazet* a good while before aduertised, that *Selymus* was departed from Trapezond, and come ouer into Europe, maruelling that he had left his charge in Asia (the rebellion of *Techellus* and the Persian war yet scarce quieted) and that vpon his own head he had entertained forreine aid to make war against the most warlike nation of the Hungarians, and farther, that with his army by land, he had seized vpon the places neere vnto Thracia, and with a strong navy kept the Euxine sea, he began to suspect as the truth was, That all this preparation was made and intended against himselfe: for the crafty old sire had good proofe of the vnquiet and troublesome nature of his son, especially in that without his knowledge he durst presume to take a wife from among the Tartars, and afterwards with no lesse presumption of himselfe raise an army both by sea and land: whereby he easily perceiued, that he would neuer hold himselfe contented with a small kingdome, so long as he was in hope by desperat aduerture to gain a greater. Yet thinking it better with like dissimulation to appease his violent and fierce nature, than by sharpe reproofe to moue him to further choller, he sent vnto him embassadors to declare to him with what danger the Turkish Kings had in former times taken vpon them those Hungarian wars: for example whereof he needed not to goe further than to his grandfather *Mahomet* the Great, who many times to his exceeding losse had made proofe of the Hungarian forces: wherefore he should do well to expect some fit opportunity, when as he might with better aduice, greater power, and more sure hope of victory, take those wars in hand. Whereunto *Selymus* answered, That he had left Asia, inforced thereunto by the injuries of his brother *Achomates*, and was therefore come ouer into Europe, by dint of sword

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*Selymus aided by Mahometes his father in law visiteth against his father.*

*Mahometes poysoned by Asmebemedi.*

*Asmebemedi cast into prison, and made away.*

*Bajazet sendeth Ambassadors to Selymus.*

and the helpe of his friends, to win from the enemies of the Mahometan religion a larger and better prouince for that little barren and peaceable one which his father had given him, bordering vpon Hiberia and Cholchos, bare and needy people; living as conies amongst the rocks and mountaines. As for the Hungarians whom they thought to be a people inuincible, and therefore not to be dealt withall, he was not of that base mind to be daunted with any danger, were it neuer so great: and yet that in his opinion the war was neither so difficult or dangerous, as was by them pretended; forasmuch as the ancient prowesse of that warlike nation was now much changed, together with the change of their Kings; and their discipline of war not onely much decayed, but almost quite lost, after that *Vladislaus*, farre vnlike in policy and prowesse, had succeeded the renowned *Matthias* in that kingdome. Neither had he (as he said) from his cradle learned to be afraid of death, or of the common chances of war, as knowing that neither God nor man would be wanting to him, who with an honourable resolution did aduention vpon vertuous and worthy attempts: and that therefore he was fully resolu'd for his owne honour (which his father had in some sort blemished by the immoderate aduancement of his brethren) either to die honourably in the field in battell against the enemies of the Mahometan religion, or else gloriously to extend the bounds of the Turkish Empire: and that he would not (though one of the youngest in the *Othoman* family) be accounted inferior to any of his brethren in vertue and prowesse. Thus was the Hungarian war neuer by *Selymus* intended, notably by him pretended; and with no lesse dissimulation by *Bajazet* dissuaded. The Embassadors, although *Selymus* in all his speeches shewed no token of peace: yet in his fathers name presented vnto him diuers gifts, thereby if it might be to appease his fierce and cruell mind. Vnto his old government they adjoined Samandria, which the Hungarians call *Scherderouia*, a strong city of Seruia vpon the borders of Hungary, with many other strong towns in the same country: they gaue him also threecore thousand ducats, beside a thousand garments of cloth and silke: with good store of prouision wherewith to relieue and content the soldiers by him entertained: lest that they drawne far from home in hope of spoile, should take it in euill part if they should be sent away empty handed. *Selymus* in a happy time hauing receiued these gifts, returned the Embassadors vnto his father, with more doubtfull answer and vncertaine hope than before: yet changing nothing in himselfe of his former resolution, secret messengers and letters from his friends in the court still whetting him forward (too much already inflamed with desire of soueraignty) perswading him to make halt and to repose his greatest hope in his quicke speed; for that they vnderstood, that about the time of his setting forward, his brother *Achomates* was comming with a great power, being sent for out of *Capadocia* by his father.

*resents giuen  
to Selymus by  
his fathers Em-  
bassadors.*

*Bajazet would  
appoint his suc-  
cessor, who left  
he yet liued.*

In the meane time *Bajazet*, moued the rather with the feare of *Selymus*, resolu'd vpon that, whereof he had long before in his minde deeply considered, and now said openly, That hee would appoint his successor, who in stead of himselfe, spent with yeares and sicknesse, should bring with him the floure of youth and strength of body, fit to gouerne so great an Empire. But when those things were propounded vnto the souldiers of the court by the foure great Bassaes (who in all things both of peace and wars had next place vnto the Emperor himselfe) it was forthwith gainesaid by those martiall men, crying aloud with one voice, That they would know no other Emperor but *Bajazet*, vnder whose conduct and good fortune they had now serued about 30 yeares: and therefore would not suffer him to liue a priuat life in obscurity, who with so many victories and strong cities taken, had brought the *Othoman* Empire vnto that height of renown & glory. They said moreover, that there was in him yet strength enough if he would but with the reuerend honor of his age retain the majesty of his place, and the glory he had gotten with his long and happy reigne, and most famous victories: and that of his children, such a one should vndoubtedly in his due time succeed in the Empire, as of right ought: only they wisht, that the old Emperor might in the mean time liue in health, with a long and happy reigne: neither needed he (as they said) to feare that after his death any controuersie should arise among his sons about the succession; for that the *Othoman* progeny vsed to attain the imperiall seat, according to the old custome of their ancestors the *Othoman* kings, by right and order only, and not by corruption or faction. But if he would needs vpon his own priuat good liking, or as it were by new adoption, proceed to make choice of such a one as the people & the men of war (his most loiall & faithfull subjects) would not so well like of, it would be

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A be an occasion of much more trouble, and haply the means to bring in that confusion of the State, which he thought thereby to eichu. For then, beside the dislike of the people, the other brethren would neuer indure so notable an injury, or euer be at quiet, vntil they had (as men wrongfully cast off and disinherited) by strong hand and indangering of all, recouer their honor lost by the headstrong wil of their aged father.

The soldiers thus before instructed by the friends and fauorits of *Selymus* (who with mony and large promises had corrupted their captains and chief officers) spake these things frankly, to haue deterred the old Emperor from his purpose. But he thinking that they had (as he himselfe did) especially affected *Achomates* his eldest son (for that they had generally protested, That they would against all injuries defend his honor, vnto whom the Empire should of right appertain) said he would make choice of *Achomates*, if it should stand with their good liking. But the chief of the souldiers, who corrupted by *Selymus*, had together sold both their faith and themselves, cunningly commended *Achomates*, and seemed wonderfully to like of him; yet to accept of him for their Soueraign, *Bajazet* yet liuing, they said was not agreeing with the ancient custom of the *Othoman* Kings, neither for the behoofe of the men of war, neither yet good for the state of the Empire; forasmuch as neither his brethren, *Corcutus* and *Selymus*, neither the soldiers of the court, could patiently endure the least touch of the suspicion of infidelitie; which they must needs do, if hee as a suspicious father should doubt either of the loue or loyalty of his most dutifull sons, or of the faith or constancie of his most faithfull seruants, wherof he had made so many trials. Besides that, it seemed vnto them all vnreasonable, that by the odious preiudice of that fact, the soldiers should be left defrauded of the rewards vsually granted vnto them during the time of the vacancie of the Empire, arising of the spoil taken from them which are of religion different from the Turks. For it is a custom, that immediatly vpon the death of the Turkish Emperor, all the Iews and Christians which dwel at Constantinople, Pera, Hadrianople, Thessalonica, and Prusa, especially merchants, exposed vnto the injuries of the Turks, are by the Ianizaries and other soldiers of the court spoiled of all their wares and goods, and become vnto them a prey: neither will they giue their oath of allegiance vnto the new Emperor, vntil he haue granted vnto them all that prey, as a bounty; and haue solemnly sworn by his own head (the greatest assurance that can by Oath be giuen among the Turks) freely to pardon all the offenders, and for euer to forget all the outrages before committed. When *Bajazet* saw his men of war thus generally to oppose themselves against the translation of the empire to *Achomates*, he of purpose to corrupt the minds of them which were before already corrupted, promised to giue them five hundred thousand ducats, if they would stand fauorable to *Achomates*, and accept him for their Soueraign: which masse of mony his customers and receiuers undertook to leuy of the same merchants strangers and Iewes, and to pay it as *Bajazet* had promised. Yet the ouerthwart forwardnes of these men of war overcame the good fortune of *Achomates*, although the reward promised were great. For why, they had in their martiall minds conceived far greater rewards & preferments, if in stead of a peaceable and quiet prince, a monstrous Tyrant of restless nature (such as was *Selymus*) might by their helpe and meanes aspire to the Empire. Thus *Bajazet* driuen from his hope, thought it best for the present to dissemble the matter, & concealing his grief, with patience to put vp that dishonor, vntil a fitter opportunitie were offered for the effecting of that hee so much desired.

*Selymus* aduertised by his friends, with what affection and and fastnesse the soldiers of the Court had in the secret fauor of him, openly withstood the earnest desire of *Bajazet* for the preferment of *Achomates*; because he would no longer frustrat the expectation of his fauorits by lingring or delay, or seem to distrust the ready good wils of the men of war towards him, lest the borders of Hungary, & with his army marching thorow Thracia, incamped at length vpon the rising of a hill not far from Hadrianople, from whence the neighing of his horses might easily be heard, and his tents from the high places of the city discovered. From thence he sent a messenger to his father then lying in the city, to certifie him, That forasmuch as hee had not of many yeares before seen him, he was now therefore desirous to come vnto his presence to visite him, before he crossed the seas backe again by his appointment to Trapezond. And therather, because it might so chance that he should neuer see him again, being now both aged and diseased. Besides that, it much concerned (as he would haue had him beleue) the

*Bajazet seeks  
to prefer Achomates  
vnto the  
Empire.*

*Selymus mar-  
ches with his  
army toward  
Hadrianople.  
Selymus his  
dissembling  
Embassage to  
his father.*

the quietnes of his kingdom in Asia, and the vnity of his children, if the controuersie betwixt him and his brother *Achomates*, which could not safely be committed to messengers, might by themselves be discouered to him their father, as an indifferent hearer and decider thereof. Wherefore he humbly besought him to appoint him a time and place to giue him audience, and not to deny him leaue to come and kisse his hands: which thing his Ancestors neuer refused to grant to their poor friends, much lesse to their children. *Bajazet*, who a few dayes before vnderstanding of the coming of *Selymus*, and throughly seeing into his deuices, had called vnto him certain of his Sanzacks or chief captains, with their select companies out of the neerest parts of Grecia, and had also set strong watch and ward through the City; fearing lest vnder colour of parle, his soldiers attending about his own person, corrupted by *Selymus* and his friends (who euen then loded with gifts and promises, were secretly vpon the point of reuolt) should be quite drawn away from him, and so he himself at length bee either by open force oppressed, or secret trechery circumvented, thought it best to cut him off at once from all hope of conference, or access vnto his presence. Wherefore seriously blaming him, That he had vpon his own head brought his army into another mans prouince; that he in arms required audience; and lastly, That he so insolently abused his fathers lenitie and patience, he by the same messenger sent him further word, That he should not presume to approach any neerer vnto him, or expect any thing appertaining vnto peace; who garded with forreine power, had without his fathers leaue entred into arms, and spoiled the countries of his friends. And that therefore he should do wel, with all speed to retyre out of Thracia, yea and out of Europalso, and disbanding his forces, again to retyre himself vnto his charge in Pontus; in which doing he should find greater fauor and kindnes with him his father, than euer he had before: but if he would needs proceed in the course by him begun, then he would no more take him for his son, but for his enemy, and before it were long, sharply chastise him for his malapert insolencie, little differing from vnnatural trechery. The messenger with this answer dismissed, it was not long after, but that *Bajazet* was by his Espials aduertised, That *Selymus* the night following was risen with his army, and marched directly toward Constantinople; whither he was sent for by his friends, in hope that vpon his approach with his Army, some sudden tumult or vprore would to his auail arise in that so great and populous a city. Wherevpon *Bajazet* fearing lest in staying at Hadrianople, he might lose the Imperial city of Constantinople, early in the morning by breake of the day departed from Hadrianople towards Constantinople. Vpon his departure, *Selymus* peaceably entred the city of Hadrianople, the Citifens fearing, that if they should haue made any resistance, their vnseasonable faithfulness toward *Bajazet* might haue turned to their viter destruction. *Selymus* after he had a while refreshed his army with the plenty of that city, according to his former determination set forward again, of purpose by long and speedy marches to haue preuented his fathers coming to Constantinople. *Bajazet* was yet scarcely come to Chiurlus, or rather Tzurulum, an antient ruinous city almost vpon the mid way betwixt Hadrianople and Constantinople, when warning was giuen him by them that followed his army, that the forerunners of *Selymus* were at hand, cutting off the straglers of his army, and with hot skirmishes staying and troubling his rereward. The aged Emperor more moued than terrified with the strangenes of the matter, because his marching should not seem as if it were a flight or chase, commanded his standard to be set vp, and al his army to make a stand; of purpose that if *Selymus* should come vp to giue him battell, he might find him in readinesse. The great Captains and Noblemen then present with *Bajazet*, whether it were for old acquaintance, or vpon some new inclination of their affection, or else vpon hope of new alliance and preferment, wishing well vnto *Selymus*, and therefore indirec-ly and cunningly fauoured him, seemed not to like of *Bajazet* his resolution, to be so far moued (as they said) with the youthfull heat and lightnesse of his son, as to seek reuenge by battell, whereas the victory it self could yeeld him nothing but sorrow, but the ouerthrow threatened destruction both to himselfe and all them that werewith him: the imminent threat whereof seemed to be so much the more dangerous and fearefull, by how much hee was at that time inferior vnto his sonne both in warlike prouision and number of armed fouldiours. Wherefore it were the best course for him (said they) to moderate his anger, and not now in the winding vp of his life, to make too much hast by a miserable death in a wooll battell to blemish the whole glory of his former life. There was (as they would haue persuaded

*Selymus* vnto  
his father.

*Bajazet* chief  
C. m. m. m. m.  
re. m. m. m. m.  
ing *Selymus*,  
a. m. m. m. m.  
fo. m. m. m. m.  
battell.

A suaded him) but one only course to be taken, full of wholesome policie and safety; which was, that he should with such speed as he had begun, march on forward to Constantinople, that so *Selymus* excluded out of the city (his chiefest hope) and then not knowing which way to turn himself, should either of his own accord, or for fear of his fathers greater forces, thinke of return; and so with his rascall followers more honestly perish by their hands whose countries he had spoiled, and vpon whom he must of necessity liue in his return, than by the sword of his father. The author of this counsel was *Mustapha*, the most antient Bassa of those which beeing in greatest authoritie vnder the Emperor, are only of his priuy counsel, and sway all matters of importance concerning either peace or war: he then vpon an vnthankfull and malicious mind loathing *Bajazet*, as one that had too long reigned, hated him also for certain priuar displeasures conceiued of the emulation of the other yonger Bassa's by him promoted, & secretly bare great affection to *Selymus*, both in condition and fauor resembling his grandfather the Great *Mahomet*, by whom he was brought vp himself, and him of all the sons of *Bajazet* he thought most worthy of the empire. This *Mustapha* was born in the town of Seres (neer to Amphipolis) the son of a Greek priest, a man of a sly, crafty, and subtil wit, alwaies subiect to corruption: which diseases of mind were in him well to haue bin discoloured by his froward look and squint eies, the certain notes of a nature to be suspected. Next vnto this *Mustapha* was *Bostanges Bassa*, born of the honorable house of the *Deucagina* in *Ætolia*, and thereof called *Deucaginoli*; a man for his couetousnesse, ambition, and treachery, infamous, as the foul & miserable end of his life afterwards declared. Vnto this man *Selymus* had by secret marriage betrothed one of his daughters, now marriageable, as a reward of his corrupt faith. By the which sleight he also allured *Ajax* (Aga or captain of the Ianizaries, and great Master of the household) to promise his aid for the obtaining of the empire, wherunto he said he was by destiny called: and by his means drew other inferior captains secretly to fauor his quarrel; to whom he spared not to promise whatsoever might please their humors. Yea the captains almost generally either corrupted with reward, or for feare following the inclination of the greater commanders, of themselves leant that way. Of all the rest, only *Cherseogles Bassa* (whom the Turks histories call also *Achmet Hertzeck Ogli*) a faithfull constant vpright man, free from all double dealing and deceit, a fast and assured friend vnto *Bajazet* his father in law, was of opinion, That the immoderat pride and insolencie of *Selymus* was euen there by force of Armes and strong hand forthwith to be oppressed, before he should approach any neerer vnto the Imperiall city, for fear of raising some further tumult or trouble there than were well to bee appeased; which was the thing that *Selymus* his friends most of all desired. Neither was it to be thought (as *Cherseogles* said) that the naked Tartarian horsemen, although they were in number more, would euer be able to abide the first charge of *Bajazets* well armed pensioners. As for the Ianizaries, of whose approved faith and valor tried in many dangers, he had before had good experience; there was no doubt but that they would now to the vtmost of their power defend the person and honor of their aged and victorious Emperor, who had of long time so wel of them deserved; and also to reuenge his quarrel vpon disobedient *Selymus*, who neither fearing God, the iust reuenger of such vngratious dealing, neither the infamy of men, had most vnaturally lift vp his sword against his father, wickedly to deprive him of life, of whom hee had receiued life. Wherefore he persuaded him, in his own iust quarrell to go forth vnto his soldiers with cheerful countenance, and putting them in mind of the benefits they had from time to time most bountifullly receiued at his hands, as also of their allegiance and duty; to make them to vnderstand, that reposing his trust in their fidelity and valour, he had resolutely set down with himself, in that place before he went any further, by their faithfull hands to chastise the presumptuous insolencie of his vnnatural sonne, together with his rebellious Followers.

*Cherseogles*  
Bassa the only  
great man  
faithfull to  
*Bajazet* persua-  
ded him to  
giue battell to  
*Selymus*.

But now that we are fallen into the remembrance of this *Cherseogles*, it shall not be amisse, both for the honor of the man, and the great loue he alwaies bare vnto the Christians, to stop a little out of the way, to see the cause why he being a Christian born, turned Turk. For hee was not (as almost all the rest of the great men about *Bajazet* were) taken from his Christian parents of a child, and so brought vp in the Mahometan religion; but being now a man grown turned Turk: yet so, as that he neuer in heart forgot either the Christian religion, or loue toward the Christians; a thing not common among such renegats. He being the sonne of one

*Cherseogles*, a small prince of Illyria neer vnto the black mountain; and going to be married to a Lady whom he most intirely loued, and vnto whom he was already betrothed, honourably defended of the house of the Despot of Serbia; his intemperat father with lustfull eye beholding the yong Lady of rare feiture and incomparable beauty, desired to haue her for himself; and regarding more the satisfying of his own inordinat desire, than his own honour, or the fatherly loue of his son, took her in marriage himself; all his friends laboring in vaine to dissuade him, and with open mouth crying shame of so foul a fact. Wherefore the yong man, mooued with the indignitie of so great an injury, and driuen headlong with despair, fled first to the Turks garrisons which lay not far off, and from thence to Constantinople; where the fortune of the man was to be wondred at: for being brought before *Bajazet*, who with cheerefull countenance entertained him, for that he was honorably descended, and well liked both of the man, and of the cause of his reuolt; smiling vpon him, said, *Be of good cheere, noble Tenth*, for thy great courage is worthy of far greater fortune than thy fathers house can afford thee; now in stead of thy Loue wrongfully taken from thee by thy father (the kinswoman of a poor exiled Prince) thou shalt haue giuen thee in marriage the daughter of a great Emperor, of rare and singular perfection. And not long after abjuring his religion, and changing his name of *Stephen*, to *Achomates* and *Cherseogles*, he married one of *Bajazets* daughters, a princeesse of great beauty, and deferred to haue a place among the Bassa's of greatest honor in the court. Yet still retaining the remembrance of his former profession, with a desire to return therto again: in somuch that he kept in his secret closet the image of the Crucifix, which he shewed to *Io. Lascaris*, as to his trusty friend, as hee himself reported. This man at such time as the city of *Modon* was taken by the Turks, and a multitude of poor Christian captiues cruelly put to death in the sight of *Bajazet*, by earnest intreaty saued the liues of the Venetian Senators; and afterward deliuered *Andreas Gritti*, being prisoner at Constantinople, and condemned to die; who not many years after was chosen Duke of Venice. He was the chief means whereby the Venetians to their great good obtained peace of *Bajazet*. He also by his great authority, and of his own charge redeemed innumerable Christians from the seruitude of the Turks, and set them at liberty. Neither is his kindness toward the furtherance of good learning to be forgotten: for at such time as the aforesaid *Io. Lascaris* the notable and learned Grecian, by the appointment of *Leo* the tenth, fought ancient works of famous Writers, hee procured the Turkish Emperours Letters patents, that he might freely at his pleasure search all the Libraries in Grecia, to the great furtherance of K good letters.

Now *Bajazet* encouraged by this mans persuation (as is aforesaid) and hearing as hee lay in his pavilion, the alarm of the enemy, with the tumult & clamor of his own soldiers as if they had bin men afraid; and sundry messengers also at the same time comming to him with news, That *Selymus* with his Tartarian horsemen had almost inclosed the reuerard of his Army, and already taken some of his baggage; grinding his teeth for very madnesse and grief of mind, with tears trickling down his hoary cheeks, got him out of his pavilion in his horse-litter (for he was at the same time so troubled with the gout, that hee was not able to sit on horse-backe) and turning himself vnto the Pensioners and Ianizaries standing about him, as their manner is, said vnto them,

*Bajazet* speaketh  
to the soldiers  
and Ianizaries  
of the Court.

Will you, foster-children, valiant soldiers, and faithfull keepers of my person, who with great fortune haue seru'd me in field about the space of thirty years, and for your faithful and good service haue both in time of peace and war, of me receiued such rewards, as by your own confession and thanksgiuings, far exceeded your own expectation, and the measure of our treasures: Will you (I say) suffer the innocent Father to be butchered by his graces son? And your old Emperor, tormented with age and diseases, to be cruelly murdered by a company of wild Tartars, little better than arrant rogues and theues? Shall I be now forsaken in this my heavy old age and last act of life? And shall I be deliuered vnto myne enemies, by them, by them (I say) who many years ago with great faithfulness and invincible courage defended myne honor and right against my brother *Zemes*? and haue many times since, not only valiantly defended this Empire against most warlike nations, but also victoriously augmented the same? But I wil not so lightly beleene that which to my no small grief is brought vnto myne ears concerning the reuolting of my army: neither if I did beleene it, am I so fearfull as to be therewith discouraged, or to seek to make shift for my self. For to what purpose should I think of flight, as though I could in any place find more faithfulness,

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A or surer defence than with you? And concerning your selues, what should be your hope by this so infamous treachery? If any of you (for I cannot beleene that you are all so mad) without regard of faith, of worldly shame, or the fear of God, haue polluted your minds with the pernicious conceit of so foul a treason; doe you think to gain greater rewards and preferments by your treachery and villany, than by your fidelitie & constancie? There be many which carefull of my person, persuaide me to reserve this my sicke and feeble body vnto my better fortune, and to commit my selfe to flight, so rather to save my life with shame and infamy, than to end my daies with honor and glory. Which is so far from my thought for the apprehension of any fear to do, that I will to the contrary forthwith giue the fierce Enemy battell, and in this my last danger make proof of all your fidelitie and valor, and of every one of your good wils in particular: and so by conduct of the Highest either defeat the power and breake the strength of this gracelesse man; or els hauing B reigned about thirty years an Emperor, end my daies together with them which shall vnto the end continue with me in their faithfulness and loyaltie, although I should bee most shamefully and dishonorably betrayed and forsaken of some of myne own Gard. Which thing though lying same would make me beleene, yet will I not fear it vntill I make proof thereof.

The common sort of the Ianizaries (vnto whom the great Commanders and captains corrupted by *Selymus*, had not for their leuitie and multitude imparted their purpose for transferring the empire to *Selymus*) began to cry out as if it had bin with general consent, That he should not doubt to join battell with his enemies, and so to make prooffe of their constant fidelitie and valour. Which was done with such a cheerefulness and desire, expressed by great C shouts, clapping of hands, and clattering of armor, that it seemed they would play the parts of resolute soldiers, and that as guiltlesse men they tooke it grieuously to be once suspected of treason or infidelitie. Others also who secretly and in heart were well affected to *Selymus*, for fashion sake followed them with like cry, but specially the great Commanders of the Emperours court and army, now changed their affection, whether it were for shame of the fact, or for fear of discovering themselves out of season, is vncertain. Wherefore according to the manner of such men, which through their mutability and mischieuous disposition, fearing to be conuinc'd and discovered, adde vnto the present a second and new treason or treachery to couer the former: so *Mustapha* and *Bostangas*, not daring now to shew themselves for *Selymus*, to make a great shew of their leigned loyaltie toward *Bajazet*, departed themselves out of his pavilion D to encourage the soldiers and to marshal the battell.

*Bajazet* lick in his chariot, by the aduice of *Cherseogles* the faithful Bassa placed his battell in this order: The Sanzacks (which are the gouernors of prouinces) with their horsemen, in number about 6000, he set in the front of the battell: the Spachi oglans and Siliphtars, who are the chief horsemen of the Court, and as it were the Emperours Pensioners, were placed as two wings on each side of the great squadron of the Ianizaries; in the midst whereof was old *Bajazet* himself. Other 4000 horsemen (seruants to the great men of the Court) were left in the reuerard, and to gard the baggage. These slaues (for so indeed they are) for their apparell and furniture, and for their valor also, are little inferior to their masters, by whom they are so sumptuously maintained both for strength and ostentation. The battell thus ordered, *Bajazet* E commanded the trumpets to sound, and a red ensigne in token of battell to be displayed. On the other side, *Selymus* placing his Tartarian horsemen in both wings, and his Turks in the midst, in manner of an halfe moon, for that he in number of horsemen far exceeded his father, did almost on euery side inclose him, and so charge him. The Tartars when they were come within 100 paces of their enemies, casting themselves (after the manner of their fight) into great rings, empty within in manner of a crowne, and so running round, that they might both backward and forward deliuer their arrows, cast vpon their enemies whole showres of shot, as if it had bin hail, to the great annoiance of the Turks. When as in the mean time the other Tartarian archers farther off, shooting their arrows not right forth, but more vpright towards heauen, which falling directly down, fore gauled the Turks horses also. But the old soldiers, F taught by the example of their captains, ferred close together, and casting their targets ouer their heads as if it had bin one whole rooffe or penthouse, receiued their Arrowes with lesse harm, and basted with as much speed as they could to come to handy blows. The pensioners also at the same instant brauely charged the middle of *Selymus* his battell, where his Turkish horsemen

The common sort  
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The battell be-  
twixt *Bajazet*  
and *Selymus*.

hottmen stood: and *Ajax* captain of the *Ianizaries*, drawing out 700 ready *harquebusiers* out of the Squadron of the *Ianizaries*, with them assailed the hindmost of one of the wings of the *Tartars*: and the four thousand seruants left in the rereward, as desirous as the rest to shew their forwardnes, with great slaughter repulsed the other wing of the *Tartars*, which came to haue spoiled the *Turks* carriages. This fierce battel betwixt the father and the sonne, with doubtful euent indured from noon vntil the going down of the Sun; *Selymus* in many places still restoring his declining battel, and fighting himself as for an Empire. But after that the *Tartars*, hardly charged by the *harquebusiers*, were not able to abide the shot, especially their horses, being with the vnwonted noise thereof wonderfully terrified, and so carrying back their riders whether they would or no, began to fly, the rest of the hottmen could neither by commandment, threatening, or wounds, be enforced to stay, but turned their backs and fled. The footmen also whom *Selymus* had attyred and armed after the manner of the *Ianizaries*, being forsaken of their own hottmen, were now by *Bajazets* hottmen compassed about and almost all slain.

*Selymus* his army thus ouerthrown, and himself hardly beset, was by certaine troupes of his *Turkish* hottmen which yet stayed with him, deliuered from the present danger, and being wounded, was mounted vpon a fresh horse, and so with all speed hee could fled after the *Tartars*. But doubting to be pursued and ouertaken by his fathers speedy hottmen, hee changed his horse, and took another of a wonderfull swiftnes: and so reseruing himself to his future fortune, with a few of his followers fled to *Varna*, and from thence by sea to *Capha*.

The horse wheron *Selymus* fled was all cole blacke, called *Carabulo* (that is to say, a blacke Cloud) whom *Selymus* as a good seruitor cuer after exempted from all seruice; and had him in such estimation, that couered with Cloth of gold, he was as a spare horse without a rider led after him in all his great expeditions, first into *Persia*, & afterward into *Egypt*, where he died at *Cair*, and there to the imitation of *Bucephalus*, Great *Alexanders* horse, had a monument erected for him. Wherein *Selymus* shewed himself more kinde than vnto his owne brethren, whom he cruelly murdered, and hardly afforded vnto some of them so honourable a Sepulture.

In this battel, of 40000 which *Selymus* brought into the field, escaped not about 8000, but they were either slain or taken prisoners. Of *Bajazets* army were lost about 700, and 3000 hurt with *Tartarian* arrows. Which losse he presently reuenged with extreame cruelty, causing all K such as were taken prisoners to be without mercy put to the sword in his sight; whose heads were laid together by heaps, and their dead bodies as if they had bin towers. Of this notable battel betwixt the father and the son in the year 1511, *Chiurlus*, called in ancient time *Tzurulum*, before an obscure old ruinous city (or as *Iouius* calls it, a village) became famous. But much more afterward by the fatal destiny of *Selymus*, who not many years after, stricken with a most lothsome and incurable disease, ended his daies in the same place with an vntimely and tormenting death; God (as it is to be thought) with reuenging hand in the same place taking iust punishment for his former disloyaltie toward his father, as shal hereafter in due time and place be declared.

Three daies *Bajazet* lay still in the same place where he had obtained the victory, vntil such time as all his souldiers were again returned from the chase of the enemy: after that, he held on his way to *Constantinople*, and there bountifully rewarded his souldiers. In the meane time *Achomates*, hearing of all the trouble which had hapned betwixt his father and his brother *Selymus*, with the euent thereof, came with an Army of 20000 from *Amasia*, thorow the countries of *Galatia* and *Bythinia*, vnto the city of *Scutari*, called in ancient time *Chrisopolis* (though some suppose it to haue bin the famous city of *Chalcedon*) which city is situated vpon the streit of *Bosphorus*, directly against the city of *Constantinople*. In this place *Achomates* incamped his army, neer the sea side, expecting what counse his father would take after so great a victory. For besides the prerogatiue of his age, and the especial loue of his father towards him, the general affection of the vulgar people, with the good opinion he had of himself, had already filled his mind with the hope of the Empire. Wherefore hee ceased not night nor day to send messengers ouer that narrow streit to *Constantinople*, and most earnestly to solicit *Bajazet* his father, in so fit an occasion to make hast to dispatch what hee had

A so long before determined, concerning the resignation of the empire. He also importuned his friends and familiars in best manner he could to commend him to his father, and in most ample sort to extoll his graue purpose for translation of the empire; and to do the vttermost of their deuoir, that seeing God and good fortune had iustly ouerthrowne the rash attempt and force of his brother *Selymus*, he by their good means might the sooner obtain the empire, of which he was the vndoubted heir.

*Bajazet*, who of himselfe and according to his old good liking was altogether desirous of the preferment of *Achomates*, was by their persuasions easily intreated to hasten the performance of that he had before determined for transferring the empire. And making no great secret of the matter, commanded certain Gallies to be made ready for the transporting of *Achomates* from *Scutario* to *Constantinople*. But the great Bassa's and soldiers of the court, the secret fauorits of *Selymus*, vnderstanding the matter, began again openly to resist and impugn his purposed determination, and to alledge the same reasons they had before at *Hadrianople* alledged: in fine they said plainly, they would by no means suffer him so far to disable himself, as an insufficient man to resigne the empire, who of late had with so valiant and courageous an heart fought for the honor of his crown and dignitie: and that therefore so long as hee liued, they would acknowledge no other Soueraign but *Bajazet*. Yet for all that, as they meant not to cut off *Achomates* hope, so neither ought he to distrust the good wil of the men of war; but that he being a man of most approved and known valor, might in due time with their general good liking enjoy his right, which should then without all question be due vnto him as the eldest son of their Emperor. They said moreover, That they had in the late battel against *Selymus* sufficiently declared what minds they were of, both towards their Emperor & *Achomates*, and what confidence they were to repose in the fidelitie of their soldiers, who to manifest their faithfulness and loyaltie, had not refused to offer themselves to the hazard of a most vnequal battel, yea their liues vnto death it self. A foul dissimulation, the couert mask of all mischief! vnder which, meer trechery is here pretended for great loyaltie, the aged Emperor too too much flattered, *Achomates* shamefully deluded, and the man that might not as then without some addition of disgrace bee named, *Selymus*, euen bloody *Selymus* secretly sought for about all men to be preferred.

*Bajazet* by this offwardnes and insolencie of the soldiers again disappointed of his purpose, or els (as some thought) delighted with the sweetness of soueraignty, for that after the late victory he seemed (as one grown yong again) neither to feel himselfe old or vnable still to gouern so great an empire; sent word to *Achomates*, how the matter stood, & that he should forthwith depart from *Scutari* to his old charge at *Amasia*, from whence he would again call him; at such time as he had with new bounty won the hearts of the soldiers, & procured the good liking of other the great men in court, whereby so great a matter and not vsual, might the better and with more security be effected.

*Achomates* thus deceived of his hope & expectation, grievously complaining that he was so mocked of his father, and contemned of the soldiers of the court, began to mix his new request with words of heat and discontent, and to inuey against his father, for making him a byword (as he termed it) and a laughing stock vnto the World, after hee had taken the paines to come so far, and that by his special appointment. But if he proceeded so to doat, and to make so great reckoning of the soldiers of the court, that in respect thereof he neither regarded his promise, nor that was right and iust, he would himself by force of arms take vpon him the defence of his own honour and right; so lightly esteemed by his father, and reuenge the disgrace offered vnto him by others.

Whereunto *Bajazet* answered by the *Cadelescher* (which is a man of greatest place and authoritie among the *Turks* in matters concerning their superstition, and therefore of them honored above others, as the sacred interpreter of their law) that he did neither well nor wisely, without iust cause to fall into so great rage and choler, as by his speech and force to think to extort that good which was only by lone and loyaltie to be gained: whereas all things should be surely kept for him, and the empire vndoubtedly descend vnto him, if by vntimely hast hee did not mar that hope which he ought by sufferance and patient expectation to cherish. He might (as the *Cadelescher* told him) learn by that late example & fortune of his brother *Selymus*, what might be for his own good and welfare; and that it was a thing of far more danger,

*Bajazet desires to prefer Achomates vnto the Empire.*

*one estimation Selymus had of his horse, who was as a spare horse without a rider led after him in all his great expeditions, first into Persia, & afterward into Egypt, where he died at Cair, and there to the imitation of Bucephalus, Great Alexanders horse, had a monument erected for him.*

desperately to thrust himself headlong into such an action as he could not possibly see the end of, than moderating by reason his hot passions, to expect with patience the opportunitie of time, and times of occasion, with the alteration of matters, all tending to his good.

*Achomates* inflamed with anger and grief of the repulse, all the while the *Cadelescher* was deliuering his fathers message, gaue him many sharp taunts, and had much adoe to stay himself from offering of him violence, oftentimes threatening him, that in short time both his father should dearly buy the changing of his purpose, and the soldiers of the court their treacherous dealing. And so sending him away with this short answer, he presently rose with his army, and passing thorow Bythinia, cruelly spoiled the country in his return to *Amasia*. There daily more and more inflamed with the grief and the indignitie of the repulse before receiued, he determined to inuade the lesser *Asia*: that if it should so fall out, that hee must needs by force of arms try his right against either of his brethren, he might therein vse the wealth of that rich prouince. Whereby if it should chance that he should by the practise of any fail of the whole empire, yet he should at the leastwise be possessed of the one half thereof, and be the readier for all euents, hauing all these great and rich prouinces in his power. Wherefore calling vnto him his two sons, *Amurathes* and *Aladin*, young princes of great hope, after he had grievously complained of the vnkindnes of his father *Bajazet*, and of the injuries don against him by his enemies in the Court, he declared vnto them, that there was now no hope left for him to obtain the empire, except they would forthwith enter into arms with him, and so together with him, defend both his and their own right and honour, against the malice and injuries of their enemies: which hee said would be an easie matter to doe, by surprizing the lesser *Asia*, if they would courageously enter vpon it; forasmuch as all *Pydisia*, *Licaonia*, *Pamphilia*, with the sea coast of *Ionia*, were not as then kept with an army or navy. And as for his brother *Corcutus*, there was no great doubt to be made of him, who according to his quiet disposition would be content either to sit still, or els in regard of his iust quarrell to take part with him; or if he would needs intermeddle his quiet state with the troubled, and so enter into arms, might easily be thrust out of whatsoeuer he possessed. As for the *Gouernors* of the rest of the prouinces, hee doubted not but that they would also yeeld either to his command or fortune. Wherefore he willed them to pluck vp their hearts as men of courage, and to go into the countries therabouts to take vp men, and whatsoeuer els were needful for the wars. These gallants, of their own youthfull disposition ready enough for such a matter, and now incouraged with their fathers perswasion, did what they were by him commanded, and had in short time raised a notable army of voluntary souldiers, of whom the greatest part were of seruile condition. But *Achomates* himselfe, besides his old army which he had formerly led against the Persian rebels, leuiued new forces also, and called forth into the field all the able men that were to be found in the Cities round about: and so running through the prouinces, proclaimed himselfe king of *Asia*; and such as would not forthwith yeeld vnto him, those he and his two sons in diuers places prosecuted with all hostility: by which means many cities, especially such as were but meanly fortified, partly for fear, partly by constraint, were deliuered vnto him.

After that, he entred with his army into *Licaonia* and the borders of *Cilicia*, where by embassadors and often letters he requested *Mahometes* his brothers son (who then gouerned those countries) to aid him in his iust quarrell against them, who by crafty and sinister perswasions had to his dishonor and disgrace withdrawn his fathers good will from him, and so far seduced him, that he was determined to appoint another successor in the empire, than him his eldest and first begotten son. Which their malice he would (as he said) preuent; and by force of arms recover his right, which his father knowing to be due vnto him, was about to haue put him in possession thereof whilst hee yet liued, had hee not by the sinister practise of others bin hindered. For the recovery whereof, if *Mahometes* would out of his prouince aid him with men and victual, and so further his iust cause, he promised that he should find a far better Vncle than he had found a father; and that his present friendship should in time be most amply and bountifully requited.

Whereto *Mahometes* answered, That he could not do what his vncle had required, except he were so commanded by his grandfather *Bajazet*, whom alone hee acknowledged for his dread Soueraign: and that it was not for him to iudge whether he did right or otherwise, That hee would

he would not in his life time resigne the empire to his son. But this (he said) he was not ignorant of, that hee was not to yeeld his obedience to any other, so long as hee liued possessed of the Empire: to whom both his father *Tzihan Schach* whilst he liued, and himselfe also, had giuen their oath of obedience and loyalty. Wherefore it were good for him to pacifie himselfe, lest in seeking vntimely reuenge of his enemies, he should to the offence of all men wrong his father, and by too much heat & hast ouerthrow both his hope and honor, which of right should be most great, if he could but in the mean time haue patience, and stay himselfe a while. *Achomates*, who expected nothing lesse than such an answer, but thought that *Mahometes* would either for loue or fear haue presently come vnto him, and now finding his requests to bee with greater grauitie and consideration denied by his nephew, than were by reason of him demanded, entred with his army into the borders of his prouince, and with fire and sword began to destroy the country before him. Which *Mahometes* with such power as hee had thinking to remedy, was by the way incountried by his vncle, not far from *Larenda*, and there ouerthrown; and taking that city for refuge, was there certain daies besieged by *Achomates*, and at last, together with his brother (then but a child) deliuered into his hands, at such time as the City was by the fearfull citifens by composition yeelded vnto him. *Achomates* hauing taken the city with his two nephews, caused *Mahometes* his counsellors, with his foster brother, by whose perswasion it was supposed that he had so answered his Vncle and indangered himselfe, to bee put to death.

These proceedings of *Achomates* filled *Bajazet* with griefe and indignation, that he should in so great years be set vpon by two of his own sons one after another. Yet to proue if those troubles might without more bloodshed be pacified, he sent Embassadours vnto him to reprocue him for his disloyaltie, and to command him forthwith to set at libertie his two Nephews, *Mahometes* & his brother, and so without more stir to get him again to *Amasia*; which if he should refuse to do, then to denounce vnto him open war. But hee, which by how much the more he had after his repulse ambitiously affected the empire, had resolved with himselfe to deal so much the more cruelly in his proceedings; hauing receiued this message from his father, caused the chief embassador (for that he had in frank speech deliuered his message, and denounced vnto him wars) to be in his own presence put to death; and threatened the rest with the like, if before the going down of the Sun they auoided not his camp.

This outrage highly offended *Bajazet*, and alienated the mindes of many, before well affected to *Achomates*; for that without any reuerence to his father, and contrary to the law of nations, he had violated the Embassadors sent to him for peace. Vpon the first bruit herof, the soldiers which then waited at the court gate, in the hearing of *Bajazet* exclaimed, that the insolencie of *Achomates* was not longer to be suffered, but forthwith by force to be repressed: that by sufferance and delay he would grow from euill to worse; and that if *Bajazet* should prolong the time, and in fatherly sort seek by fair means to reclaim him, he should afterwards in vain craue the aid of his best soldiers against his rebellious son, strengthened by his owne long sufferance. *Mustapha* also the chief Bassa, with *Rostanges* and others of great place (who secretly fauored *Selymus*, and had cunningly caused these things by fit men to be dispersed among the souldiers) began at first to mutter, and as it were to wonder at the strangenes and heinoulnes of the fact, in such sort, as if they had condemned the deed done, but not the doer. But afterward, when they saw that *Bajazet* was thoroughly heated, both by his own angry disposition and the speech of the soldiers, and vpon the confidence of his former victory against *Selymus*, now ready to seek reuenge; they began then to heap fresh coles vpon the fire, and bitterly to inuey against *Achomates*, as a traitor to his aged father and the state; and withall highly commended the fidelitie and courage of the *Ianizaries* and soldiers of the court, who for the safety and honor of their aged Emperour were most preste and ready to expose themselves, their liues, and whatsoeuer els they had, vnto new dangers.

So was *Achomates* by the craft and subtiltie of these great men, by the anger of his father, and the iudgement of the soldiers, proclaimed traitor; and order taken, that the soldiers of the Court, with the European horsemen, should with all possible speed be sent against him into *Asia*. But when choice was to be made of some valiant and worthy Generall that might take vpon him so great a charge, which seemed especially to appertain vnto some one of the great Bassas;

1512.  
Bajazet sends  
Embassadours  
to Achomates.

Achomates kills  
his father's  
Embassador.

Achomates pro-  
claimed traitor.

Bassa: it was strange to see how they all began to strain curtesie at the preferment, and every one to reuise the place, and disable himselfe, saying, That it were a great indignitie, that the Emperours Army should be led against his son by any of his seruants: and the souldiers (hauiing their lesson before hand) said plainly, That they durst not nor would not draw their swords, or lift vp their hands against the son of the Emperour, and heir apparant of the empire, except they were conducted and commaunded by some of the *Othoman* bloud in person present with them: for so had his brother, long before when hee rebelled in Cilicia, and now of late *Selymus* his rebellious son, bin both ouerthrowne and vanquished, euen by the conduct of *Bajazet* himself, and not by any of his seruants. These things all tended to this purpose, that *Selymus* might by indire& means be reconciled to his father, (whom they secretly fauoured, although for fear of displeasure they durst not so much as name him, but by way of disgrace) and by this very meanes to make way for his returne to Constantinople, and so consequently giue him power to seise vpon the Empire. For it was probably supposed, that neither *Bajazet* himself, being veyaged and diseased; neither *Corcutus* (altogether buried in his study) would vndertake the manning of those Wars. So that of the *Othoman* Family onely *Selymus* was left, to whom that charge might be committed; all the Nephews of *Bajazet*, by reason of their tender yeares, as yet vnfit for the same. At these speeches of the Bassa's and the souldiers, *Bajazet* as a man perplexed and in a chafe, flung away into his palace, excusing himself by reason of his great yeares and diseased body. But complaining deeply, That *Corcutus* in following the vain title of learning, with a quiet contented kind of life, had in the meane time neglected other studies and honourable qualiries, better becomming his princely birth and Calling. As he was thus reasoning with himself, and deuising what course to take, *Mustapha* the old Bassa, who all the time of his reign had vsed to dis-burthen him of his cares, hauiing by way of talk drawn him into a full discourse concerning the proceeding to the intended War, set vpon him with this crafty and premeditated speech, framed of purpose for his destruction.

The crafty and  
use of the  
great Bassa  
Mustapha to  
draw out  
Bajazet  
from his  
study, and  
to bring him  
into a full  
discourse  
concerning  
the intended  
war.

Your Majesty may not (most dread Soueraign) although by yeares and strength of body you were neuer so wel able, you may not, I say either transport your army, or your selfe passe ouer in person into Asia; lest whilst you are there from place to place chasing *Achomates*, you leaue a far more dangerous enemy behind you in Europe, who may in your absence seise vpon Thracia, Gracia, yea and the Imperiall City it selfe, destitute of sufficient Defendants. Do we not heare, that *Selymus* is raising of new forces about *Varma*? to expell a new supply of horsemen from the Tartar king his father in law? And already as it were houering ouer our heads? Is he not of greater spirit and courage, than to be daunted or dismayed with the misfortune of one battell? or if you shall send ouer your old beaten souldiers into Asia, and call *Corcutus* into Europe, with the forces he leauied the last yeare, who in time of your sicknesse may withstand the attempts of *Selymus*: will he feare these fresh water soldiers of Asia, or their phyllosophicall Generall, which feared not the soldiers of your court, the pickt and chosen men of the world, and your selfe a most worthy and victorious Emperour? You are deceived, and (if I may be so bold (so to say) you thoroughly set not into the doubtfull euent of things, if you thinke not, that you must at one time wage war against two dangerous enemies, euen in the remotest parts of your Empire, in Asia and Europe: For whilst you shall go about to expulse *Achomates* out of Cappadocia, *Selymus* neerer at hand, and awaiting all opportunities; will by and by at your back raise a most dangerous war in the very heart and chief strength of your Empire. But if you, moued with the greatnesse and due consideration of the danger, shall goe about to defend Thracia, and for that purpose retaine with you the most approoued and faithfull souldiers of the Court, you shall see all Asia on a fire before your face: neither will *Achomates* make an end of waste and warre, untill such time as he hath drawne the Empire of Asia vnto himselfe. Wherefore if it be not to be imputed to your fault, but to your fate or fortune, that two begotten of your selfe, should by your selfe and the consent of all men be iudged traiterous vnto your crowne and dignitie; whereof the one through rashnesse, the other vpon pride and vaine discontentment, hath risen up in armes against you: Why doe you not in so doubtfull and perplexed a matter, preferre safe and sound aduise before that which maketh vnder the shew of maiestie and honour? and whom you cannot both at one time correct and be reuenged vpon, to set vpon them as occasion shall serue when they are together by the eares betwixt themselves? This is the onely hope of your safetie, this is the onely way, if you shall resolve (as the common proverbe saith) to drine out one nail with another, and so to ouercome your

A your enemies: moderat for a while your hot desire of reuenge, and for the present dissemble your griefe; grant vnto one of them pardon, and in shew take him into your grace and fauour, imploy him against the other: so shall you without danger, howeouer it shall fall out, persecute the one whom you loue not, with the help of the other whom you trust not; and at your pleasure oppresse him to whom you shall commit your engines and army: the hands of your faithfull and trusty souldiers being euer at your appointment ready to take reuenge. So shall you with securitie make an end of this war, exposing vnto the danger, him whom you had rather to ouercome as your enemy, by him whom you wish also to perish.

*Mustapha* had scarce made an end of speaking, but the other Bassa's (as they had before agreed amongst themselves) began where he left, and with all their cunning laboured to persuade *Bajazet* to call home his son *Selymus*, and to make him General of his Army against his brother, saying, that he had already endured sufficient punishment for his former disloyalty, and therefore it was like that he as a wel corrected child would from thenceforth contain himself within the compasse of his most dutifull obedience. Whereas *Achomates*, proud of his birthright, hauiing of late violated his fathers Embassadors, and filled all Asia with rebellion, was not like to be brought to any reasonable conformity, vntill hee were by force of Armes pluckt down, and so made to know himself, in like manner as was his brother *Selymus* of late. *Bajazet* seeing that in resolving of a matter of so great consequence, *Cherseogles Bassa* (his son in law, and the only faithful counsellor then about him) sat all silent, hanging the head, as one of a contrary opinion to the rest, stood a great while in doubt what to resolve vpon. He could not so easily forget the late injuries don against him by *Selymus*, it was yet fresh in memory, how that he had out of Asia inuaded Europe, surpris'd Hadrianople, giuen him battell, indangered his person by his Tartarian horsemen, and that only by the goodnes of God hee had obtained the victory. On the other side, his Majesty contemned, his Nephewes imprisoned, his Embassadors violated, the cities of Asia ransacked, and all those goodly Countries presently smoking with the fire of rebellion, so filled his old heart with anger and indignation, as that he desired nothing more than to be reuenged. Whilst he was thus strugling with his owne thoughts, and doubtful what to do, the vnfaithfull Bassa's by deep deceit and trechery (*Cherseogles* most instantly persuading the contrary) ouercame him so far, as with his owne hand to write letters to *Selymus*, promising, that forgetting all injuries past, he would vpon the hope of his loyaltie receiue him into his former grace and fauor, and make him General of his army, if he would without delay repair to Constantinople, and so passe ouer into Asia against his rebellious brother *Achomates*.

Whilst these things were in doing at Constantinople, *Corcutus* being aduertised by letters from his friends, of the weak estate of his aged father, and by what persuasions hee had bin induced (after that *Achomates* had bin proclaimed Traitor) to call vnto him *Selymus*, and to make him General of his Army, came down out of Magnesia to Phocis, and there imbarcking himself in his Gallies, failed to Constantinople. Where being arriued, he went presently to the Court, attended vpon with a great number of his friends and fauourites; and entering into the priuy chamber, humbled himself before his father, and kissed his hand: and after much talk had betwixt them of diuers weighty matters, is reported to haue spoken vnto him as followeth.

*Corcutus* comes  
to Constantinople.

It is now about thirty yeares past (most reuerend father and dread Soueraign) since that I (being chosen and proclaimed Emperour by the prerogative of the soldiers of the Court, by generall consent of the Citizens of this Imperiall City, and by the graue judgement of the wise and graue Bassa's of the Court) haue cheerfully and willingly, and as I may truly say, with my own hand deliuered from my self to your Majesty, the possession of this most glorious kingdom and Empire. Which thing what worldly Wight would haue don, but either a Mad man, or els a most kind and louing son? Vnto which so rare an example of a religious and louing heart, I was not by any fear or constraint inforced, but only by regard and contemplation of your own sacred person, and due consideration of my duty. Neither did it in the course of so many yeares euer repent me of that my singular kindnesse and duty done; when as I contenting my self with such things as you had vnto me assigned, and with the generall commendation of my well-doing, as well as with a king-

*Corcutus* his  
oration to his  
father *Bajazet*.

dom, though this your great estate and highest type of worldly honour, not to be compared with the quiet contentment of my pleasing Studies; when as I accounted it a vain thing, and not beseming the resolution of a seiled and quiet mind, to long after these worldly things, which being had and inioyed to the full, work no full contentment in the unsatiable desires of man: and that surmounting vertue, and the sweet, & most sweet meditation of heavenly things, promised unto my contemplative and ransished minde, things of far more worth and Majesty than all the Kingdoms and Monarchies of the world. But whilst I was tracing this path, little regarding worldly honour, or the glory of an Empire; and was for pure deuotion and desire of knowledge traucking into the farthest part of Arabia, vnto the Altar of our most sacred Prophet Mahomet, and so to the Indians, as to men of a more exact knowledge and sincere profession; you in the midst of my trauel drew me out of Egypt by the long hands of the Egyptian Sultan, back again into Phrygia; commanding me, that eschuing the manifold dangers which in my long trauel I must needs haue fallen into, I should from thenceforth haue more regard of my life and health, and to expect the fruit both of my loyalty towards you, and of your fatherly loue towards me. As if you had bin then of opinion, that the time would come, when for the euill disposition of some, an innocent man, deuoted vnto the study of wisdom and learning, might be a stay both vnto your self and the whole Othoman Family. Since which time I haue euer both dutifully obeyed your command, and with as much care and integrity as I possibly could, discharged my charge: and in the late Persian war, raised and brought into the field myne army, with I defended the frontiers of my province from the incursions of the Barbarians. But after they were vanquished, and by your forces driuen out of the lesser Asia, and that my vnnatural and graceles brethren, the one of them in Europ as a most desperat Recreant, had in plain battell assailed the person of your most sacred Majesty (his reuerend father, far spent with age, and then grievously tormented with the gout) of purpose to haue at once deprived you both of your life and empire. And the other in Asia seeking by like disloyalty and most horrible treason there to possesse himself of a kingdom, had besieged and taken prisoners his brothers sons his nephews, yong princes of great expectation, your faithfull and loving subjects; and proceeding further, had set all that part of your empire on a broil: I thought my self in duty bound, and to repair hither vnto your Imperial Majesty, for that I saw it came to passe, not without the providence of the most Mighty, that I might at such time especially request the iust reward of my due desert of you my most reuerend and loving father, the most religious obseruer of equity and Iustice: when as you hauing had too great proof of the infidelity of my vnatural brethren, might most fitly and most commodiously perform that which you vpon great reason might now grant vnto me your dutiful and obedient son, although my former deserts had merited no such thing. Wherefore most gracious, I beseech you, by all your fatherly loue and affection towards mee, and my known loyalty towards you, to vouchsafe before the coming of Selymus, to haue regard of myne honor, with the state of your empire: for when he shall once in arms break in, he wil at a trice cut off all hope of pacification, and supported by the men of war, confound all things at his pleasure. For I hear, that the very gardens of your person, and chief commanders of your armies, altered in disposition towards you, do but expect the good offer of time, when they may willingly salute for their Emperor and Soueraign, him whom your good fortune of late, full sore against their wills, ouerthrew in open field. Wherefore that empire wherof I was sometime possessed, and for the rare desert of myne ancient loyalty toward you, is of good right due vnto me, restore to me again whilst you may, and whilst it is yet in your power, in this sudden and momentary occasion now presented. For your Majesty shall in vain fauor my most iust and vpright claim, after that you (hauing once received into the Imperial city a desperat and ambitious man) haue for euer lost your liberty, together with your self.

But as for  
Selymus  
and his  
friends  
who had  
reposed  
all their  
hope  
and all  
their  
deuises  
in the  
depar-  
ture of  
Selymus  
with the  
soldiers  
of the  
court;  
as if they  
had with  
great  
modesty  
contented  
on both  
sides,  
againe  
persuaded  
him, yea,  
and instantly  
requested  
him not to  
refuse  
these ho-

Corcutus with tears standing in his eyes, hauing ended his speech, the aged Emperor moued with a fatherly affection, and the reasonable persuation of him his only loyall and most kind son, comforted him vp with good words, and willed him to be of good cheer, and withall discovered vnto him the very ground of his resolution in calling home of Selymus; telling him further, That he could be wel content to resigne to him againe the Empire, but that it was not in his power so presently to do, for fear of the soldiers of the court, who had (as he said) of late withstood him in the like motion, and would againe with tooth and naile gainesay it, if hee should but giue the least occasion for them to suspect any such matter. But that by the plot now laid, Selymus should vnder the title of honor be drawn out of Europe, together with the soldiers of the court, into Asia against Achomates (both bars vnto his present desire for transferring of the Empire; in whose absence it should be in his power freely to dispose thereof at

A at his pleasure: which he promised presently to resigne vnto him, so soone as they were once passed ouer into Asia. Which thing once don, although it were not altogether to their liking, yet feared he not, that either the captains or soldiers, who had of late so honorably and faithfully defended him against Selymus, should now for his sakes dislike of Corcutus, or attempt any thing not beseming the glory of their late desert: but rather hoped, that if his two vnnatural and rebellious sons, Achomates and Selymus, should once joine battell (as it was most like they should) that either the one or both should by the iust judgement of God perish for their so great disobedience, murthered by the hands one of another. Corcutus not much disliking of his fathers purpose, and resting himself wholly vpon his fauor, thought it not good further to argue the matter his father had so well considered of; but taking his leaue returned to his lodging nor without hope of obtaining the Empire, and so remained many daies after at Constantinople: during which time he sought neither by gifts nor golden promises to procure the loue and good liking of the great Bassaes or soldiers of the court; for that he as a plain vpright man, thought it not good by suit and corruption (the great promoters of the vnworthy) to seeke for that at their hands, which was of right due vnto him by his fathers fauor & promise.

In the mean time Selymus his fast friends aduertising him of the coming of Corcutus to the court, aduised him to make haste, and with all speed possible to come to Constantinople; for that it was to be feared, lest Bajazet being very aged, and withall easie to be drawn away, might by the persuation of Corcutus be induced to alter, yea, and perhaps quite breake off the course before well set for his most ready preferment. Vpon which news, Selymus attentively waiting C vpon nothing more than to haue excessue vnto his friends in court, and before resolved, at his first coming thither not to spare for any cost in corrupting the men of warre, and so to possesse himselfe of the Empire; made now no stay but with certaine troupes of horsemen, commanding the rest to follow after, came with wonderfull celerity to Constantinople. Corcutus with the great Bassa's and Courtiers, and most part of the soldiers of the court, going to meet him at the gates of the city, at his entrance receiued him with a kisse (as is the manner of the Turks) and brought him through the midst of the city, all the people running out by heapes to haue a sight of the man, of late in euery mans mouth for his desperat rebellion, but now welcommed with much thundring shot in token of triumph, and the joyfull acclamation of men, women, and children, and people of all sorts. So that it easily appeared, that all the hatred before conceiued against him, for his late outrage against his father, was now quite forgotten; and that he would in short time before his other brethren aspire vnto the Empire.

The next day after, Selymus came to the court, and hauing access to his father, fell prostrate before him and kissed his feet, and with the greatest shew of humility possible, craued of him pardon for his disloyalty. O deepe dissembler, and traitor of all other most trecherous! of late in field with sword drawne to haue slaine his aged father, but now prostrate at his feet; and within an houre mounted perforce into his imperiall seat.

The old Emperour smiling vpon this Crocodile, in most kinde manner tooke him vp, and courteously said vnto him:

Thy faults, son Selymus, are so much the lesse, for that they haue found speedy repentance, wherefore I do the more willingly grant thee pardon: but from henceforth endeavour thy selfe, that God who hath given thee a notable spirit and courage, may also be thought to haue indued thee with a good and well disposed minde. There is a martiall matter ready, worth by thy hardnesse, wherein thou mayst sufficiently manifest vnto the world thy forwardnesse and courage: there when time seruerh let it appeare.

Shortly after was called a Councell for the wars, but especially for the chusing of a General to goe against Achomates: the honour of which place when many would haue giuen to Selymus, he began with great dissimulation to refuse, making as though he would not in any case be preferred before his brother Corcutus, to whom he would (as he said) willingly giue place, both in respect of his yeares and learned discretion, who could no doubt with greater authority and wisdom manage that war: as for himselfe, now he had obtained his fathers gracious pardon and fauour, he could well content himselfe with any corner of the Empire, were it neuer so little.

But Corcutus and his friends, who had reposed all their hope and all their deuises in the departure of Selymus with the soldiers of the court; as if they had with great modesty contented on both sides, againe persuated him, yea, and instantly requested him not to refuse these ho-

Bajazet cryeth  
Selymus  
to him  
Selymus.

The crafty  
dissimulation  
of  
Selymus.

nour, by generall consent without any disgrace to his brother, giuen to him as to a worthy G Chiefestane of great experience in martiall affaires. So *Selymus* with wonderfull cunning deluding *Corcutus* and his fauorits, whilest he seemeth craftily to refuse the thing he most desireth, is by the generall consent of all parts chosen Generall of the army to go against his brother *Achomates*. Which was no sooner made knowne vnto the souldiers, especially the Ianizaries and other souldiers of the court; but they before instructed, with loud acclamations saluted him not for their Generall onely, but for their soueraigne Lord and Emperour also: and so without further delay put themselves in armes to defend and make good that they had done, if any better disposed should seeme to withstand them or dissent from them.

*Selymus* by the souldiers thus saluted Emperour, at first made shew as if he had bene halfe vnwilling to take vpon him the Empire; and so began faintly to refuse it, as moued so to doe H by the due reuerence and regard of his father, yet liuing. But after a while he suffered himselfe to be intreated: and then commending himselfe and his cause wholly to the men of warre, to binde them vnto him the faster, promised beside the particular fauours he ought them, to bestow a right great and generall largesse amongst them: which he afterwards accordingly performed.

After that, he requested the chiefe Bassaes and commanders of the army there present, to go forthwith vnto his father, and to take such order (seeing it was the mind of the whole army it should be so) that the Empire might by his good will, without further trouble or tumult, be forthwith transferred vnto him.

*Mustapha* the great Bassa, in whose wyly head all this matter was (to his owne worthy destruction) first hammered; whether it were vpon a new fineness of his owne, or that *Selymus* (as it was giuen out) had threatned to kill him, except he would go and shew all the whole proccesse of the matter to his father: comming as a man dismayed to *Bajazet*, (who awaked with clamour and tumult of the souldiers, was come out of his chamber, into the open roomes of his Palace) in few words deliuered vnto him this most velcome message, as followeth:

Emperour (said he) the men of war haue in their Councell saluted *Selymus* both their Generall and Emperour, which their choice they require thee to ratifie, being ready presently to breake into the Court to kill us both, if thou shalt refuse forthwith to resigne the Empire. They all with one consent request that of thee, which they haue already put into the hand of another. Wherefore it is as thing of far more danger, to seek to recover that thou hast already lost, than willingly to yeld that which is already taken from thee, seeing it is not by any force or policy to be regained. They in armes, in fury, and now entred into rebellion, thinke vpon some greater mischief.

*Bajazet* troubled with feare and choler, and then too late perceiuing the trechery of the Bassaes, and how he had bin by them betrayed, pausing a while at the strangeness of the matter, afterwards in fury brake out into these words:

False and forsworne, do you thus betray me? and with such monstrous villany requite mine infinite bounty? Why do you not also as murderers take away my life, which could not endure for a while to expect the dissolution of this my weak and aged body; but deposing your iust and lawfull Soueraigne, must needs in pest haste set up a most wicked and gracelesse man to reigne ouer you? But much good do it you with your desired Emperour, the contemner of God, and murderer of his father: to whom ere it be long, you shall full deere pay the price of this your perfidious dealing and trechery against me. And he himselfe beginning his Empire by most vnnatural treason, murder, and bloodshed, shall not (I hope) escape the heavy hand of God, the vndoubted and seuer reuenger of so great impiety and treason.

*Mustapha*, with *Bostanges* and *Ajax* as false as himselfe, returning backe again to the souldiers, speaking not a word of the sorrow and indignation of *Bajazet*, told them how that he was well content to resigne the Empire, and so had appointed *Selymus* (to whom both God and the generall consent of the men of war had already deliuered the Empire, to succeed him in the Empire. When this their speech was generally reported, they whom *Selymus* had before corrupted, began now to hold vp their heads and looke big on the matter: and others who before stood doubtfull what to do, seeing now no other remedy, in hast joyned themselves vnto the same faction. Whilest all things were thus disorderly carried by the vnruely souldiers, *Selymus* was by them mounted vpon a couragious horse, and so with all pomp conducted vp and down most of the faire streets of the Imperiall city; and with the generall voice and clamor of the people (how soeuer their minds were for most part otherwise affected) saluted Emperour. And the

A the same day both the great Bassa's and the souldiers in generall, were all solemnly sworne vnto *Selymus*, as their only Lord and Emperour.

*Corcutus*, whether it were for griefe of his hope now lost, or for feare of his life, although *Selymus* had promised to giue him the city of Mytilene, with the Island of Lesbos, secretly embarked himselfe and so returned to Magnesia.

*Bajazet* of late one of the greatest Monarchs of the world, but now thus thrust out of his empire by his son, detesting both him and the treachery of his subjects, and overcome with sorrow and melancholy, determined of himselfe, before he were thereto enforced by *Selymus*, to forsake Constantinople, and to retyre him selfe to Dymotica (a small city wholesomely scituated in Thracia, not far from Hadrianople; where in former time he had for his pleasure bestowed great cost, and now as he thought best fitted his present estate.) Wherefore causing great store of treasure, plate, jewels, and rich furniture to be trussed vp, he with five hundred of his household seruants, full of heauinesse and sorrow, with teares trickling downe his aged cheekes, departed out of the Imperiall city, towards Hadrianople, with purpose from thence to haue gone to Dymotica. *Selymus* brought him about two miles vpon his way, and so returning againe to Constantinople, tooke possession of the Palace.

*Bajazet*, being then about seventy six years old, or as some report full fourscore; and beside his old disease of the gout, fore weakened with heauinesse and griefe of minde, was not able to trauell aboute five or six miles a day, but was constrained by the extremity of his pain and weaknesse, to stay sometimes two or three daies in a place. Whilest he was thus trauelling, *Selymus* no lesse carefull of the keeping of his estate, than he had before been for the obtaining of the same, began now to doubt, That if he should depart from Constantinople, and with all his Forces passe ouer into Asia against his brother *Achomates*, *Bajazet* in the meane time might in his absence returne to Constantinople, and so again possesse himself both of the city and the empire. Wherefore to rid himselfe of that feare, he resolved most viper like before his going to kill his father, and so most vnaturally to deprive him of life, of whom he had receiued life: such is the cruell and accursed nature of ambition, that it knoweth neither father, mother, brother, wife, kindred, or friend, no sometimes not her owne children; the fury whereof was neuer in any more pregnant, than in this most monstrous and cruell tyrant *Selymus*.

D The readiest and most secret way he could deuise for the effecting of this his damnable deuice, (which without great impiety could not be so much as once by him thought vpon) was, to worke it by poyson: vpon which resolution he secretly compacted with *Haman* a Jew, his fathers chiefe Physitian, to poyson him; promising him for his reward a pension of ten ducats a day during his life. And for that men are oftentimes with terror and feare, as well as with reward, enforced to be the ministers of mischief; he to be the more sure of this Jew, (prone enough for gaine to do euill) threatned him with most cruell death, if he did not both secretly and speedily worke this feat, commanding him so soone as he had done it, to returne vnto him to Constantinople.

The deceitfull Jew moued both with the feare of death and hope of reward (two great motives) comming shortly after to *Bajazet*, and finding him very weake, seeming to be very carefull of him, told him, That he would prepare for him a potion, which should both restore to him his health, and also strengthen his weak body, if it would please him to take it the next morning early lying in his bed. *Bajazet* nothing distrusting his old physitian whom he had so often and so long trusted, said he would gladly take it: Early the next morning commeth the Jew with the deadly poyson in a cup of gold, *Bajazet* yet sleeping, which he set downe in the chaire of Estate, and so stood waiting vntill the aged Prince should of himselfe awake. But *Bajazet* sleeping soundly (as oftentimes it chanceth when men sleepe their last) and withall somewhat longer than stood with the Jewes purpose, he presuming of his wonted practise, awaked him and told him, That the time to take the potion was almost past, and asked him if it were his pleasure then to take it. *Bajazet* doubting no treason, willed him to bring it: whereof when the Jew had taken the fey, (hauing before himselfe taken a preseruatiue against that poyson) he gaue it to *Bajazet* to drinke, who cheerefully dranke it vp: the Physitian commanding them that waited in his bed-chamber, and attended on his person, to keepe him well couered with warme cloths, and not to giue him any thing to drinke vntill he had well sweat.

This curled Iew hauing thus poysoned the aged Prince, to auoid the danger of the fact, and to carry the first newes thereof to *Selymus*, secretly conueied himselfe away, and fled in haste to Constantinople. But *Bajazet* attainted with the force of the poyson, began first to feeble most grievous gripings in his stomacke, the strong paine whereof appeared by his miserable complaining and heavy groaning; in the middest of which torments he gaue vp the ghost, in the yeare 1512, when he had reigned thirty yeres. The Turks report that he died a naturall death: but *Antonius Vtrius* a Genoway, who at that time serued in *Bajazet* his chamber, and was present at his death, reporteth, That vpon his dead body the euident tokens of poyson were to be seene. His dead body with all his treasures were presently brought backe againe to Constantinople, and deliuered to *Selymus*, who caused the body of his father to be with the greatest solemnity that might be, buried in a most sumptuous tombe, in a chappell neere vnto the great Mahometan temple, which he had before built for himselfe at Constantinople: which Monument there remaineth at this day to be seene. His seruants were all by *Selymus* restored to their places which they before held in the court in the time of their old Master, excepting five of the pages of his chamber, who lamenting the death of their Master about the rest, had attyred themselues all in mourning apparell: for which cause they were by the commandement of *Selymus* cast in prison, where two of them were put to death; the other three at the suit of *Solyman*, *Selymus* his son, and of other two Basses, were saued: but being stript of their rich apparell and whatsoeuer else they had gotten vnder *Bajazet*, they were inrolled for common soldiers vnder *Sulustares Bassa*. Of these three, *Antonius Vtrius* (the Genoway before spoken of) was one, who after ten yeres of miserable captiuitie amongst the Turks, at last escaped at such time as *Selymus* was by the Persian discomfited: and with much adoe returning againe into Italy, wrote the history of all such things as he himselfe had there seene, with the calamities of *Bajazet* his house, and a great part of the tyrannous reigne of *Selymus*.

*Hamon* the false Iew (as the same author reporteth) comming to Constantinople, and expecting some great reward for his foule treason, by the commandement of *Selymus* had his head presently stricke off: with this exprobaton of his trechery, That opportunity seruing, he would not sticke for reward to do the like against *Selymus* himselfe. Of this *Bajazet*, *Ianus Vitalis* writeth this Elogium:

*Dum rerum exquiris causas, & dum procul Hunnes  
Carmannos, Cilices, Sauromatasque domas:  
Bajazethe, domi proles tua te petit armis,  
Et te per fraudes amonet imperio.  
Adiicit inde novum scelere scelus, & tibi miscet  
Pocula lethiferis illita graminibus.  
Intempestiuos crudelis vipera fetus,  
Per sua sic tandem funera, rupta, parit.  
Quid tutum est, cui sint ingentia regna tyranno,  
Si timeat natos, progeniemque suam?*

In English thus:

Whilst that thou *Bajazeth* seekest of things the hidden cause;  
And saine wouldst bring the Hunne and Russe vnder thy Turkish lawes:  
Thy sonne at home steps vp in armes against thy royall Crowne,  
And by false treason and deceit findes meanes to plucke thee downe.  
Whereto he addeth mischief more, and streit without delay,  
By poyson strong in glittering boule doth take thy life away:  
The cruell viper so brings forth her foule vntimely brood,  
Which eat and gnaw her belly out, their first and poisoned food.  
What things may Princes hold for safe, that do great kingdomes sway,  
If of their children they must stand in dread and feare alway?

F I N I S.

R. K.

Christian Princes of the same time with <i>Bajazet</i> the second.	Emperours of Germany	Frederick the third, Archduke of Austria,	1440. 54
		Maximilian the third,	1494. 25
	Of England	Edward the fourth,	1460. 22
		Edward the fifth,	1483. 0
		Richard the third,	1483. 3
		Henry the seventh,	1485. 24
		Henry the eighth,	1509. 38
	Of France	Lewis the eleventh,	1461. 22
		Charles the eighth,	1483. 14
		Lewis the twelfth,	1567. 17
	Of Scotland	James the third,	1460. 29
		James the fourth,	1489. 25
Bishops of Rome	Xystus the IV, Innocentius the VIII, Alexander the VI, Pius the III, Culius the II,		1471. 13
			1484. 8
			1492. 11
			1403. 26 daies
			1503. 9



1603

Phil. I onicer.  
Turc. H.R.L.I.

*En Selymus, scelere ante alios immanior omnes:  
In patris, & fratrum, dirigit arma necem.  
In Persas mouet inde ferox: Memphisitica regna  
Destruit: & Syros Aethiopsque domat.  
Hinc in Christicolae irarum effundere fluitus,  
Ipsorumque imo uertere regna parat.  
Cum diro victus prostermitur ulcere: Christus  
Scilicet est populi, portus & aura sui.*

Lo Selymus, in cruelty exceeding others farre,  
His father, and his brethren both, destroies with moreall warre.  
The Persian fiercely he assailes: and conquers Egypts Land:  
The Syrian, and the Moore likewise, he tam'd with mighty hand.  
But purposing in his mad mood, the Christians to confound,  
And the memoriall of their name to root from off the ground,  
A loathsome Canker eat him vp, and brought him to his end:  
Christ is to his the safest Port, when he will them defend.



THE LIFE OF SELYMVS, FIRST  
OF THAT NAME, THE THIRD AND  
MOST WARLIKE EMPEROVR  
OF THE TURKES.

**C** His Selymus, by fauor of the great Bassaes and men of war whom he had before corrupted, hauing depriued his father Bajazet first of the Empire, and shortly after of his life also, and now fully possessed of the Empire himselfe, first tooke view of the treasures which the Turkish Kings and Emperors his ancestors had before of long time heaped vp in great abundance: out of which he gaue vnto the souldiers of the court two millions of duckats; and for a perpetuall remembrance of his thankfulness towards them, augmented their daily wages, allowing vnto euery horseman foure aspers a day, and to euery footman two about their wonted allowance. By which exceeding bounty, he greatly assured vnto himselfe the minds of the men of war.

1512

**D** Shortly after he passed ouer with a great army into Asia, leauing the gouernment of the imperiall city of Constantinople vnto his only sonne Solyman: and marching into Galatia, came to the city of Ancyra, in hope there to haue oppressed his elder brother Achomates. But he vnderstanding before of his coming, withall wisely considering how vnable he was to withstand his forces, fled before into the mountains of Cappadocia vpon the confines of Armenia, taking vp men by the way as he went, and praying aid of all sorts of people, yea, euen of such as were but of small ability themselves, and vnto him meere strangers; that so he might in best manner he could, prouide such strength as might serue him to make head against his brother, and for the recouery of Asia.

Selymus goeth  
into Asia against  
his brother  
Achomates.

**E** Selymus hauing spent that summer without doing any thing worth the speaking of, and considering that he could not well Winter in that cold country neere vnto the great mountaine Taurus, by reason of the deepe snowes and extreame cold there vually falling; and that to go farther was to no purpose, forasmuch as Achomates flying from place to place, and mountain to mountain, was not to be surpris'd; he retyred backe again into Bythinia, and sending his European horsemen downe to the sea coast, and the Ianizaries to Constantinople, resolved to winter with the rest of his army at Prusa. At which time being wholly bent against Achomates his competitor of the Empire, he for certaine yeares continued the league which his father Bajazet had before concluded with Vladislavus King of Hungary, Sigismundus King of Polonia, and the Venetians. And thinking no care (no not of Children) superfluous which might concerne the establishing of his Empire, he called vnto him sue of his brothers sons, Orchanes the sonne of Alem Scach; Mahometes the sonne of Tziban Scach; Orchanes, Emirsa, and Musa the sonnes of his brother Mahometes; all young Princes of great hope, of yeares betwixt sixteene and twenty, excepting Musa who was not past seuen yeares old: Of all these, Mahometes (whom his vncle Achomates had a little before taken prisoner at Larenda, as is before declared, and vpon the death of Bajazet had againe set him at liberty) being about twenty yeares old, was for rare feature and princely courage accounted the paragon and beaury of the

Selymus marry-  
theth sue of  
his brothers  
sonnes.

the *Othoman* family: which great perfection, as it woun vnto him the loue and fauour of the men of war, and also of all the people in generall: so did it hasten his speedy death; onely *Selymus* his cruell vncle enuying at his life. After he had got these poore innocents into his hands, he sent for diuers of his great doctors and lawyers, demanding of them, Whether it were not better that some five, eight, or ten persons should be taken away, than the state of the whole Empire should with great effusion of blood be rent in sunder, and so by ciuile wars be brought in danger of utter ruine and destruction? Who although they well perceiued whereunto that bloody question tended, yet for feare of displeasure they all answered, That it were better such a small number should perish, than that the whole state of the empire should by ciuile war & discord be brought to confusion; in which generall calamitie, those few must also of necessity perish with the rest. Vpon colour of this answer, and the necessity pretended, he commanded these his nephewes before named, to be led by five of his great capitaines into the castle of Prusa where they were all, the night following most cruelly strangled. It is reported, that *Achomates* with a pen-knife slew one of the bloody executioners sent into his chamber to kill him; and so wounded the other, as that he fell downe for dead: and that *Selymus* being in a chamber fast by, and almost an eye-witnesse of that was done, presently sent in others, who first bound the poore Prince, and afterward strangled him with the rest: whose dead bodies were buried at Prusa amongst their ancestors. The cruelty of this fact wonderfully offended the minds of most men, in so much that many euen of his martiall men filled with secret indignation, for certaine daies absented themselves from his presence, shunning his sight as if he had bene some fierce or raging lyon.

1513

*Selymus* seeth after the loss of *Amurath* & *Aladin*, the sons of *Achomates* his brother.

Of all the nephewes of old *Bajazet*, onely *Amurath* and *Aladin* (the sons of *Achomates*) yet remained, whom he purposed to surpriue vpon the sudden, and so torid himselfe of all feare of his brothers children; hauing then left none of the *Othoman* family, but them and his two brethren vpon whom to exercise his further cruelty. These two young Princes had a little before recovered the city of *Amasia*, from whence they were the Summer before expelled by their vncle *Selymus*, at such time as *Achomates* their father was glad to fly into the mountaines of *Cappadocia*. *Selymus* fully resolved vpon their destruction, sent *Vfegi* one of his Bassas with five thousand horsemen, who by great journies traouelling to *Amasia*, might vpon the sudden come vpon these two yong Princes, and take them altogether vnprovided, and as then fearing no such danger, which was thought no great matter for the Bassa to do, forasmuch as he might with his light horsemen easily preuent the fame of his coming; and the City of *Amasia* where they lay, was neither well walled, nor as then furnished with any sufficient garrison for defence thereof: beside that, *Achomates* himselfe was at that time absent, busied in taking vp of soldiers vpon the frontiers of *Caramania*. But *Mustapha* the old Bassa, by whose speciall means *Selymus* had obtained the Empire (as is afore declared in the life of *Bajazet*) being priuy vnto his wicked purpose, and now in mind altogether alienated from him, detesting his most execrable tyranny, both for the vnworthy death of *Bajazet*, his father, & the guiltlesse blood of so many yong princes his nephewes by him shed without all pittie; and hauing compassion of the imminent danger whereinto these two brethren were now like also to fall, by secret and speedy messengers gaue them warning of the coming of the Bassa, and of all that was intended against them. Who vpon such knowledge giuen, presently aduertised *Achomates* their father thereof, and laid secret ambush themselves for the intercepting of their enemies. So that within few daies after, the Bassa coming with his horsemen towards *Amasia*, fell before he was aware into the midst of his enemies: at which time also, *Achomates* following him at the heeles, so shut him in with his army on euery side, that most of his men being slaine, he himselfe with diuers other capitaines were taken prisoners and brought to *Achomates*, and by his commandement committed to safe custody.

*Vfegi* Bassa taken prisoner.

Now it fortunell, that some of *Achomates* soldiers scoffing at the prisoners whom they had taken, told them how they had bin deceived, and how all the matter had been carried (so hard a thing it is to haue euen the greatest counsels in court kept secret) boasting, that they wanted not their friends, euen of such as were most inward with *Selymus*, who secretly fauoured the better cause, & would not long suffer the cruell beast to rage further: all which things *Selymus* his soldiers reported again after they were ransomed and returned home. But *Vfegi* the Bassa lying still in prison, and getting certain knowledge of the whole matter, by secret letters gaue

*Selymus*

*Selymus* to vnderstand, that *Mustapha* the great Bassa whom he most of all trusted, had secret intelligence with *Achomates*, and had been the only cause of the losse of his army.

*Selymus* of late enuying at the great honour and authority of *Mustapha*, and wishing him dead, (whose desert he was not able, or at leastwise vnwilling to requite) caused him vpon this accusation without further triall to be secretly strangled in his sight, and his dead body (as it were in scorn of his former felicity) to be cast out into the street for euery man to gaze vpon. This was the shameful end of this traiterous Bassa, who had of long time at his pleasure commanded all things in the Turkish Empire, and was for riches, power, and authority, next vnto the Emperours themselves: but now lieth as a dead dog in the street, no man daring for feare to cast earth vpon him. A rare spectacle of the vncertainty of worldly felicity, and a worthy example of disloyalty. But *Achomates* hearing what had happened to *Mustapha*, in reuenge thereof in like manner executed *Vfegi* Bassa his prisoner; and according to his courteous nature set all the rest of the prisoners at liberty.

*Mustapha* Bassa shamefully murdered.

*Vfegi* Bassa put to death.

*Selymus* thirsting after nothing more than the guiltlesse blood of his brethren and nephews, vpon whom he had against all right vsurped the kingdom, whereof he neuer thought himselfe sufficiently assured so long as any of them breathed; began with the first of the Spring to deuise with himselfe, how he might first take away his brother *Corcutus*, who then liued at *Magnesia*, and hauing cast off all hope of the Empire, gaue himselfe wholly to the study of Philosophy, which he (seduced with ambition) had in euill time a little before forsaken; but now retyring himselfe thereto againe, as to his greatest contentment, spent his time in quiet contemplation, not attempting any thing against his cruell brother vsurping the Empire. *Selymus* resolved vpon the destruction of this harmlesse Prince, suddenly commanded his capitaines to make choice of 10000 horsemen to be in readinesse within three daies, giuing it out that he would make an irode vpon the sudden into *Cappadocia*. In the number of these horsemen, *Antonijs Mamantinus* a Genoway, author of this history (as he of himselfe reporteth) was one.

All things being in readinesse against the appointed time, *Selymus* in person himselfe set forward with his army from Prusa, still keeping the way on the right hand; so that the souldiers, who thought they should haue marched directly into *Cappadocia*, and so to *Amasia*, as it was before commonly reported; began now to perceiue by the contrary course they held, that they were to go for *Lydia* and *Ionis*. When a valiant souldier among the rest, who had sometime serued one of the Bassas in *Corcutus* his court, by diuers circumstances gathering the intention of *Selymus*, secretly conueied himselfe out of the army, and being excellently well mounted, taking the neere way, came to *Magnesia*, and gaue *Corcutus* warning of the coming of his brother. *Corcutus* considering the great danger he was in, richly rewarded the messenger, and leauing his house in such order as it was wont to be, fled with two of his seruants to the sea side, in hope to haue found passage either into *Creet* or else *Rhodes*.

The next day after *Corcutus* was departed, early in the morning came *Selymus* to the castle of *Magnesia* before the rising of the Sun, in hope to haue found *Corcutus* yet in his bed: but being deceived of his expectation, he fell into a great rage, and with cruel torments examined all his brothers seruants and Eunuchs, What was become of him, and where he had hid himself: and with much ado got it out of them, That he had warning of his coming by a fugitiue souldier, and was thereupon fled, but whether they knew not. Wherefore *Selymus* staid there fifteen daies, during which time he caused diligent search to be made all ouer the country, and along the sea coast, for to haue apprehended him. But when after much search he could heare no tydings of him, he caused all his brothers treasure & rich furniture to be trussed vp, and to be sent by sea to *Constantinople*. So leauing one of his captains with a thousand horsemen in garrison at *Magnesia*, he returned againe to Prusa with as much speed as he came from thence: verily supposing, that his brother was for safegard of his life, by sea fled into *Italy*. All this while *Bostanger*, *Selymus* his son in law, lying with a fleet of gallies vpon the coast of *Ionis*, had taken from *Corcutus* all hope of escaping by sea: so that he was faine to hide himselfe in a caue neere vnto the sea side, not far from *Smyrna*; liuing in hope, that after a few daies the fleet would depart, and so he should finde some opportunity to escape.

*Selymus* taketh the spoile of his brother *Corcutus*.

After he had thus a great while in feare most miserably liued with country crabs and other like wild fruit (a poore diet for a man of state) and was with extreme necessity inforced to send his man for reliefe to a poore shepherds cottage thereby, he was by a country peasant discouered

*Cercutus taken.* red to *Cassumes*, who with two much diligence sought after his life: and being by him apprehended, was carried towards the tyrant his brother at Prusa.

Right welcome to *Selymus* was the report of his taking: who as soone as he understood that he was within a daies journey of Prusa, sent one *Kirengi Ogli* (who of his squint looke was called *Chior Zeinall*) to strangle him vpon the way, and to bring his dead body to Prusa.

This capitaine coming to *Cercutus* in the dead time of the night, and awaking him out of his sleepe, told him his heauy message; how that he was sent from his brother, *Selymus*, to see him executed, which must as he said presently be done. *Cercutus* exceedingly troubled with these heauy news, and fetching a deepe sigh, desired the capitaine so long to spare his life, vntill he might write a few short lines vnto his brother *Selymus*. Which poore request being granted, he called for pen and paper, and readily in Turkish verse (for he had spent all his time in study) reprobred his brother of most horrible cruelty; vpbraided him, that he had not only most disloyally thrust his father out of his Empire, but also most vnaturally depriued him of life, of whom he had before receiued the same; and not so content, had most tyrannously slaine his brothers children, and now like an vmerciful wretch thirsted after the guiltlesse blood of himselfe and *Achomates* his brethren. At last concluding his letters with many a bitter curse, he besought God to take of him just reuenge for so much innocent blood by him most vnaturally spilt. And when he had thus much written, he requested the capitaine, that it might together with his dead body be deliuered vnto *Selymus*. So without any further delay he was according to the tyrants command presently strangled. The next day after, when the dead body was presented vnto *Selymus*, he vncovered the face thereof, to be sure that it was he, and seeing a paper in his hand, tooke it from him: but when he had read it (for all his cruell nature and stony heart) he burst out into tears; protesting, that he was neuer so much grieved or troubled with any mans death as with his: for which cause, he commanded general mourning to be made for him in the court, and with princely solemnity buried his body. Three daies after, he caused fifteen of those diligent searchers who first found *Cercutus*, to haue their heads stricke off, and their bodies to be flung vnto the sea, saying, That if he were by any extremity driuen to fly and hide his head, they would not stick to serue him in like maner as they had don his brother.

Now of al the posterity of *Bajazet* remained none aloue to trouble the cruel tyrants thoughts but only *Achomates* and his two sons: who vpon the approach of the Spring, set forward with his army from *Amasia*, excited by the often letters of his friends, who assured him, that *Selymus* might vpon the sudden be easily oppressed, if he would with al expedition come to Prusa; forasmuch as the *Ianizaries* and *European* horsemen, the vndoubted strength of his army, were at that time absent, and he himselfe as one hated both of God & man, could not in so sudden and vnexpected danger tel what he were best to do, or which way to turn himselfe: wherefore they willed him without delay to hasten his coming, and not to expect the milder weather of the Spring, lest in the mean time *Selymus* should call together his dispersed forces; God (they said) did oftentimes offer vnto men, both the opportunity and meanes to do great matters, if they had the power to lay hold thereon, and therefore he should do well now by celerity and courage to seeke to better his euill fortune, which but a little before had bereft him of his fathers kingdom; for if Summer were once come on, he must either gain the victory by plain battell, which would be a hard matter, or els get him packing out of *Capadocia* and all *Asia* the lesse.

*Achomates*, who before had promised vnto himselfe better success, as well for the great strength he had of his owne, as for the new supply of horsemen he had procured from *Hysma* the *Persian* King, but especially for the hope he had, that *Selymus* generally hated for his late cruelty, should in the time of the battell be forsaken of his owne soldiers; yielded to the persuasion of his friends, who with many pleasing words set before his eyes glorious things, easie to be spoken, but hard to be effected. Wherefore when he was come into *Galaria* with somewhat more than 15000 horsemen, hauing for hast left his footmen by easie marches to come after him: *Selymus* aduertised of his coming, by speedy messengers sent for his horsemen to Prusa. In the mean time whiles he is leuying other common souldiers, and expecting the rest of his forces; fortune, which alwaies fauoured his attempts, did then also avert the danger prepared for him by the vnfaithfulness of his followers, and shewed to him the open way to victory. For *Achomates* secret friends which were in *Selymus* his campe, continuing firme in their good will toward him, did earnestly by letters persuaade him (being already set forward,

A ward, and now come as far as *Paphlagonia*) to make hast, and to come before *Selymus* his forces were come together: for that he had sent for the *Ianizaries* and *European* horsemen, and did with all speed and diligence make all the preparation he could possibly; which for all that would all come too late, if he should vpon the sudden come vpon him before he was provided. Which letters being by chance intercepted, gaue *Selymus* certaine knowledge both of his brothers purpose and coming, together with the treason intended against him by his owne seruants: wherefore executing them who had writ those letters, he in their names caused others to the same effect to be writen to *Achomates*, persuaading him with all seed possible to come still on, and not to stay for his footmen, for that *Selymus* might easily be oppressed with a few troupes of horsemen, if *Achomates* would with speed but come and shew himselfe vnto his friends and fauorites: who vpon the first signall of battell would raise a tumult in the army, and vpon the sudden kill *Selymus*, vnadvisedly going to and fro in the battell. Which letters to writen, *Selymus* caused to be signed with the seales of them whom he had before executed, and found meanes to haue them cunningly deliuered to *Achomates*, as if they had bin sent from his friends: who giuing credit to the same, and presuming much vpon his owne strength, doubted not to leaue his footmen, who followed easily after him, vnder the conduct of *Amurath* his son; and came and encamped with his horsemen neere vnto the mountaine *Horminius*, vpon the banks of the riuer *Parthemius*. *Selymus* also departed from Prusa, and hauing receiued into his army ten thousand *Ianizaries* (but a little before come ouer the streit) sent before *Sinan Bassa*, Generall of his *Asian* horsemen, to know & make prooue of the strength of his enemies. The *Bassa* as yet not knowing where *Achomates* lay, neither of what force he was, being deceived by the darkenesse of the morning, fell into a place of disadvantage, where he was set vpon by *Achomates*, and hauing lost seuen thousand of his men, was glad with other eight thousand which were left, to fly backe vnto *Selymus*.

For all this losse, was not *Selymus* discomfited, or doubtfull of the victory, but forthwith marched on forward to the riuer *Elata*, which runneth directly out of the mountaine *Horminius* into *Pontus*, watering most large fields vpon the right hand, which at this day are called the plaines of the new land. So did *Achomates* also, who although he knew his brother to be euery way too strong for him, yet being encouraged with the late victory, and in hope that his friends in *Selymus* his army (whom he vainly supposed to haue bin yet liuing) would in the very battell doe some notable matter for him, and that victory would follow his just quarrell; resolved neither to retire backe, neither to expect the coming of the rest of his army. The riuer was betweene the two camps, and the number of both armies certainly discovered: yet could not *Achomates* (to whom the open fields offered a safe retreat vnto the rest of his army) possessed with a fatal madnesse, be persuaaded (considering the greatnesse of the danger) in time to provide for the safety of himselfe and his army, carried headlong (as it seemed) by inevitable destiny to his fatall destruction, which presently after ensued.

*Selymus* a little before the going downe of the Sun, with his army passed ouer the riuer *Elata*, and gaue general commandement through all his campe, that euery man against the next day should be ready for battell: and in a wood not far off placed a thousand horsemen in ambush, vnder the leading of *Canoglu*, his wiues brother, a valiant yong gentleman, whom his father had a little before sent from *Taurica* vnto his son in law with a chosen company of *Tartarian* horsemen: vnto him *Selymus* gaue in charge, that when the battell was joined, he should shew himselfe with his horsemen vpon the backe of his enemies, and there to charge them.

As soone as it was day, *Selymus* in a great open field put his army in order of battell, placing his horsemen in two wings, so that all his spearmen were in the right wing, & the archers and carbines in the left: in the maine battell stood the *Ianizaries* with the rest of the footmen. On the other side *Achomates* hauing no footmen, diuided his horsemen into two wings also.

While both armies stood thus ranged, expecting but the signall of battell, a messenger came from *Achomates* to *Selymus*, offering in his masters name, to try the equity of their quarrell in plain combat hand to hand: which if he should refuse, he then tooke both God and the World to witnesse, that *Selymus* was the only cause of all the guiltlesse blood to be shed in the battell, and not he: whereunto *Selymus* answered, that he was not to try his quarrell by the appointment of *Achomates*: and though he could be content so to do, yet would not his soldiers suffer him so to aduenture his person and their owne safety: and so with that answer returned the

Treason against  
Selymus discovered.

Sinan Bassa  
discouered by  
Achomates.

Selymus with  
his army passeth  
ouer the  
riuer.

The lamentable  
death of Cercutus.

the messenger backe againe to his master, giuing him for his reward a thousand aspers.

*Achomates* hauing receiued this answer, without further delay charged the right wing of his brother's army, who valiantly receiued the first charge; but when they were come to the sword, and that the matter was to be tried by handy blowes, they were not able longer to endure the force of the Persian horsemen, who being well armed both horse and man, had before requested to be placed in the foremost ranks, by whose valor the right wing of *Selymus* his army was disordered, and not without great losse enforced to retire backe vpon their followes. Which thing *Selymus* beholding, did what he might by all means to encourage them againe; and presently brought on the left wing with their arrowes and pistols, in stead of them that were fled; and at the same time came on with the *Ianizaries* also, who with their shot enforced *Achomates* his horsemen to retire. *Achomates* himselfe carefully attending euery danger, with greater courage than fortune came in with fresh troupes of horsemen, by whose valor the battell before declining was againe renewed, and the victory made doubtfull: but in the fury of this battell whilest he was bearing all downe before him, and now in great hope of the victory, *Canaglia* with his Tartarian horsemen rising out of ambush, came behind him, and with great outcries caused their enemies (then in the greatest heat of their fight) to turne vpon them: at which time also the footmen standing close together assailed them a front, and the horsemen whom the Persians had at first put to flight, now moued with shame, were againe returned into the battell: so that *Achomates* his small army was beset, and hardly assailed on euery side. In fine his ensignes being ouerthrowne and many of his men slain, the rest were faine to betake themselves to flight. Where *Achomates* hauing lost the field, and now too late seeking to saue himselfe by flight, fell with his horse into a ditch, which the raine falling the day before, had filled with water and mire: and being there knowne and taken by his enemies, could not obtaine so much fauour at their hands as to be presently slaine, but was referred to the farther pleasure of his cruell brother. *Selymus* vnderstanding of his taking, sent *Kirengen* (the same squint-eyed captain which had before strangled *Corcutus*) who with a bow-string strangled him also. His dead body was forthwith brought to *Selymus*, and was afterward by his commandement in royall manner buried with his ancestors in Prusa.

*Achomates*  
strangled.

*Amurath* and  
*Aladin* the sons  
of *Achomates*,  
fled from into  
Persia, and the  
rest to Egypt.

Now *Amurath*, *Acomates* his sonne, vnderstanding vpon the way by the Persian horsemen (who feared together, had againe made themselves way through the Turks army) of the losse of the field and the taking of his father, returned backe againe to *Amasia*: and there after good deliberation, resolved with his brother to betake themselves both to flight, he with the Persian horsemen passing ouer the riuer *Euphrates*, fled vnto *Hyfmael* the Persian king: but *Aladin* the younger brother passing ouer the mountaine *Amanus* in *Cilicia*, fled into *Syria*, and so to *Campion Gaurus* the great Sultan of Egypt.

After this victory, *Selymus* hauing in short time and with little trouble brought all the lesser Asia vnder his obeisance, and there at his pleasure disposed of all things, determined to haue returned to Constantinople: but vnderstanding that the plague was hot there, he changed his purpose, and passing ouer at *Callipolis* and so traouelling through *Grecia*, came to *Hadrianople*, where he spent all the rest of the Summer, and all the Winter following: and afterward when the mortality was ceased, returned to Constantinople; where it was found, that an hundred and threescore thousand had there died of the late plague.

*Hyfmael* the Persian King, whose fame had then filled the World, hearing of the arriual of *Amurath*, sent for him and demanded of him the cause of his comming. The distressed young Prince, who but of late had lost his father, together with the hope of so great an Empire, and now glad for safeguard of his life to fly into strange countries, oppressed with sorrow, by his heavy countenance and abundance of teares, more than by words, expressed the cause of his comming: yet in short trained speech, declared vnto him, how that his father, his vnkle, with the rest of his cousins, all Princes of great honour, had of late been cruellly murthered by the vnmerefull tyrant *Selymus*: who with like fury sought also after the life of himselfe and his brother, the poore remainders of the *Othoman* family, who to saue their liues, were both glad to fly, his brother into Egypt, and himselfe to the feet of his imperiall Majesty.

*Hyfmael* moued with compassion, and deeming it a thing well becomming the greatnesse of his name, to take the poore exiled prince into his protection and to giue him reliefe, willed him to be of good comfort, and promised him aid. And the more to assure him thereof, shortly after gaue

A gaue him one of his owne daughters in marriage. For it was thought, that if *Selymus* (for his tyranny become odious to the world) should by any meanes miscarry (as with tyrants commonly falleth out) that then in the *Othoman* Family, sore shaken with his vnnatural crueltie, none was to be preferred before this poore Prince *Amurath*: besides that, it was supposed, that if he should inuade him with an army out of Persia, that vpon the first stirre, all the lesser Asia mourning for the vnworthy death of *Achomates*, would at once reuolt from him, who for his cruelty and shamefull murders had worthily deserued to be hated together both of God and man.

Wherefore in the beginning of the Spring *Hyfmael* furnished *Amurath* his new sonne in Law with ten thousand horsemen, willing him to passe ouer the riuer of *Euphrates* at *Arsengaga*, and to enter into *Cappadocia*, as well to make prooue how the people of that Countrey were affected towards him, as of the strength of the enemy: after whom he sent *Vsta Ogli*, the most famous Chiefestaine amongst the Persians, with twenty thousand horsemen more, with charge, That he should still follow *Amurath* within one dayes journey: and he himselfe with a farre greater power stayd behind in *Armenia*, doubting to want victuall, if he should haue led so great an army through those vast, barren, and desolate places, whereby he must of necessity passe.

*Amurath* marching through the lesser *Armenia*, and entring into the borders of *Cappadocia*, had diuers towns yeelded vnto him by his friends; some others he tooke by force, which he either sacked or else quite rased; and brought such a generall feare vpon the inhabitants of that prouince, that the people submitting themselves to him all the way as he went, it was thought he would haue gon directly to *Amasia*, had not *Chendemus* (an old warlike captain whom *Selymus* had left for his lieutenant in Asia) with a great army come to meet him at *Sebastia*, which at this day is called *Siuas*. This *Chendemus* had also long before aduertised *Selymus* both of the preparation and comming of the Persians, as soon as he had learned by his espials, That they were passed the riuer *Euphrates*. Vpon which news *Selymus* came presently ouer into Asia, and commanding all his forces to meet together at *Prusa*, had with wonderfull celerity leauied thereabout forty thousand common soldiers. Which so soon as *Amurath* vnderstood, as well by such prisoners as he had taken, as by aduertisement from his friends, although he was very desirous to haue fought with *Chendemus*, yet doubting that if *Selymus* should with his wonted celerity come against him, he should be intangled in the streits of the mountain *Antiraurus*, he retyred backe againe to *Vsta Ogli*. But *Selymus*, who all that yeare had in his haughty thoughts bin plotting some such notable exploit as were worthy his greatnes, standing in doubt whether he should by sea and land inuade *Hungary*, the *Rhodes*, or *Italy*, at that time sore shaken with ciuill warres, hauing now so fit an occasion giuen him by the Persian, to the great ioy of all *Christendome*, conuerted himselfe wholly to the East, and in thirty dayes march came to *Arsengaga*. Where ioyning his army with *Chendemus*, when he vnderstood that his enemies hauing harried the country, were againe retyred, prickt forward with the grieffe of the iniury, and desire of reuenge, with hope of victory he resolved to follow after them foot by foot, and forthwith to enter into *Armenia* the greater, the principall prouince of the Persian kingdom.

1514  
*Amurath* spoy-  
led *Cappadocia*.

*Selymus* resol-  
ued to inuade  
the Persian.

E But the difficulties of this notable expedition, which were in Councell propounded by them which had best knowledge of those Countries, were great and many: all which by his owne good hap and inuincible courage, he himselfe afterwards overcame: for the souldiers which had in short time already marched by land out of *Illyria*, *Epirus*, and *Macedonia*, into *Cappadocia*, must of necessity in this long expedition take vpon them new labours: they were to endure the sharp and pinching cold of the huge mountaine *Taurus*, and by and by after the most vehement and scorching heat in the plaines of *Armenia* the lesser, with extreme thirst, hunger, and most desperat want of all things: and well the more, for that the Persians in their retreat, spoyling the countrey as they went, had vtterly destroyed all that might serue for the life of man, of purpose to leaue nothing to their enemies but want of all things, if they should pursue them: besides that, his most expert Captaines stood in no small doubt of the petty Princes of *Armenia* the lesse, and the mountaine King *Aladules*, whom they were to leaue behind them at their backs, without any great assurance of their friendship, who they well knew would leaue them, if any thing should happen otherwise than well to *Selymus*, either

either in the battell, or for want of victuals, or in the streit passages. For they were to be relieved with victuals from the Armenians: and *Aladaules* forces then in readinesse, were neither for number nor power to be contemned; who also with castles commodiously placed, and strong garrisons, at his pleasure commanded all the streits, passages, and entrances which led out of *Capadocia* into *Armenia* and the *Persian* kingdom: for all the mountaine countries were under his command, and his kingdom stretched from the mountaines called *Scodrisici* neere vnto *Pontus*, all alongst the great mountaine *Taurus* vnto *Amanus*, which diuideth *Cilicia* from *Syria*.

Amongst the rest, old *Chendemus* Viceroy of *Natolia*, a man of great experience, and of all others in greatest credit, fauour, and authority with *Selymus*, persuaading him to stay a while in *Capadocia*, and there to refresh his European souldiers already weary of their long trauell, and so to expect the coming of his enemies. And to persuaide him from the dangerous expedition into *Persia*, spake vnto him as followeth:

*Chendemus*  
Bassa diuises  
Selymus from  
going any fur-  
ther against  
the Persians.

It is not to be thought (most mighty and inuincible Emperour, that the Persians are fled for feare, because they retired before they set eye vpon vs their enemies: it is a finesse, and they plainly go about to entrap vs, whiles they by flight make a false semblant of feare. Know we not what cunning heads, what able bodies *Persia* breedeth? Will they feare the naked Turkish light horsemen or archers, which with their courageous barbed horses and themselves strongly armed, feared not the Scythian shot: or (if that be too little) which by their valour haue vanquished so many nations, and gained vnto their King so great and large an Empire? Thinke you, that you haue either greater or better forces than had long ago *Cassius* your vncle, or great *Mahomet* your Grandfather, who diuers times prouing their forces against this enemy, where more than once put to the worst, I my selfe then seruing in their camps neere vnto *Trapezond* and the mountaines of *Nicopolis*. I will not deny, but that the great ordnance which you carry with you may stand you in great stead, so that fit place may be found to bestow so many field pieces in: but the scorched ground, the frozen and abrupt mountaines, with the vast and solitary plaines beyond them, seruic me, whom all the armed Forces of our enemies in places of great aduantage could not dismay. You must fight not only with your valiant enemies, but with the difficulties of nature also. Neither may your Majesty giue any credit to the Armenians or *Aladaules*, Princes of most doubtful faith: although at your first setting forward they shew a faire face, and seeme neuer so friendly: for they will but expect and await some fit occasion to take you at an aduantage, and so to set vpon you when you least feare them. But aduise you were assured of victory, & with how much warme blood of your best souldiers shall you buy the same? with what other soldiers, with what other forces will you defend *Grecia*, if the Christian Kings hearing that you for enlarging your Empire, or desire of fame being gone into the furthest part of *Armenia*, shall in the meane time invade you? Wherefore if it be better and more wisdom, with safety to defend your owne, than with danger to seeke for that is other mens; if Princes of greatest policy haue respect the glory of their victory, not in the greatnesse of the slaughter of their enemies, but in the safety and preservation of their own soldiers: spare to object your selfe and your army to most manifest danger, and vndoubtedly to commit all at once to the hazard of good fortune: which being a most tickle and vncertain mistesse, if she shall but once dally with your dangerous attempts, you shall through your rashnesse in a short space tumble downe headlong from the tipe of so great Majesty, than you haue therunto a while ago by your rare vertues worthily aspired.

*Selymus* as he was of a rough and fierce nature, so would he haue all things done according to his own device and direction: and though he were not a little moued with this speech of so graue a counsellor and most expert commander, and saw many of his captaines troubled with the imagination of the future danger; yet in a fume refuting some little of that which *Chendemus* had said, he dismissed the Councell, protesting openly, that he would proceed in his intended purpose, hap what hap should, from friend or foe: although that old fellow were (as he said) so carefull of his life, that he feared to die a noble death. Which *Selymus* had no sooner said, but presently others about him, accustomed to serue his humor, which enuied at the glory and wealth of old *Chendemus*, tooke hold vpon these words, and beginning with the greatnesse of his forces, the valour of his souldiers, the store of his artillery, with his own inuincible fortune; made easie matters of all the former difficulties, and with great words labored to extenuat

A tenuat al that the graue Bassa had before said concerning the prowesse and power of the enemy. After that they began to discredit *Chendemus*; saying, That hee being a martial man, and of known resolution in al his most warlike actions, had not said as before, for want of courage, or any distrust of the victory, but of purpose to hinder that most honorable expedition, and to cut off all hope of victory, (which was, as they said, as good as already gotten) beeing before laden with *Amurats* great promises, and the gold of *Persia*. Wherefore they wished him to beware of the fly old Fox his wyles and treason, and to proceed on in his expedition so much the more boldly; and not to think that his soldiers would refuse any danger or labor so long as they saw courage in himself, but would be ready (as they said) to vndertake the most desperat difficulties of war, and desired nothing more than to be conducted into those far Countries, B where by their martial prowesse & valiant acts they might make their Emperor *Selymus* equal with the Great *Alexander*, and themselves comparable to his Macedonians. And to work the viter destruction of this most faithful Counsellor without all recure, these false flatterers suborned bold faced accusers, who falsly and shamefully affirmed, that hee had receiued great sums of money of *Amurat*, and did not therefore in time go against the Persian robbers; whereby all the former calamities happened (as they said) in that prouince. For which pretended causes *Selymus* commanded *Chendemus* without further hearing to be slain: but indeed to terrifie others from like liberty of speech, and withall to teach them, to deem those devices and counsels as most excellent, which their soueraign should as it were by diuine inspiration find out himself, and so to accept of them without contradiction. The sudden death of this most faithful counsellor *Chendemus* strook an exceeding fear into the minds of all men, for that so honorable a personage, of late in so great credit and fauor with his Soueraigne, was without hearing executed; whom they had knowne as a man of great account both for his prowesse and policie, to haue stood fast on *Selymus* side, first in his wars against his father, and of late against his brother: not doubting but that *Selymus*, by nature cruel, and suspicious euen of trifles, would with like tyrannie not spare men of meaner calling, who spared not his dearest and most ancient friends.

*Chendemus*  
Bassa by the  
commandment  
of *Selymus* slain

*Selymus* marching from *Arsfenga*, came to the confines of the lesser Armenian kings, and of *Aladaules*; where by his Embassadors he requested the kings of those nations (who were then in arms) that they would join their forces with his against the Persian, and to go with him into *Armenia* the great; promising that when the wars were happily ended, he would giue vnto them all such territory as should chance in those wars to be taken from the enemy, as a reward of their aid. But these poor kings, who hated both *Hyssmael* and *Selymus*, for the manifold injuries they daily receiued in the frontiers of their dominions, lying in the midst between them (as it commonly falleth out, that the weakest go the wals) craftily expecting the euent of this war, would not openly shew themselves, but answered, That they had taken vp Armes for no other purpose but for the defence of themselves and their kingdoms. Not meaning in that doubtful War to bear themselves as enemies vnto either of those two mighty princes their friends and Neighbours, of whose iust griuances they were not able or worthy to determine; yet if they would without hostilitie, in peaceable manner passe through their Dominions, E they promised to giue free passage vnto him and his Army; and after he was entred into *Armenia* the greater, to relieue him with such prouision of victual as their bare countrey could afford.

*Selymus* thus deceived of this his first hope, (for why, hee thought those poor kings would at the first either for loue or fear haue bin ready to haue done him all the seruice they could) dissembled his grief for the present, as wholly bent against *Hyssmael*, fearing that if he should by word or deed offend those neuter princes, he should haue them at his backe his most assured and vndoubted enemies. Wherefore passing the mountaine called *Scodrisici*, he came in 8 days to the great mountain *Moschij*, which the famous riuer *Euphrates*, with his mighty stream and hugy broken banks, separateth from the great mountain *Antitaurus*, & with perpetual steep ridges runneth into *Iberia* and *Colchis*, and on the East discouereth *Armenia* the greater. Here *Selymus* with ensignes displayed marching alongst the bank of the riuer, departed not from the same, for fear to lack water in that hot and barren countrey, and so held on his way directly Eastward, leauing the Countrey of *Armenia* the lesse vpon his left hand, and the frontiers of the kingdom of *Aladaules* on the right, vntill he came to the mountain *Petriardo*.

riardo. This great mountain, famous for the rising of two great and notable riuers out of it, is for the wonderful fertilitie of all things, of the barbarous people called Leprus, which is to say, fruitfull: for Euphrates and Araxis there running out of two diuers and contrary Marches, with many arms water and enrich that champian and dry country. *Selymus* hauing made so great a journey, and yet not able so much as by report to vnderstand what was become of *Hyfmael*'s great and populous army, which he knew was but a little before departed out of Cappadocia; as a man in doubt and half afraid, staied and incamped his army at the head of the riuer Euphrates; and from thence sent out his scouts euery way, if haply they could intercept some which might giue them knowledge of their enemies. But the Armenians, whether it were for fear of the Turks comming, or that *Hyfmael* their king had so commanded, were all before fled out of that part of the country wherby *Selymus* was to passe with his army; and hauing forsaken their houses, had carried away with them, or els by fire destroyed whatsoeuer might serue for the vse of man.

*Selymus sends out his Scouts, who returned with bad news*

The Turkish scouts after they had by the space of two daies scoured vp & down the country, returned back again to *Selymus*, not hauing taken so much as one man; shewing vnto him, That all things were destroyed before him, and nothing left but wild fields and a most desolate country, without any appearance of man or beast; and that they were of opinion, that either the Armenian guides were deceived in the way, or els had of purpose brought them into such desert places, wheras wanting pasture for their horses, and food for men, they must needs together perish with hunger. Which their present fear was greatly increased by the weak kings whom they had left behind them at their backs; but especially *Aladules*, who either for fear or shame had a few daies at the first holpen the Turks with victuals, but after they were farther entered into Armenia, performed nothing of that he had before most faithfully promised: seeking therein the fauor of *Hyfmael*, who he thought would with the same good fortune vanquish the Turks, that he had not long before the greater part of the East. *Selymus* perplexed in mind, began now to suspect treason, to fear famine, to dread the deserts and forsaken places, and with grief of mind to call to remembrance all that old *Chendemes* his faithfull Counsellor had before most truly told him. For all that, he shewed himself to his soldiers with cheerful countenance, as a man nothing dismayed: which his firm constancy seemed to promise to their discouraged minds good success, with speedy victory. Wherefore calling vnto him his Guides, and such as best knew the country, and vnderstanding by them, that on the right hand beyond the mountain Periarido lay the most fruitful country of all Armenia, he rose with his army, and compassing the hill toward the North, turned down toward the riuer Araxes, and about the city of Coy passed his army ouer the riuer, his footmen by little bridges, and his horsemen by fords. For Araxes vntill it haue receiued such riuers into it as fall out of the marshes of Periarido, runneth but with a small streame, and is in some places easie to be passed ouer.

*Selymus's army past the river Araxes*

*Selymus* had scarcely wel got ouer the riuer and incamped his great army, when *Vsta Oglu* (who hauing joined his forces with *Amurat*, lying incamped not far off, and fearing lest the City of Coy and the vnprovident citifens should by the sudden comming of the enemy be oppressed) quickly rose with his army, and set forward to meet the Turks: for that city of all others in that country, for fresh fountaines and riuers most pleasant (wherein the Persian kings, for the great plenty of all maner of fruit, & wholsomnes of the air, leauing Tauris, were wont to spend most part of the summer) had then in it many rich citifens and sumptuous buildings; which *Vsta Oglu* thought good betimes to rescue, and not with dishonour to lose that rich city, looking as it were vpon it; and leauing it vnto the enemy, to suffer him there to refresh his hunger starued soldiers with plenty of all things. *Cassinus* an Armenian born, and present in those wars, did by many probabilities (as *Iovius* writeth) shew vnto him; That this city of Coy was in ancient time that most famous city which was called Artaxata, which *Demetrius Corbulo* destroyed. Neither did *Hyfmael* himself (although he had but a little before sent the greatest part of his forces against the Coraxeni, who were then risen vp against him in rebellion, as one that made no great reckoning of the Turks, or euer thought that they durst haue come so far into Armenia) make any delay, but forthwith as soon as he had heard of the comming of *Selymus*, came also in person himself vnto his army.

By chance *Vsta Oglu* (who contrary to all mens expectation had till then shunned to fight,

or

A or come in sight of his enemies, of purpose with lesse danger and losse of men to ouerthrow them afterward, being sore weakened & almost spent with long trauel & want of victuals) lay then incamped neer the city, when as the Turks scouts, vpon the comming of *Hyfmael*, perceived by the rising of the dust, and the neighing of the Persian horses, that some greater power was at hand. Which so soon as it was noised in the Turkish Camp, they began to reioyce exceedingly, and to conceiue the first hope both of their safety and victory: glad that now meeting with their enemies, they should either by victory turn their labor, toil, famine, and extremities, wherwith they had a long time striven, into ease and plenty of all things, or els by honorable death end all their miseries at once. For many of the horsemen, especially of them which came out of Europ, whose horses were starued for want of forrage, and the common footmen spent with long trauell, and grievously troubled with the flix (who traueilling in the extrem heat of the sun, had for most part liued vpon Crabs and other wilde fruits, with a bad supping made of meale and vineger, and almost despairing to get the sight of their enemies) began now to die in euery corner.

*Hyfmael* as soone as he was come within sight of his enemies, reposing great confidence as wel in the valor of his soldiers, as in his own rare fortune, the more to terrifie them, thought it good forthwith to giue them battel. Whereupon he sent an herald vnto *Selymus*, accompanied with certain skilful soldiers, which should in best sort they could take view of the number and force of their enemies, of their artillery, and in what sort they lay incamped: and to tell him, That forasmuch as he had no title vnto Armenia, nor that the Turks had at any time claimed any interest therein, he could not but maruel, why he had against all right entred with his Army into his dominion. But if he haply vpon a vain presumption, to the imitation of *Alexander* of Macedon, should think so much of the world his own, as he could by his sword & good fortune win, he should then make himself ready against the next day to make proof of his fortune, and the forces of others not inferior to his own.

*Hyfmael sends an herald to Selymus.*

Whereunto *Selymus* answered, that the fresh remembrance of the manifold injuries done to the Turks by the Persians, was such, as might giue him iust cause to take vp arms: forasmuch as long ago, both his grandfather *Mahomet* the Great, and his Vncle *Cassinus*, and euen of late his father *Bajazet*, and he himself also in his wars against his brother *Achomates*, had receiued great wrong and dishonor from the Persians. All which things, although they were of themselves important, yet he esteemed not of them as sufficient causes of war, but only sought after his enemy *Amurat* his brothers son, who had of late spoiled Cappadocia; whom if hee would quietly and friendly deliuer vnto him, as the mutual lawes of amity and friendship among princes for the maintenance and preseruatiō of their estates and kingdoms required, when he would withdraw his forces, and peaceably return into his kingdom: otherwise, hee threatened with fire and sword to destroy not the frontiers of Armenia, but euen the heart of Persia. And dismissing the herald, both the armies for that day lay still in their trenches, expecting the dreadfull euent of battel.

*Selymus his answer vnto Hyfmael.*

The next day *Selymus* by persuation of his Captaines brought his army into the open field, and in order of battel set forward against his enemies, which lay about two miles off, thinking that *Hyfmael* a prince of so great name would straightway accept of battel: yet what strength the Persian King was of, what number of men hee had, what manner of horsemen, how armed, and with what weapons, he could not certainly learn: for beside that the Persians are by nature ingenious and subtil, the soldiers generally so reuerenced and loued *Hyfmael* their King, that no one was found to haue gon from him to the Turk; wheras many revolted from *Selymus* vnto him, as it was afterwards learned of the Persian captaines.

*The order of Selymus's battell.*

*Selymus*, who had at that time 80000 horsemen vnder his ensignes, placed *Chasan Bassa*, his lieutenant General of Europ, with his European horsemen in the right wing; and *Sinan Bassa* with his Asian horsemen in the left; and before them both the Acanziz, which are voluntary horsemen the forerunners of the Turks Army, who in hope of spoil follow the Turkes Wars

out of all countries in the middle battel he placed the Asapi or common soldiers, which base and half naked people, as men of little worth or estimation, are commonly thrust into the front of the Turks battels, to receive the first fury of the enemy, and to blunt their swords,

more than for any other good seruice: directly behind them he bestowed his great artillery,

garded with 4000 horsemen: last of all followed himselfe with his chosen pentioners and

X x 3

Ianizaries,

lanizaries compassed about with small field pieces and his carriages, as with a double trench: G for he had (as their manner is) so inuironed himselfe round with his saddled Camels made fast one to another with long chains, that they stood him in stead of a strong trench, from whence he might speedily relieue any part of his distressed army; and in case of extremitie being in the midst of his strength, might as out of a sure fort repulse the furious assault of his enemies. He also commanded his footmen in the vauward of his battell, that vpon the approach of the enemies horse, they should speedily withdraw themselves aside into two parts, leauing space for the great ordnance which was placed behind them, to play in the middle betweene them. On the contrary part *Hysmael*, who by the Turkes fugitiues vnderstood all the deuices of his enemies, calling to him the chief Commanders of his army, shewed vnto them, that there was no doubt of victory, so that they could shun the fury of the great Artillery: which he assured them would easily be done, if when they saw the Turkish footmen diuide themselves, they would also in like manner withdraw themselves into two parts, and giue place to the fury of the great ordnance: for which purpose he caused two great ensignes to be displayed, wherunto they should at the time appointed retire; the one for himselfe and those whom he conducted, the other for *Vsta Oghli* and the rest of his army.

*Hysmael* (as *Iovius* reporteth) had in his army about thirty thousand horsemen, without any footmen, among whom were ten thousand men at Arms, resolute gentlemen of great experience, all gallantly mounted vpon courageous barbed horses, and themselves brauely armed, both for the shew, and the terror of the enemy; their weapons were a good lance, a sure scimitar, and a horsemans mace; the rest were armed with strong cuirasses and head-pieces, & were either archers on horseback, or else vied light horsemens stauces made of Ash after the Persian fashion, wherewith they served at the half stat: as for guns they had none, in which thing only and number of men they were inferior to the Turks. But such was the invincible courage and noble minds of the Persians, that contemning the huge multitude of their enemies (being in number about 300000) and making no reckoning of their great Artillery, they doubted not with so few to giue them battell.

*Hysmael* having giuen the signal of battell, came on with his Army, exhorting his souldiers then to remember the honor they had long before gotten in many battells, and courageously to follow him their Soueraign, whom they by their worthy seruice and many victories had made the greatest Monarch of the East: telling them, that they should haue now to doe but with naked men, whose weapons were but weak stauces and light targets, and their horses little poor jades almost dead with hunger, neuer able to abide the first charge of his valiant men at arms.

On the other side, *Selymus* perceiuing the coming of his enemies, by the rising of the dust, caused knowledge to be giuen through his army by his captains and officers, that the time of battell which they had so long wished for, was now come; wherin if they would worthily acquit themselves against those their proud enemies, they should to their immortal fame extend the Turkish empire from the Persian sea to the mountain Caucasus. But if they cowardly forgetting their ancient prowes, should faint in time of battell, they were not then to thinke by any means to escape by flight back againe thorow those great plains & desolat countries, where they should by the way either shamefully perish, or els to their perpetual infamy be taken prisoners, and as base slaues, during their liues be inforced to serue the Persian women: forasmuch as besides the great distance of place, both the great river Euphrates, and the huge mountain Taurus, and the faithlesse King *Aladules* (who had shut vp all the passages) did cut off all hope from them if they should be ouercome, by any means possible, to escape back againe into Capadocia.

When *Hysmael* was come neer with his Army, and the Asiaticke signe giuen diuiding themselves, made place for the great artillery to play, as was before appointed, hee also presently diuiding his horsemen, charged the right wing of the Turkes army with such force, that after a most terrible fight betwixt the half armed Turks, and the valiant Persian men at arms, *Chasim Bassa* the great commander of the European horsemen, with the foremost of that Wing being slain, and many more after them, he inforced all that wing to retire to that place where *Selymus* himselfe with the Ianizaries stood. On the other side *Vsta Oghli* having received no little harm by the Turkes great ordnance, because he had not so speedily cleared himselfe and his fol-

A followers of that danger, as had *Hysmael*, charged the Asian horsemen in the left wing: there in a bloody battell made great slaughter of the enemy, but not with like good hap as did *Hysmael*: for whilst he most courageously in the foremost ranks assailed his enemies, he was struck with a small shot and slain. With whose fall the Turkes were greatly inbraged, insomuch as that they which but now were glad to giue ground, and had lost the third part of their wing, began afresh to renew the battell, and valiantly to withstand the Persians, and in their harquebusers (wherewith the Persian horsemen were wonderfully terrified) thrust their heads long vpon the Turkes common footmen. The Persians, whether it were forced by necessity, for that they had lost so great a Commander, and not well able to get out their horses, terrified with the thundring shot; or els for that the open side of the footmen presented to them great B ter place of aduantage, ferring themselves together, brake through the middle of the battell of the Turkish footmen, and bearing them down before them with a desperate hunger, came to the great ordnance, and there slew the cannoniers, who discharging their field pieces at all aduents, in that great medly made a great slaughter, as well of their own men as of their enemies. And so without stop, as victorious conquerors, made way through the midst of their enemies, vntil they came to the right wing, where *Hysmael* was still hard by charging the European horsemen, who having before lost *Chasim* their General, and being many of them slain or wounded, were already inforced to retire: but now charged afresh vpon the Turkes, and much ado to endure the fury of their enemies, but as men in extreame danger were glad to escape, so *Selymus* for helpe.

C In this hard distresse *Selymus* in two places opened his Carriages, wherewith hee stood as it were intrenched, and presently sent out part of his horsemen. And by and by turning himselfe vnto his Ianizaries, said, *This dayes victory is reserved (most worthy souldiers) vnto you: who have labored, wherfore now valiantly set forward, and as fresh and courageous men assault your enemies: their horses are all on a water with sweat, and the men themselves faint under the weight of their armour. But yet for all that, Selymus could say, the Ianizaries were not very forward, but stood still, as men willing in so great a danger to keep themselves safe within the safeguard of their munition. On. Wherfore whilst they at their leisure set forward, the Persians in the midst of the heat of this victory, compassing in the European horsemen, slew them down right: *Selymus* in the mean time looking on, and wishing in vain to help them. *Fabritius Carrellius* Master of the Rhodes, who of all these things had certain intelligence, writ to *Leo* the tenth then Bishop of Rome; that the Ianizaries refused to be commanded by *Selymus*, and were not by any persuasion or inflatreaty to be induced to relieue the distressed European horsemen, but as men distrusting the euent of the battell, chose rather in their strength to expect the success thereof, than with most manifest danger to expose themselves to the violence of the Persian horsemen, which had at a tempest ouerborn the vanguard of the Turkish footmen.*

The Persians were now ready on every side to haue assailed *Selymus* in his greatest strength: when *Sinan Bassa*, although the wing he led was fore rent and weakened, yet following the Persians through the midst of the heaps of the slain footmen, came in, in good time for *Selymus*, and with certain fresh troops which had escaped the fury of *Vsta Oghli*, restored the battell, before almost lost: but especially by the invincible courage of *Alis Beg* and *Mahmud* his brother, descended of the honorable family of the *Molcözy*, which for nobility among the Turkes is accounted next to the *Othomans*: both of them for courage resembling their warlike father *Molcözy*, famous for that wofull expedition hee made into Friuli against the Venetians in the reign of *Bajazet*. *Selymus* also not yet discouraged, but still in hope, commanded all the great ordnance wherewith he was inuironed, which he had reserved as his last refuge, to be discharged: by the violence wherof such slaughter was made as well of his own men as of his enemies, mingled together, that what for dust, what for smoke, and thundring of the artillery, hauing on both sides almost lost the vse of sight and hearing, & their horses being so terrified with the thundring report of the great ordnance, that that they were not now to be ruled; the battell was broken off, the victory yet doubtful. The Turkish histories to expresse the terror of this day, number it amongst their dismal daies, terming it, *The only day of doom*.

*Hysmael* in this furious battell hauing received a wound vnder the left shoulder with a small shot, by perswasion of his friends withdrew himselfe to haue his wound scatched: which thing vndoubtedly was the safeguard both of *Selymus* & his army: for the Persians by and by follow-

The terror of the battell between *Selymus* and *Hysmael*.

ing their King, left the victory, now in all mens opinion almost gotten. But after that *Hyfmael* perceived the wound was not deep, for that the strength of his armor had so broken the force of the shot, that it pierced not far into his body, he was about to have charged the Turkes afresh: but vnderstanding of the death of *Vsta Ugli*, in whom for his singular experience in martiall affairs, he had reposed his greatest confidence; and his captains also perswading him, not to make to light reckoning of his wound, the grief whereof he yet felt not, being warm, but to haue regard to his own health: he in seemly order softly marched away in such sort, that his departure had no resemblance of flight. And passing by the city of *Tauris*, willed the chief of the citizens to open the gates of the city to *Selymus*, if he should come thither, and to receiue his garrisons, rather than by vain constancie to fall into vtter destruction: and so marched himself into the confines of *Media*.

See Persians  
Tents taken  
by the Turke.

But the Turkes being led with many difficulties, hauing no hearts for fear, nor strength for weariness to pursue their enemies, yet coming to the Persian tents took them without resistance: where besides the rich pavilions wrought with needle-work of silk and gold, & much other precious furniture, many noble Ladies and gentlewomen were found, which after the manner of the Persians had followed their husbands in those wars, whom *Selymus* caused to be all set at liberty vntoucht, excepting one of the wiues of *Hyfmael*, whom he detained & gave her in marriage to one of his Captains. Some which were present at this battell, reported, That amongst the heaps of them that were slaine, were found the dead bodies of diuers Persian women, who being armed, and following their husbands, died with them in the battell, whom *Selymus* caused to be honorably buried.

This was that notable battell fought in the *Galderan* fields, neer to the city of *Coy*, betwixt these two great princes, the seventh day of August, *An. Dom. 1514*. In which battell *Selymus* lost about 30000 men, amongst whom was *Chasan Bassa*, his great Lieutenant in *Eusop*, seven *Sanzacks*, in which were the two *Malcozzian* brethren, who labouring the one to rescue the other, were both together slaine. Beside his common footmen, of whom he made least account, he lost most part of his *Illyrian*, *Macedonian*, *Servian*, *Epriot*, *Thessalian* and *Thracian* horsemen, the vndoubted floure and strength of his army, which were in that mortall battell almost all slaine or grievously wounded.

*Selymus* for all this great losse, by the confession of his enemies hauing gotten the victory, and receiuing ambassadors from *Coy* and the Cities therabouts, and the great City *Tauris*, promising to relieue him with whatsoeuer he needed, and to do what els he should command, marched directly to *Tauris*, desiring both to see and possesse himselfe of that City, as one of the chief palaces of the Persian Kings. This city is two daies journey distant from *Coy*, where the battell was fought, & is verily thought to be the famous city called antiently *Erbarana*, about 150 miles distant from the *Caspian* sea. The citizens were ready at the coming of the Turkes, and brought them great store of victuals out of the city, where *Selymus* had lodged his army in the suburbs, thinking it no safety to lodge within that great and populous City, contenting himself to haue the gates thereof deliuered vnto him, which he kept with strong guard. Some report, That *Selymus* durst not trust the Persians, and therefore neuer went into the City but disguised in the habit of a common souldier. Yet some others say, that he did with great magnificence banquet in the stately palace of the Persian King, and there had great discourse with them of *Tauris*, concerning his late victory. But whilst he thus stayed at *Tauris*, and with himself purposed to spend that Winter in *Armenia*, he called together his great Captains and Commanders of his army, to know how they liked thereof: who fearing his displeasure, referred themselves to his owne resolution. Onely *Hyfmael* his chiefe Bassa chanced to say, That it were good that the minds of the *Ianizaries* and the other souldiers of the court should therein be known. Which his speech *Selymus* took in such euill part, that he presently commanded him out of his sight, and deprived him of his greatest honour. And the more to disgrace him, sent one of his jesters after him, who in great scorn and derision coming behinde him, cut off part of his Tulipant that hung down as the fashion was. But the *Ianizaries* vnderstanding the matter, and much offended with the indignitie which was offered to the great Bassa, whom they dearly loued, rose vp all together in arms, and told their emperor *Selymus* flatly, That they would not in any case Winter so far from home in the enemies country: and therefore that it were best for him betime to consider of the matter, for that they were

The *Ianizaries*  
murdering  
the Bassa.

A were resolutely set down to forsake him, if he would needs stay, and not with speed return. *Selymus* much troubled with this insolencie of the *Ianizaries*, and hearing daily, That *Hyfmael* with new supplies out of *Iberia*, *Albania*, and *Parthia*, was coming vpon him with greater power than before, and considering withall, with what difficulty and danger he had escaped in the late battell, preferred rather by his good fortune and force of his artillery, than the valour and prowesse of his souldiers; and withall suspecting the multitude and strength of the *Taurians*, of whose fidelitie he could make no reckoning; he changed his former determination, and resolved again to return into *Capadocia*. Whereupon hauing contrary to his promise exacted a great masse of mony from them of *Tauris*, he departed thence, carying away with him 3000 families, the best artificers in that city, especially such as were skilful in making of Armor and weapons, and so with speed retired towards the riuer *Euphrates*, a longer way than that wherby he came; fearing to return again by the head of *Araxis* and the mountaines *Periades*, for meeting the *Iberian* and *Albanian* horsemen, who were reported to be then coming against him.

*Hyfmael* vnderstanding of his departure, followed after with as much speed as hee could, leaving behind him for hast his cariages and such of his souldiers as were not able to endure so long and speedy a march. Yet for all his hast (forasmuch as *Selymus* was gon a great way before him) he could not ouertake any part of his army vntill he was come to the great riuer *Euphrates*; where *Selymus* staying two daies, and hauing made diuers little boats, was passing over his footmen: which because they were not sufficient for the speedy transportation of so great a multitude, many for hast swam ouer the riuer with bladders, and some aduentured to get ouer vpon the broken pieces of their cariages, which they had for that purpose burst in sunder. *Selymus* himself got ouer to the farther banke in a little boat, hauing before caused his horsemen with their horses at once to take the riuer, of purpose to breake the violence of the streame, wherby his footmen and Camels with their burdens got ouer with lesse danger, and some of his field pieces were also with lesse difficulty transported: yet for all his speed, the Georgian horsemen, the forerunners of *Hyfmaels* army, being come within sight before the Turkes were all got ouer, raised such a fear and stirr all alongst that side of the Riuer, that 2000 of the Turkes were in their hasty passage there drowned, diuers field pieces left sticking in the mud, and much of the baggage caried away with the force of the riuer. The Georgians contented with D such things as were left, pursued them no further: for the wheels of the Turkes cariages intangled together with the violence of the stream, had staid a great part of the Turkish trash, floating in the riuer, and much more was in diuers places driuen vpon the shore; all which the Georgian horsemen easily drew out. *Hyfmael* in the mean time rejoicing at nothing more, than that hauing chased away his enemies, he had also recovered much of the great Ordnance, by which he had before receiued so great hurt.

*Selymus* in passing the Riuer  
*Euphrates*, receiued great  
losse.

*Selymus* by speedy flight thus got out of the hands of the Persians, found his passage much more dangerous at the mountain *Antitaurus* than he had before thought of: for *Aladules*, the mountain King hauing now his fortune in contempt, and diligently waiting for his prey, had with his savage people before taken all the streit passages of the mountain country, who euery night in the euish maner assailed the Turkes, as they with their weak and weary companies passed through those rough and broken waies, and robbing their cariages, presently fled into their haunts and places of refuge in the thick woods and rocky mountains. *Aladules* himself in the mean time (by whose fraud all this was done) euery day excusing himself, as if it had bin don against his wil, by the rude mountain people, inured to such desperat robberies, whom nevertheless he said he would in short time severely chastise, so soone as hee could finde the authors thereof. In the mean while for fashion sake sending a little spare provision for certaine daies, did euery night rob and spoil the Turkes by his souldiers, as they could take them in places of aduantage. Against which mischiefs *Selymus* could neither by policie, neither his souldiers by industry provide any sufficient remedy. Wherefore dissimbling the injuries he daily receiued, purposing to be therof in time reuenged, together with the foul & trecherous dealing of the faithles king; holding on his way, he with much ado came at length to *Trapezond*, and from thence to *Amasia*, where hee spent that winter in repairing his sore weakened army, purposing with the first of the spring to make war vpon *Aladules* and the mountain people, who in his return had don him so great harm and injury.

*Selymus* comes  
to *Amasia*.

In this sort *Ionius*, one of the great historiographers of that time, reporteth the aforesaid wars betwixt *Hyfmael* and *Selymus*; whose credit in that matter other Writers haue since for most part followed. Howbeit *Io. Ant. Manuanus* a Genoay who serued in those wars, doth in his book concerning Turkish affaires, dedicated to the French King, much otherwise report of the same. Which to satisfie the desirous reader, I haue thought good here in few words to set down, as it is by himself reported.

*Selymus* (saith he) with his army, in number about three hundred thousand men, being come to the riuer Euphrates, found the bridge broken down by his nephew *Amurat*, and his enemies incamped in conuenient place on the farther side of the riuer, with their forces greatly increased by new supplies lately sent from the Persian King; so that there was then in the Persian army about 90000 men horse & foot, the horsemen for the most part furnished with two horses apiece for seruice. And although *Selymus* did what he might to know whether the Persian King were in person himself in the Camp, or els (which he most feared) was raising of greater forces in Persia; yet could he by no means learn the truth of that he desired. Wherefore repairing again the broken bridge, he first sent ouer his two great Lieutenants, of Grecia and Natolia, who passing ouer the riuer, incamped themselves as they thought conuenient. The next morning, about two hours before the rising of the Sunne, *Amurat* suddenly assailed the great Commander of Grecia, *Chusan Bassa*, in his trenches, and by plain force discomfited the Turks and by good fortune took from them their tents: wherupon such a terror and fear came vpon the other great Commander of Natolia, that his souldiers thrusting themselves for fear into the riuer, swam ouer with great danger, and again joined themselves with the rest of the army. *Selymus* troubled with the great losse thus receiued, caused all his great artillery to be placed all alongst the hithermost banke of the riuer Euphrates; and because the enemy should not perceiue the same, ranged certain companies of his soldiers before the Ordnance, as if they should presently haue passed the riuer: who vpon signall giuen should forthwith withdraw themselves and giue place to the great ordnance bent vpon the enemy. But when fire was giuen to these great pieces, many of them being overcharged burst in sunder, and slew diuers of the Turks: many also of their rich horses and mules being neer vnto the riuers side, and terrified with the thundring shot, leapt into the riuer, and were there drowned together with their riders. The Persians also receiuing great losse, retired farther off for fear of the great artillery. So *Selymus* without resistance passing ouer the riuer, marched forthwith towards the enemy; whom the Persians as men nothing dismayed, notably incountred. The battell was of long time doubtfull, and much blood shed on both sides; and if the approach of the night had not broke off the force of that fight, the Persian army rather overcharged with the multitude of the enemy, than vanquished by valor, had vndoubtedly receiued a great overthrow: but by the benefit of the night they without further losse escaped the pursuit of the Turks. Vpon this victory, *Selymus* left his cariages and baggage with his footmen; and taking with him only his horsemen, set forward with intention to haue vpon the sudden surprised the regal city Tauris, before the same of the late fought battell could be carried thither; the Persians in the mean time being no lesse carefull of their affairs. The day before, ten thousand men well appointed, which had not yet bin in the battell, were comming to *Hyfmael*. These he craftily laid in the Turks way, commanding them vpon the approach of the enemy, to flie as if it had bin for fear. *Selymus* in the morning descrying these horsemen at hand, supposing them to be such of his enemies as being overtaken with the darknes of the night, were not able to follow the rest of the Army, exhorted his souldiers courageously to pursue their discouraged Enemies.

The Persians seeing the Turks, of purpose betooke themselves to flight; and they suspecting no deceit, followed fast after them, vntill that about mid-day being weary of the pursuit, and comming vnto a little riuer that was in their way, there staid to refresh themselves; and after they had taken a short repast, againe pursued the Persians, still leauing behinde them such as were not able so fast to follow, prickt forward with hope, that before night they should surprise and ransack the rich city of Tauris. The Turkish horsemen thus drawn far from the footmen, the Persian horsemen left in ambush, in the mean time set vpon the Turkes footmen (lying as they supposed in great securitie) and with a great slaughter overthrew them: at which time they also took all *Selymus* his treasure and great Artillery. Which overthrow was by speedy

A speedy posts, about two a clocke in the night made knowne to *Selymus* (who now in his mind already conceiued the sacking of Tauris) & withall that the fierce enemy was following him at the heeles. *Selymus* wonderfully abashed with this vnexpected newes, and the losse of his footmen, forthwith began to retire: which the ten thousand Persians which had before of purpose fled, perceiuing, now turning themselves vpon the retiring Turks, charged them hardly: so *Selymus* inclosed both before and behind by his enemies, receiued a great overthrow: and the Turks thus hardly beset, and almost despairing of their liues, and hauing lost their ensignes brake out sideways betwixt their enemies and fled. *Selymus* seeing all desperat and forlorne, betooke himselfe to flight also with the rest: and passing the riuer Euphrates, brake down the bridge which he had but a little before repaired, for feare the Persians should further pursue him, and with much trouble and no lesse danger comming at length to Amasia, assembled thither the reliques of his discomfited army. Such of the Turks as remained behind, and were not able in flight to keep way with the rest, were all slaine by the Persians.

The Genoway author thus concludeth his History, That the Persian King did not more reioice at this victory, than did he himselfe for the overthrow of the Turks, hoping in that their so great confusion to free himselfe of his long & miserable thraldome, and to find a way vnto his native country parents: afterwards he did, flying first to Trapezond and there taking passage into Europ, he came to Hadrianople, from thence he trauelled by land on foot to Salonica, and there chancing vpon certaine ships of Christian Merchants which had brought come thither, he was by them transported into the Island of Chios; from whence he joyfully returned to Genoa his native country, after he had amongst the Turks endured ten yeres captivity: most part wherof he liued as a page in old *Bajazets* priuy chamber, and the rest as a soldier of the court in the reigne of *Selymus*; and therefore well acquainted with the fashion of the Turks Court, and manners of that barbarous nation.

Now shall it not (as I hope) be much from our purpose, here with *Ionius* a little to digresse in comparing these two great Princes *Hyfmael* and *Selymus* together, who in that time had filled the world with the glory of their fame: that wearied with bloody broiles, and the wonderful chances of war, we may a little repose our selues with matter of a milder vaine, neither vnpleasant nor vnprofitable.

These two mighty Princes, as they were for royall descent, strength of body, courage of mind, riches, and power, equall, and had thereby obtained like fame and renowne: so in conditions and qualities of mind, and martial discipline, they much differed. First of all (beside the mutual hatred of the one nation against the other, deliuered as it were by succession from their grandsfathers and fathers) these two Princes, and so likewise their subiects also, were at great odds about an idle question of their vain superstition, the one preferring & honoring *Eububekir*, *Homaris*, and *Ottoman*, as the most true and rightful successors of their great Prophet *Mahomet*: the other with no lesse deuotion honouring *Haly*, and detesting the three former; differing otherwise in few or no points of their most fond superstition: yet did they vnder the colour and zeale of their religion (as they would haue it) both pretend iust causes of war, although their euil dissembled ambitious desires, plainly declared vnto the world, that they both shot at one and the same mark, viz. By confirming their power & strength, to extend the bounds of their great Empires. For *Hyfmael* of purpose affected the fame and glory of *Darius* and *Xerxes* the ancient Persian kings, who hauing subdued Asia, with great boldnes passed ouer into Europ: and *Selymus* the greatnes of *Alexander* of Macedon, who subuerted the Persian empire. Which their aspiring thoughts, masking vnder the vail of zeale towards their religion, seemed not altogether vain; fortune with like indifferencie immoderately fauoring their bold ambitious and endlesse desires. But in *Hyfmael* appeared such a wonderful deuotion and grauity, that his haughty thoughts were with the reuerend maiesty thereof couered: whereas in *Selymus*, his inhuman cruelty did blot and obscure all his other princely vertues: for he with reward and punishment retained the maiesty of his empire, but with greater fame of security than bounty. Because it was expedient in the exact discipline of that seruite government, wherof the greatest strength of the *Othoman* empire consisteth, to vse all rigor and severity: otherwise then it stood with the state of *Hyfmael*, who leaued alwaies his armies of his Nobilitie and men free borne, with whom temperat justice, ciuil courtesie, & popular clemency, are of greatest force, to win their fidelity, faith, and loyalty: for that there is no man well borne, which feareth not more the blemish

*Selymus and Hyfmael compared together.*

*Hyfmael maiestically.*

blemish of infamy than the heauineffe of punishment: so that it was not to be maruelled, if *Hyfmael* by such honorable vertues did mightily defend the glory of his maiesty & renowne. Vnto these his rare vertues, was also ioyned a comlineffe of face (the fairest gift of nature) well becomming to great a monarch: for he was well coloured, quick eyed, yellow bearded, and that which among the Persians is accounted the signe of antient nobility, hook nosed; & was withall exceeding eloquent: by which good gifts, bewonderfully woon to himselfe both the eyes and hearts of such as beheld him. But in *Selymus*, his stern countenance, his fierce and piercing eyes, his Tartar-like pale colour, his long mustacho's on his vpper lip, like bristles, fild back to his necke, with his beard cut close to his chin, did so expresse his martiall disposition and inexorable nature, that he seemed to the beholders, to haue nothing in him but mischief and cruelty. Which diuersity of countenances was also accompanied with no lesse diuersity of affections, and so consequently with far vnlike manner of gouernment. For *Hyfmael* was of nature courteous and affable, easie to be seen and spoken withall, doing nothing that becom'd his regall function, but in the sight of all men: his manner was to dine openly in the company of his nobility, delighting much in hawking and hunting, accompanied with his noblemen and the Embassadors of forraine princes: He would oftentimes run, leap, and proue masteries with his chiefe courtiers, being himselfe a most excellent horsman and cunning archer: in his exercises he was so popular, that he would not stick openly to bathe himselfe and swim in his princely bathes: his wiues, the beautifull daughters of his nobility or neighbor princes, ladies of great chastity, he neither loathed nor diuorced, after the antient manner of the Persian kings, who alwaies vsed most tenderly to loue and cherish their wiues, doing them all the honor possible in court, as partakers of all their fortune, and carried them, their children, nurses, & richest furniture into their farthest wars, to their great trouble & charge, by the presence of so deer pledges the more to incourage their minds in time of battell. Whereas *Selymus* contrariwise did all things in secret, eating his meat alone without any company, attended vpon with his pages & eunuchs only, and satisfying natures want with some one simple dish of meat: he seldome went abroad but to the church, vpon the fridday the Turks chiefe Sabbath; and then so beset with his pensioners and other souldiers of the court, that although he vsed to ride alone mounted vpon some couragious horse, yet was it a hard matter by face to know him among so many armed men, who with great pride & insolency kept back the beholders: he was seldom seen abroad in the city, chusing rather for his recreation to passe ouer in his gally to Asia, and there alongst the sea coast to take the aire: his wiues he would not suffer to come to court, neither vsed their company but for procreation sake, and that (as was thought) without any great good countenance or familiarity, for that he being not greatly giuen to women, but more delighted with vnaturall pleasure, thought a mans body and minde to be not a little weakened with the allurements of women: wherefore he seldome resorted to the cloister of choise paragon in the midst of Constantinople, that in on euery side with high & blind wals: those daintie peeces, either taken from their Christian parents, or by chance surprisid by pirats, are there most curiously kept by antient matrons and old eunuchs, by whom they are with all diligence instructed in the principles of the Mahometan law, and to read the Arabian tongue, and withall, cunningly and comely to sing, play, dance, and fow: but *Selymus* of all others vsed seldome to see their allurements, as a man not greatly delighted with women, or desirous of many (and oftentimes vnfurnat) children; hauing but one son (*Solyman*) by the daughter of *Muhamet* a Tartar king, who afterwards by the sufferance of God, proued a great plague to the Christian commonweale. Such spare time as he had from his serious & weighty affairs, he vsed to spend in walking in his gardens with some of his Bassaes or other great courtiers, and in beholding and noting the Noblemens children there sporting themselves, would discourse and consult of many things of great importance. Some houres he would spend in the bathes, and in reading the Histories of his Ancestors and other forraine Princes: imitating therein his grandfather *Mahomet* the Great, who caused almost all the Histories of the famous Princes of the world to be translated into the Turkish language, and their liuely counterfeits to be with cunning hand drawne, that by their worthy examples he might be the more inflamed to extend his fame and glory. He would many times scoffe at the great busines of his father *Bajazet*, who (as he said) was so drowned in the study of *Auerrois* (determining nothing certainly of the nature of the soule) and the motions of the heauens, that he desired rather the name of a sharp disputer,

A disputer amongst the idle professors of Philolophy, than of a renowned chieftaine amongst his valiant soldiers and men of war.

One of the Persian embassadors finding him pleasantly disposed, demanded of him, why he did not weare his beard long, as his father *Bajazet*, and other great princes of that age had done, thereby to seeme vnto their subjects of greater majesty: to whom he answered, That he liked not to carry about with him such an vnneccessary handfull, whereby his Bassaes might at their pleasure lead him vp and downe the court, as they had done his father: noting thereby, that *Bajazet* whilest he yet liued, had bin too much ouerruled by the Bassaes, which he could by no means indure, following no mans aduice but his own in whatsoeuer he tooke in hand.

But to come vnto the Persians themselves, they in their wars had great disadvantage of the Turks: for as they were strong in horsmen, so were they destitute of expert trained footmen, by whose only means the Turks haue atchieued their greatest victories, and performed their greatest wars. Beside this, it was a great want in the Persians, that they had not the vse of guns, against whose fury no sufficient resistance can be made, or force of man opposed: as appeared by the lamentable example of *Vsun Cassanes* at Artenga, and now of *Hyfmael* in the Calderan fields; whose victorious armies of horsmen were both places put to the worfe by the terror and violence of the Turks artillery. For the naked Turkish horsman is not to be compared with the Persian man at armes; who comes into the field armed with a strong cuirass, a sure head-piece, and a good targuet: whereas the Turkish European horsmen, altogether naked, vse only a square or crooked buckler, wherewith they do scarcely couer themselves: and the

The Persians  
better horsmen  
than the Turks.

C Asian horsmen, bucklers made of soft reeds, wound round, and couered with some kinde of silke. The Persian horsmen also, wearing their pouldrons and gauntlets, and bearing stauces of good ash, armed at both ends, fight with them as occasion serueth at the halfe staffe, after the manner of the Numidians; and with doubling and redoubling their often thrusts from on high, so easily wound or kill the vnarmed Turks, with their horses: whereas the Turkish horsmen, after the manner of the Grecians, couching their stauces in their rests, do at the first course most commonly breake the same, being made of light and brittle firre, and so presently come to their scimitars or horsmans maces, being in all other things far inferior to the Persian man at armes. As for the Turkish archers on horsebaeke, they are in no respect to be compared with the Persians, who well mounted and surely armed, and vsing both greater and stronger

D bowes, shoot more deadly arrows, and so make small account of the Turks. So that all things well considered, the Persian army, deuoted to their King, as well for the great and firme opinion conceiued of his high courage and diuine spirit, as for that they were to him by faith obliged, although it was in number far inferior, yet had it bin of the Turks inuincible, if it had not bin ouerwhelmed by the cruell, cowardly, and murdering artillery, and wonderfull multitude of men. The cause why *Hyfmael* out of so many great and large prouinces then vnder his obeisance (able in antient times with their multitude to couer the face of the earth, & to drink the rivers dry) brought now so small an army against the Turkish Emperor, breaking into the heart of Armenia, was, for that *Hyfmael* to win the hearts of the people by bounty, had remitted a great part of his customes and tributes, so as then stood best with his policy, hauing but

The cause why  
Hyfmael came  
with so small an  
army against  
Selymus.

E lately aspired to the kingdome, and thrust downe his neere kinsmen, the posterity of *Vsur-Cassan* and *Iacup*, the rightfull inheritors thereof: so that his coffers being empty, and wanting money, the sinewes of war, he was not able to raise so great an army as otherwise he might out of those populous kingdoms & countries, yeelding plentifully all things necessary for mans vse. Whereas with *Selymus* it was far otherwise: whose horsmen, footmen, captaines, canoniers, both at sea and land, officers of peace and wars, receiued their daily wages and monthly paies in ready mony, of his treasurers and paimasters: for defraying of which charge he neuer wanted coyne, hauing an inestimable masse of mony alwaies in store in the seven towers at Constantinople: and his yerely tributes and reuenues still exceeding all his charges by a fourth part. The strength of the Persian King consisted in three kind of soldiers: the first were they F which were accounted souldiers of the court: the second, such as were by custome and duty bound to serue him in his wars: and the third, such as were sent to him from the Princes his neighbors and confederats. Those which were accounted soldiers of his court, had their certain stipends, and were altogether maintained of the kings charge, of whom, according to the old custome of the Persian kings, they at certaine times receiued armor, horses, apparell, tents, and

and wages, every one as he is in place and degree. And being attended vpon with a gallant and strong garrison of these, he maintained the majesty of his court, especially when he rideth in progresse. The nobility and ancient gentlemen of his country, who hold lands and possessions descended vnto them from their ancestors, or holden by the gift of the King, are sent for in time of wars, and are of duty bound to performe such like seruice as the nobility and gentlemen of Italy, France, and Spaine do vnto their foweraignes: these hardly amount to the number of twenty thousand, whereof it is well if the third part come well armed; the rest content themselves with head pieces and jacks, and vse for their weapons either horsemen's staves or bowes, which they can most cunningly handle, discharging their arrows very neere vnto that they aime at, either forward or backward. They which come vnto him from forreign Princes, confederat or tributary, are commonly sent from the kings and princes of Iberia, Albania, and the countries bordering vpon Media and Armenia; who being halfe Christians, beare a mortal hatred against the Turks. *Hyfmael* the Persian King had then vnder his dominion these great and famous countries, Armenia the greater, Sulthania, Persia, Assyria, Mesopotamia, Media and Parthia: whereof Armenia is the chiefeest, famous for the great city Tauris, called in ancient time Ecbathana: this country yeeldeth vnto the Persian King his best footmen; but his choice horsemen come from out of Persia, and especially from Seyras, called of old Cyropolis: the next vnto them are from Assyria; the chiefe city whereof is Bagadat, called in ancient time Babylon. The Medes and Parthians are of all others accounted the best archers next vnto the Scythians.

The countries  
subd to the  
Turks.

1515

Selymus with  
his army en-  
tered into Ar-  
menia.

But now to returne againe from whence we haue a little too far strayed. *Selymus* after his great expedition against *Hyfmael*, wintering at Amasia, by his lieutenants and captains in Europe and Asia raised such a power, that with the first of the Spring he entered againe into the confines of the Persian kingdom, with a greater army than before, and that somewhat sooner than the extreame cold of that part of Armenia (subject to the snowie mountaine Taurus) would either well suffer, or that the enemy thought it had beene possible for him to haue so done. There was vpon the further side of the riuer Euphrates a strong towne called Clamassum, situate a little aboue that place where the riuer Melas (much celebrated by the Grecian Poets) falleth into the riuer Euphrates; which towne for the commodious scituation thereof, standing vpon the first entrance of the passage into Armenia the great, the Persians had furnished with a strong garrison: this towne *Selymus* thought good in any case to be master of, by taking whereof, and of some other holds thereabout, he should open a faire way for himselfe into his enemies country. *Hyfmael* at the same time was gone with all his power against the Hyrcanians, Baçtrians, and other sauage people dwelling neere vnto the Caspian sea, then vp in arms against him: which wished opportunity *Selymus* taking, and making a bridge over the riuer Euphrates, passed ouer with his army, came before the towne, and laid hard siege to the same before his enemies were all aware of his comming. The Turks at their first approach compassing the city round with their huge multitude of harquebusiers and archers, braue the defendants from the walls; and still without rest or intermission bringing on fresh men, as *Selymus* had before taken order, and others at the same time breaking open the gates, and in diuers places scaling the wals, enforced the defendants to forsake their standings, and to retire themselves into the marker place, where although they were before fore spent with labor and wounds, yet did they there with wonderfull courage a great while notably withstand the multitude of their enemies still swarming in, and in defence of their country, like resolute men, fought it out vnto the last man.

*Selymus* having taken and ransacked Clamassum, with two other small castles which the defendants had for feare before abandoned, although he was with a deadly hatred and ambitious desire prickt forward against *Hyfmael*, and thirsting after nothing more than the subuersion of the Persian kingdom: yet he thought it not good to enter further into Armenia, before he had out of those forrests and mountains chased the mountain king *Aladeules*, who but the yere before had most treacherously done him and his army so many injuries in his return from the Persian expedition. For *Aladeules* not without cause fearing his owne estate, as soone as he vnderstood that *Selymus* had againe taken the field, and that he was come to the riuer Euphrates, and so to Clamassum, speedily assembling his forces, had in short time raised a great army for the defence of himselfe and his Kingdom: purposing that if *Selymus* should goe farther into

A into Armenia, then after his wonted maner to looke on as a beholder, and by the cunct of the war, to take occasion of prey, and by shutting vp the passages of his country, at his pleasure to rob and spoile the Turks in their returne. Wherefore *Selymus* leauing a garrison at Clamassum, retired backe againe ouer the riuer Euphrates vnto the mountaine Antitaurus, where it was reported that his enemies lay.

This *Aladeules* (as is aforesaid) ruled over the rude and sauage mountaine people, inhabiting the great mountaines Taurus and Antitaurus: which mountaines as it were linked together one to another, run from the mountains called Scodrisci, and the borders of Capadocia, with a perpetuall rising, through many large prouinces and countries vnto the great mountain Amanus, and vttermost bounds of Cilicia. The people of this country were by nature fierce and warlike, more famous for nothing than for the want of all things; who as men dwelling in a rough and bare country, could little or nothing profit by husbandry: yet in such places as would beare any pasture, they had their breed of horses and cammels, and did with all diligence vse grazing; but the greatest part of their liuing consisted in hunting and stealing. These are supposed to haue had their beginning from the Galatians, Capadocians, Armenians, and the old inhabitants of Asia the lesse, which by long and continuall wars in former ages, and especially by the lamentable irruption of the Scythians, were enforced to forsake their cities and dwellings, and for safeguard of their liues to fly into those rough and desolat mountains. These distressed people searching every hill and every dale, and following the opportunity of the riuers and fountains, but especially the mildest temperature of the aire, and fauourable aspect of the Sun, built in many places poore country villages, and afterwards diuers faire townes: where in proceesse of time they growing to better estate, there rise vp some amongst them, which ouerruling the rest, ambitiously tooke vpon them the name of kings, desiring to be had in regard, and to be feared of their neighbours, although they commanded but ouer rough woods and ragged rockes. Neere vnto the confines of *Aladeules* kingdom is the city Orpha, which many suppose to haue bin the famous city Edeffa, because that as yet there remaineth certaine monuments of *Baldwin* in Latine letters; who after his brother *Godfrey* was possessed of Ierusalem, is reported to haue taken Edeffa, and there reigned. Not far from thence is also the ancient city Amyda, which at this day is called Caramida, joyning vpon Mesopotamia: which country lying betweene the two great riuers Euphrates and Tygris, is now called Diarbectha. The chiefe city of *Aladeules* kingdom was Maras, so called as may be thought of the faire riuer Marfas running through it out of the mountaine Caelene, taking the name of *Marfas*, overcome by *Apollo*, and made famous by the verses of many learned Poets. But *Aladeules*, after he saw that *Selymus* with his army was entered into the frontiers of his kingdom, and drawing neere vnto him, brought downe all his horsemen, in number about fifteene thousand, from the mountains into a faire large valley; commanding his footmen whereof he had great store, to keepe the mountaines on the right hand and the left: where hauing the high rocky mountains and streit passages much for his aduantage, he determined in that place which he had long before chosen and fortified, to expect the comming of his enemies. *Selymus* considering the disaduantage of the place, although he perceiued the victory could not without great loss of his men be obtained; and before persuaded that his enemies would neuer haue willingly bene drawne to battell: yet made no doubt to aduenture his fortune, presuming vpon the multitude and strength of his army. Wherefore he commanded *Sinan Bassa* the Eunuch (whom he had made generall of the European horsemen in stead of *Chasim Bassa* before slaine) with a square battell to charge the enemy afront, forasmuch as the place would not suffer him to range his battell in length, nor to vie any wings: and he himselfe with his Ianizaries and Asian horsemen followed after in the rereward. Neither were the soldiers of *Aladeules* vnmindfull of themselves and their king, who valiantly fought in the head of the battell, but hauing spent their arrowes, did courageously receiue the furious assault of the Turks: and standing close to them, still keeping the aduantage of the ground, did with such force repulse them, that the old beaten soldiers of the Turks seemed little or nothing to preuaile either with their multitude or valor: for the Turks by reason of the streightnesse of the place, could not inclose them on either side, and were beside grievously wounded by *Aladeules* footmen, who standing vpon the sides of the hills, with their darts and arrowes from aboue, overwhelmed the Turks in the valley. When *Selymus* saw that *Aladeules*, contrary to his expectation,

*Aladeules* his  
kingdome.

*Selymus* assai-  
led *Aladeules*.

made strong resistance, and valiantly withstood his forces; he drew certaine companies of harquebusiers out of his owne squadrons, and sent them to relieue their fellows: and at the same instant commanded the Ianizaries for all the danger to mount the hill. Then the mountaine people terrified with the strangenesse of the shot, and not able to abide the force thereof, by and by turned their backs, and by knowne waies fled into their sure haunts, in the mountaines and woods fast by, yet the greatest slaughter fell amongst these footmen, who when they saw the horsemen put to flight, and the Ianizeries comming vp the hills against them, did with much difficulty, by steepe and broken waies clamber vp the high mountaines: as oftentimes it falleth out, that both the strength of mens legs and other their wonted forces faile them most, when surprised and ouercome with sudden feare, they desire to run and fly fastest. The Turks hauing them in chase, had the killing of them vntill the going downe of the Sun. The horsemen with the King, vpon their swift horses, well acquainted with those rocks and rough waies, with little losse retired themselves into the further and stronger places of the mountains.

*Aladenles* after this discomfiture, finding himselfe in all things far inferiour to his enemy, thought it best by protracting the war, to weary him out: wherefore as the Turks pursued him, and burnt the poore country cottages standing in their way, he still fled from mountaine to mountaine, neuer offering battell or shewing himselfe, but in places of great aduantage: and therefore *Selymus* fearing lest in that barren rough and vknown country, he should either want victuall, or by some other means be intrapped, if he should still with the whole army follow after his strong enemies, vpon the seventh day left off to pursue him any further. And encamping himselfe in the most conuenient place of that country, sent *Sinan Bassa* with his light horsemen, who carrying with them certaine daies victualls, should still at the heeles follow the enemy, and with all speed & policy possible hunt after the king himselfe. *Selymus* in the meane time curiously inquiring of the country captiues after the strength of *Aladenles*, and what means he had to maintaine the war; found, that he had taken with him his best men both horse and foot; and had commanded the country villages to forsake the villages, of purpose to leaue all desolate to the enemy; and hauing surely intrenched himselfe vpon a certaine strong rocke (whither he had before conueied great store of prouision) was resolved not to giue battell vnto his enemies, vntill he had drawn them into the impregnable streits of the mountains; where their huge multitude should little auail them, but to increase their owne losse. Another cause there was also (as they said) for that he feared to be betrayed by *Aliu Beg* his kinsman, Generall of his horsemen, who first fled in the late battell; whose vnfaithfulness and hatred might seeme to proceed of a just ground, for that *Aladenles* had in former time treacherously murdered his father, vpon a jealous suspicion of his aspiring vnto the kingdom.

*Selymus* vnderstanding all this, caused the captiues to haue their yrons struck off, and in stead of their gyues lading them with gifts and promises, sent them to *Aliu Beg* with secret letters and rewards, to persuaide him in so fit a time to reuenge his fathers death; which thing if he would perform by some notable exploit vpon *Aladenles*, he should both purchase vnto himselfe great credit with *Selymus*, and also the kingdom. These homely messengers according as was giuen them in charge hauing imparted the matter to *Sinan Bassa*, within a few daies had so wrought, that *Aliu Beg* (whom the desire of a Kingdom together with *Selymus* his rewards prickt forward to seeke reuenge) was easily drawne to ioyne hand with *Selymus*. And when he could no other way hurt *Aladenles*, who mistrusting all things, warily looked vnto himselfe, he found the means to go ouer to *Sinan Bassa*, carrying after him a great part of *Aladenles* his best horsemen: by whose meanes the rest also which remained being with rewards corrupted, one company after another came at last all ouer vnto the Bassa. *Aladenles* circumvented with this vnexpected trechery, which neuer before thought it possible that his men should all so suddenly haue forsaken him and reuolted to the Turks, was now glad to repose all his hope in secret flight. But *Sinan Bassa* & *Aliu Beg*, hardly pursuing him as he fled thorow the mountains, hiding himselfe in rocks and the thick woods, at last drew him out of a caue, being betrayed by the country peasants. *Aladenles* being brought to *Selymus*, was within a few daies after put to death, & his head in great derision afterwards carried about thorow all Asia the lesse: and afterward by way of barbarous ostentation, sent by *Selymus* to the Senat of Venice, as a loathsome testimony of his victory. *Aladenles* thus dead, *Selymus* reduced all his kingdom to the form of a prouince, which he diuided into three parts, & after the maner of the Turkish gouernment, appointed

A pointed to euery part a Sanzacke; yet so, that *Aliu Beg* should be chiefe ouer the rest, with such souerainety, as that he wanted nothing of a King but the name only. And for the better gouernment of all things in that new gained kingdom, he left *Sinan Bassa* there all the rest of that Summer; with commandement, that after he had set all things in good order, he should winter at Iconium; and he himselfe with a small traine returned to Constantinople, for he had heard that whilst he was busied in his wars against *Hyssmael* and *Aladenles* in Armenia, that the Hungarians had made diuers incursions into Seruia, and spoiled that country. Wherefore for feare of losing *Samandria* (which standing neere to Danubius, for the conuenient situation thereof is reputed the bulwarke of Seruia and Thracia) he sent *Iousses Bassa*, then Gouvernour of Bosna, with eight thousand horsemen, who passing the riuer *Sauus* entered into Croatia as far as *Catinum*; and at the same time transported another army ouer Danubius into Hungary, to the intent that the Hungarians at one instant beset with double danger, should be enforced to feare their owne State, and withall to shew vnto the World, of what strength and power the Ottoman Emperours were. Deeming it to concerne much, both for the present, and the time to come, to the daunting of the Christians; if he should by his happy attempts make it knowne, that hee could at once easily and readily maintaine so many and so puissant armies, and wage so great warres in diuers parts of the World, and so far distant one from another.

In the end of the yere, when he had thus with double inuasion troubled the Hungarians, he spent the Winter following at Hadrianople and Constantinople, in making of greater preparation for war than euer he had before from the beginning of his reigne. For he was aduertised, that the great monarchs of the North his neighbors, namely, *Maximilian* the Emperour, *Vladislaus* King of Hungary, and *Sigismundus* King of Polonia, with the Princes of Germany, had combined themselves together to make war vpon him. But after he had learned by his sure intelligencers (whom he had with great charge sent into all parts of Europe, diligently to obserue what was done in the courts of these great princes) that all the great meetings of the Christian Princes proued nothing but glorious words and sumptuous banquets, he being rid of that vaine feare (God so appointing) turned himselfe and all those his wonderfull preparations againe toward the East, to the great quiet of Christendome in general.

Yet lest happily in the absence of himselfe and of his armies, the Christian Princes might take occasion to inuade his dominions, he strengthened the frontiers of his empire with most strong garrisons: and left his sonne *Solyman* (who afterwards proued the scourge of Christendome) at Hadrianople with a strong power, and *Pyrhus Bassa* his tutor (a man of great wisdom and gouernment) at Constantinople. This great Bassa was of Cilicia, a native Turke borne, which was a thing accounted strange, forasmuch as the great Bassaes were alwaies chosen of the Christian bloud. After that, he sent *Cherseogles* (whom of all others he most trusted) with his army into Bythina, and made *Zafferus* an Eunuch Admiral of his navy, which he had but a little before built, and with a wonderfull labour and charge rigged forth. Then staying a few daies at Constantinople to see the young souldiers, but then chosen Ianizaries, he departed thence and went to his old army, lying with *Sinan Bassa* at Iconium, purposing to haue againe inuaded the Persian.

When he was come thither, he vnderstood that *Campson Gaurus* Sultan of Egypt (with a great army leuied in Egypt and Iudea) was come into Syria; giuing it out that he would aid the Persian king his confederat, & with all hostility enter into Cilicia, if *Selymus* should farther proceed to inuade *Hyssmael* the Sophi his friend & ally. *Selymus* perplexed with these news, and fearing that if he should once passe ouer the riuer Euphrates, *Campson* lying so neere in readinesse, should forthwith break in at his back into Asia by the mountain Amanus, and so indanger that part of his dominion; staid at Iconium, and sent his embassadors with great presents to *Campson* to pacifie him if it might be. The chiefe men in this embassage were the Cadelescher, a man of great account amongst the Turks, and of them exceedingly reuerenced for the opinion they had of his great knowledge in the Mahometan superstition, who afterward wrote the commentaries of this war; and *Jachû* a great captaine. The scope of whose embassage was, to intreat *Campson*, that he would not hinder or disturbe *Selymus* from making war vpon the Persian King; who had so often and so forcibly inuaded his dominions in Asia, and by bringing in a new forme of superstition, had corrupted and altered the most certain grounds of the

Mahometan religion. And if they found him resolutely set downe and not to be by any conditions remoued, then with all possible diligence to learne his strength and farther designs, so far as by any means they could, and with all speed to make their returne.

But *Campson* now far spent with age, and living in the height of worldly blisse, although he knew it fitter for him at those yeres to giue himselfe to ease and quietnesse, than to thrust himselfe into wars and other princes quarrels; yet thought this expedition to be for many causes both good and necessary. First, he deadly hated the man for his inhumane cruelty, and therefore could neuer be persuaded to renew the league with him which he had in former time made with his father *Bajazet*: besides that, he desired to abate and repress his audacious insolency, growne already by his prosperous successe beyond the bounds of reason: for *Selymus* hauing taken *Tauris*, ouerthrowne the Persians, and slaine *Aladenles*, began now to seeme terrible to all the Princes that bordered vpon him; and there were many which said he was another *Alexander*, who whilest other Princes sate still as men asleepe, did in the meane time plot in his victorious mind, the Monarchy of the whole World. But about all things, the feare of the losing of Syria, and consequently the losse of all his kingdome (the quickest motiue for stirring vp of the suspitious minds of the greatest Princes) most inforced *Campson* to take in hand this war: for as much as the goodly kingdomes of *Egypt*, *Iudea*, and *Syria*, oppressed with the intollerable gouernment of the proud Mamalukes, and therefore lesse faithfull to the *Egyptian* kings, were in danger to reuolt to the Turks, if the Persians should by any mischance or fortune of war be of the Turks vanquished. For which cause *Campson* in the beginning of this war, solicited by the Persian Embassadors, had made a firme league and confederation with *Ismack*; and also moued with the misery of the wofull yong Prince *Aladin* the son of *Achomates*, was in mind persuaded, that the cruel Turkish tyrant might by his and the Persian kings forces, easily be thrust out of his empire in Asia and Europe. For *Aladin*, who after the death of *Achomates* his father, fled to *Campson* the Sultan of *Egypt* (as is before declared) had liued three yeres as a forlorne and distressed Prince in the *Egyptians* court, and by all means he could deuise incited the Mamalukes to reuenge the injuries and cruelty of his vncke *Selymus*. The eldest son also of the late King *Aladenles*, a goodly yong Prince, hauing at once lost his father, his kingdome, and whatsoever he had else, was in good time fled to the *Egyptian* king, and had so filled the minds of all men with the indignation and detestation of *Selymus* his exceeding cruelty, that the Princes of the Mamalukes of their owne accord came to *Campson*, humbly beseeching him to take vpon him so just a war: and if by reason of his great yeres he should thinke himselfe vnable to indure the trauell thereof, it would then please him yet to giue them leaue of themselves to take the matter in hand, for the repressing of the insolency of that great and wicked tyrant.

These Mamalukes far excelled the Turks, not onely in strength of body, skilfull riding, and goodly armor, but also in courage and wealth. Beside that, they had not forgotten with what small power they had vnder the leading of *Caitbeius* their great Sultan, ouerthrowne the Turks great armies in Cilicia, first at Adena, and afterward at Tarsus, where they tooke prisoners, *Mesites Paleologus* the great Bassa, and *Chersogles*, *Bajazet* his son in law: by which victory they grew into such a proud and vaine conceit of themselves, as if they had bin the onely souldiers of the World, able of themselves to vanquish and overcome whomsoever they should set vpon. These so valiant souldiers, were for most part of the poore people called in ancient time *Geta*, *Zinchi*, and *Rassarna*, borne neere vnto the Euxine sea and the fens of *Moetis*, especially on that side where the riuer *Corax* falleth into the Euxine sea: which Country is of late time called *Circassia*, of the people called *Cercitæ* neere vnto *Cholchis*. These miserable and wretched people, the *Valachians*, *Podolians*, *Polonians*, *Roxolanes* and *Tartars*, dwelling by *Taurica* (pulled from their mothers breasts, or by other violent means surprised) were sold to Merchants; who culling out the best for strength of body, or aptnesse of wit, conueied them by sea to *Alexandria*, from whence they were continually sent to the great Sultan of *Egypt*: & by his appointment were at *Caire* (after the old manner of that people) deliuered to Masters of fence and such other teachers, who carefully instructed them, being shut vp in their schooles, in all manner of feats of activity: where after they were become able to bend a strong bow, and taught cunningly to shoo, leape, run, vault, ride, and skilfully to vse all manner of weapons, they were then taken into pay, and receiued into the number of the Kings horse.

The causes moving  
Campson  
to fall out with  
Selymus.

The order of the  
Mamalukes.

A horsemen or Mamalukes; and such of them as proued cowardly or vnapt, were made slaues vnto the rest. So that they seeing all honor, credit, and preferment, laied vp in martiall prowesse, did with all diligence and courage imploy themselves to military affaires, and therein so well profited, that oftentimes they which at the first were but bare and base slaues, of the meaneest of the Mamalukes, by many degrees of seruice rise at length to the highest degrees of honour. All these Mamalukes were the children of Christian parents, from the time of their captiuitie instructed in the Mahometan superstition: for no man borne of a Mahometan father, or of a few, could be admitted into the number of the Mamaluke horsemen: which was so strictly obserued, that the honor of a Mamaluke horseman neuer descended vnto the sons of the Mamalukes, yet might they by law inherit their fathers lands, possessions, and goods: by which reason the soannes of the Sultans themselves neuer succeeded their fathers in the kingdome. Hereby also it came to passe, that many Christians of loose life, or condemned for their notorious offences, flying thither, and abjuring the Christian religion, and suffering themselves to be circumcised, being men meet for the wars, grew by degrees to great honor: as did *Tangarihardinus* the sonne of a Spanish mariner, who by his forwardnesse and industry grew into such credit and authority with *Campson* the great Sultan, that almost all things were done by his aduice and counsell, and was diuers times by him employed in most honorable seruice, being sent Embassador both to *Bajazet* the Turkish Emperour, and to the State of Venice, about matters of great importance. Yet his impiety escaped not the hand of God, for at length by the enuy of the court he was brought into disgrace, thrust out of his place, and cast into prison, where he, loaded with cold yron, most miserably died. Neither was it to be maruelled if the Mamalukes were growne to that excesse of wealth, forasmuch as the *Egyptians* and *Syrians* being miserably by them oppressed, were not suffered to haue the vse either of horse or armor, neither admitted to any matters of counsell; but being impouerished and brought low with heauy impositions and daily injuries of the Mamalukes, gaue themselves wholly to the trade of merchandise, husbandry, and other mechanicall occupations: ouer whom the Mamalukes had power and command, as imperious masters ouer their seruants, and would with greater insolency than is to be beleueed abuse the country people, beating and spoiling them at their pleasure; and not so contented, rauishing their wiues and daughters without redresse. The *Egyptians* (a people in ancient time much renowned for their valour and prowesse) were by these masterfull slaues kept in this miserable thraldome and slauery about the space of three hundred yeres. For after the declination of the Romane Empire, that rich country falling into the gouernment of the Constantinopolitan Emperors, the *Egyptians* soone weary of the proud and auaritious souereignty of the Greekes, called in the Saracins, by whose helpe they expelled the Greekes, and after chose the Generall of the Saracins for their King, after whose name the *Egyptian* Kings were of long time called Caliphes, as they had of ancient time bin called by the names of *Pharo* and *Ptolemy*.

The last of these Caliphes reigned at such time as the Christians vnder the leading of *Godfrey* and *Bohemund*, passing as conquerors through Asia and Syria, erected the kingdome of Ierusalem. He being invaded by *Almericus* sixt King of Ierusalem, and finding himselfe too weake, praied aid of the Sultan of Syria, who sent him *Sarraco*, a valiant captaine, with a strong power to aid him: but *Sarraco* no lesse vnfaithfull than courageous, treacherously slew the Caliph, in whose aid he came, and tooke vpon himselfe the kingdome. After *Sarraco* succeeded *Saladine* his brothers son, who vterly extinguished the name and authority of the Caliphes in *Egypt*, whom *Sarraco* had yet left as high Priests. This *Saladine* oftentimes vanquished the Christian armies in Syria and Iudea, and at length quite ouerthrew the kingdome of Ierusalem, as is in the former part of this History to be seen. *Saladine* dying, left the kingdome of *Egypt* to his brother, whose posterity successively reigned of long time there, vntill the time of *Melechfala*. This *Melechfala* (last of the free borne Kings, and of the posterity of *Saladine*) had great and mortall wars with the Christians, wherein hauing lost most of his best souldiers, and reposing no great confidence in the *Egyptians*, thought good to strengthen himselfe with a new kinde of souldiers, meere slaues bought for money. For at that time the Tartars breaking into Armenia and Cappadocia, and ouerrunning the people called *Comani* joyning vpon Cappadocia, made generall spoile of that people, as of prisoners taken by law of armes. Of this base people, *Melechfala* for a little money bought a great multitude, which he transported

The imperious  
gouernment of  
the Mamalukes,  
in Egypt, Iudea  
and Syria.

The beginning  
of the govern-  
ment of the  
Mamelukes  
in Egypt.

ted into Egypt, and furnished them with armes: by whose prowesse he not only defended the frontiers of his kingdome, but also besieged *Lewis* the French King in his trenches not farre from *Camiata*, called in ancient time *Heliopolis*, or *Pelufium*, and shortly after in plaine battell tooke him prisoner, as is long before declared. But in the pride of this victory, *Melech Saladin* was by the conspiracy of these his new soldiers slaine: in whose place they set up one *Turqueminus*, a desperate fellow of their owne company, honouring him with the title of the great Sultan of Egypt. *Turqueminus* of a base slaue now become a great Monarch (after the manner of men) forgetting his old companions which had so highly promoted him, and having them in great disdain, was by one of them (called *Clothe*) suddenly slaine; for which fact he was by those base soldiers, his companions, chosen Sultan in his place: who for the short time of his reigne did much for the confirming of that seruile Monarchy: yet was he at length slaine also by *Bandocader*, sometimes one of his fellow seruants, who also succeeded him in the kingdome. After him in long order succeeded many valiant men of the same seruile state and condition, who for breuety I wittingly passe ouer. Amongst the rest *Cayseius* (of whom we haue before spoken in the life of *Bajazet*) was for wealth and martiall prowesse most famous; who according to the manner of his predecessors, did with greater bounty and care maintaine that seruile government, than any of them who had before him reigned in Egypt: and was for his notable government and noble acts justly accounted amongst the greatest Princes of that age. After whose death great troubles arose in that seruile Monarchy about the succession. Whereby the Mamelukes drawne into diuers factions, some seeking to prefer one, and some another, had in foure yerres space with ciuile wars sore weakened their estate, and slaine diuers of their greatest Princes which had aspired vnto that kingdome. For appeasing of which mischiefs, tending to the vtter ruine of their kingdome, the great courtiers and chiefe men amongst the Mamelukes with one consent offered the kingdome to *Campson Gaurus*, or as the Turks call him, *Cansauus Gaurus*, of whom we now speake; a man of great integrity and courage, and altogether free from ambition. He, terrified with the dreadfull example of so many Kings whom he had seene in short time miserably slaine by the ambitious aspiring of other proud competitors; when he was sore against his will hoist vp vpon the shoulders of the nobility and chiefe souldiers, and so carried into the court, as their manner was, began earnestly to refuse the kingdome, and to withstand their choice, excusing himselfe as vnfit for so high a place; and with teares standing in his eyes, besought the other great lords his friends, that they would forbear to thrust him (well contented with his priuate life) into that glorious place subject to so many dangers; and the rather, for that he neither had mony to giue bountifullly to the soldiers of the court, as other the Egyptian Sultans had accustomed; neither held that sufficiency and authority as was requisite for repressing of such violent and seditious tumults as were too rife in that troublesome time and confusion of all things.

The nobility on the other side perswaded him, That he would not vpon a foolish obstinacy or vaine modesty refuse the offer of his present good fortune, but courageously to take vpon him the government of the state, now sore shaken with ciuile discord, together with the regall dignity, which was with the generall good liking of all men so frankly offered vnto him. At last they all by solemne oath promised vnto him, That they would with all their power, policy, and wealth, maintaine and defend the maiesty of his state; and that the men of war should not demand their wonted largesse, before the same might by his receiuers and treasurers be raised of his customes and other reuenues of the crowne. By which perswasions *Campson* encouraged, suffered himselfe to be saluted Sultan, and so tooke vpon him the government. Afterwards, when he had giuen vnto the men of war ten millions of duckats, by the name of a largesse; and by his moderat government had caused men generally to haue his prowesse and wisdom in admiration, he did with such policy and dexterity reforme the shaken state of that kingdome, before rent in sunder by ciuile wars, taking away by payson and other secret deuices, some few, the chiefe authors of sedition, that for the space of sixteene yeares neither tumult nor noise of war was at any time heard of in all Syria or Egypt: worthy vndoubtedly the name of a most excellent and fortunate Prince, if when he had by singular wisdom and policy established the generall peace and prosperity of his kingdome, he could haue there contented himselfe to haue liued in quiet, and in the winding vp of his life not rashly haue thrust himselfe into the dangerous quarrels of other Princes.

The

The moderate  
and happy go-  
vernment of  
*Campson*.

A The Cadelescher and *Tachis* (*Selymus* his Embassadors) departing from Iconium, came in few daies to *Campson* the great Sultan, who then lay encamped neere vnto the riuer Orantes, at this day called *Farfar*. These Embassadors entertained by *Campson* with greater bounty than courtesie, and shortly after their comming hauing audience in his pavilion, did with most temperat and calme speech deliuer their Embassage. To whom *Campson* answered, That it was the ancient custome of the Egyptian Sultans (forasmuch as they held the chiefe place in their religion) with all care and industry to keepe the other Mahometan Kings and people in peace and concord amongst themselves; whereof he for his part had bin alwaies most desirous; and was for no other purpose come with his army into his province of Syria, than to persuaide *Selymus* to peace. Who if he would needs wilfully proceed in his intended wars against *Hysmael* the Persian king, his friend and confederat, he would then do what should stand with his honour and place, and not longer suffer all to go to wracke, for the vaine pleasure and fury of one insolent and ambitious man. He said also, That he had of long time before seene into *Selymus* his insatiable, fierce, and troublesome disposition; who hauing most vnaturally procured the death of his good father the old Emperour *Bajazet*, and slaine his brethen, Princes of great valour, seuen of his nephewes, princes of no small hope; with many other of his best friends and faithfull counsellors; could make no end of his ambitious tyranny. Wherefore they should tell *Selymus*, that one and all the conditions of peace should be, if he would from thenceforth desist from inuading of *Hysmael*, and restore to *Aladeules* his son, his fathers kingdome, which had of long been vnder the defence and protection of the Egyptian Sultans, as of right and reason he ought to do; he should in so doing, beside his fauour and friendship which might greatly stand him in stead, reape greater fame and glory by an assured and honourable peace, than by doubtfull and dangerous war.

The Embassadors, although they knew right well that *Selymus* would not for any threats giue ouer his enterprize or lay downe armes, yet to the intent they might the sooner be dispatched, and so in time aduertise *Selymus* of the Sultans sudden comming, seemed wonderfully to like of his motion for peace, and to giue good hope by their reasonable perswasions to induce *Selymus* to like thereof: forasmuch as they were of his secret counsell, and men able to do much with him; whereby they trusted (as they would haue had the Sultan to beleue) it would easily be brought to passe, that those sparks might be quenched, which all things standing upright had not as yet kindled the fire of war. So they being by *Campson* rewarded, and hauing leaue to depart, traouelling day and night, returned to *Selymus*, who was then come to *Cæsarea*.

*Campson* also removing from Orantes, came into *Comagena* vnto the famous city of *Aleppo*, which city is probably supposed to haue bin built of the ruines of the ancient city of *Hierapolis*, by *Alepius* the Emperour *Iulianus* his lieutenant; who in that province did many notable matters, and called that new-built city after his owne name. It is situate neere vnto the riuer *Singa*, which rising out of the mountaine *Pierius*, with many turnings and windings runneth through *Comagena*, and being but a small riuer, falleth at length into the riuer *Euphrates*. This city *Hyden* king of the Tartars tooke and burnt, at such time as the Christian Princes of the West made warre with the Egyptian Kings, for the kingdomes of Syria and *Ierusalem*. Which calamity notwithstanding, it was againe repeopled; and is at this day a famous city, for the commodious situation thereof much frequented with Merchants from the furthest parts of the World. It is scarce fiew daies journey from *Tripolis* and *Berytus*, the great ports of Syria, and is also neere vnto the Turks and Persians: so that the riches of the East are thither commodiously conueied out of Turkie, ouer the mountaine *Amanus* which parteth *Cilicia* from Syria: and so likewise out of Persia and *Mesopotamia* ouer the riuer *Euphrates*, where the city *Byrrha* of late time bounded the Kingdome of the Egyptian Sultans, from the Persians.

*Selymus* vnderstanding by his Embassadors (who had diligently noted all things in the Sultans campe) both of the comming, and of the number of his enemies; and also informed of the Sultans proud answer, who had so peremptorily prescribed to him such vnreasonable conditions as pleased himselfe: thought good to alter his purpose, and now to conuert his forces another way than he had before determined. For that to enter farther into Armenia, leauing so puissant an enemy as *Campson* at his backe, seemed a thing too full of danger: and to giue ouer the

*Campson* his answer to the Embassadors of *Selymus*.

*Selymus* conuerteth his forces from the Persians against *Campson*.

the enterprife he had with fo great care and charge vnderaken, at the appointment and pleasure of another man, stood neither with his honor or state. Wherefore in a matter fo doubtful, he resolved vpon a notable necessary point, well fitting the greatnesse of his mind. He made shew as if he would haue gone directly against the Persian, as he had before determined, and that the more certaine report of this his purpose might be carried to *Campson*, he sent before part of his army with his carriages to the city *Suassia*, in old time called *Sebastia*, it standeth in the frontiers of the Persian kingdome, where the great riuer *Euphrates* pent vp with the rockes of the mountaine *Taurus*, breaketh againe violently forth into *Mesopotamia*: but turning himselfe vpon the right hand, purposed to passe the mountaine *Taurus*, and breaking suddenly into *Comagena*, to come vpon the Sultan before he were well aware of his comming. Wherefore calling vnto him his trusty *Ianizaries*, with the other souldiers of the court, he openly with cheerefull countenance declared vnto them what he had resolved to do, with the reasons of the alteration of his former determination: perswading them, that the victory would easily be atchieued, if they as courageous souldiers would with all celerity (before the *Mamelukes* could perceiue they were returned) get vp to the top of the mountaines, and recouer those difficult passages; not fearing the vaine names and titles of the *Mamelukes*. For why (said he) the strength of those horsemen is long since decayed and gone: the old *Mamelukes*, who in the time of *Caitbeius* were of some fame and reputation, are all dead. You shall in battell meet but with a sort of gallant horse-breakers rather then souldiers, which can cunningly manage their horses in sport, to the pleasure of the beholders, but know not how to encounter the enemy, or to endure to be wounded. who as *carpet Knights* effeminate with long peace, and corrupted with excess and delicacy of their great Cities, neuer saw their foes intrenched, or armed enemies, neither haue heard the sound of a trumpet, but as plaies or shewes. Wherefore you are to make but small account of them, being furnished with no store of ordnance or strength of footmen. But as the reuerend interpreters of our sacred Lawes and Religion, hauing orderly performed all their obseruances, do diuine vnto vs all happinesse: so you as men full of hope, set forward cheerefully vnto most assured victory over your proud enemies. For God no doubt fauoureth the quarrell of men iustly prouoked, and offereth means of victory to such as take vp iust and necessary armes. Yet to overcome the enemy, and to enjoy victory indeed, wholly consisteth in the courage and valour of them which deeme nothing better or more honourable, than to spend their lues for the honour of their Prince and Country. Here the *Ianizaries* shaking their weapons, forthwith cried out with cheerefull voice, That he should lead and conduct them whithersoever he would: saying, That they were ready as courageous men, to overcome all the difficulties of those hard passages, and patiently to endure all the labors and dangers incident to that warre.

*Selymus*, by the mountaine people hauing found out the easiest passages, resolved to passe ouer the mountaine with his army in three places: and so appointing three great companies of the common souldiers and country people, for the opening of the streit passages; he commanded the rough and vneuen waies to be made plaine and smooth, for the transporting of his ordnance, and the broken passages to be cast euen, that so his baggage and carriages might the better passe: and the more to encourage his souldiers to take paines, he promised present reward to all such as in transporting of his ordnance, should take any extraordinary paines. Whereby it came to passe, that the same being of the smaller sort, bearing a bullet of no great height, was in short time by the cheerefull labour of his souldiers, drawne ouer those great hills and dales: so that in fise daies all his army with his baggage and carriages were got ouer the mountain *Taurus*, and come into the plaines of *Comagena*. For that mountaine where it taketh the name of *Amanus*, which is almost in the middle where the riuer *Euphrates* parteth the mountaine *Taurus*, and the Bay *Ifficus*, is neither exceeding high, or yet impassible: for as it commeth neerer the sea, it is not so rough as elsewhere, but is in many places inhabited and tilled by the mountaine *Cilicians*, a fierce kind of people accustomed to labor and toile, who are now called *Caramanians*, which is to say, the inhabitants of the blacke mountaines; for that the burnt rockes of the mountaine seeme a far off to be blacke.

*Alis Reg* which betrayed *Aladeules*, whom *Selymus* had a little before sent for, as soone as the army was come downe into the frontiers of the enemies country, with a strong power of his light horsemen, speedily ouerran all that country which is at the foot of *Amanus* and *Taurus*: thereby to vnderstand of the country people and such as they could take prisoners, where *Campson*

*Selymus* encountered his souldiers to goe against the *Mamelukes*.

*A* son lay with his army; and also by keeping the passages to doe what might possibly be done, that *Selymus* his comming might not be knowne to the enemy.

But *Campson*, who with no lesse vanity than pride had fondly flattered himselfe, onely by the authority and greatnesse of his name to haue terrified *Selymus*, and ouerruled him at his pleasure; could not be perswaded that he was come ouer the mountaine *Amanus*, vntill certain newes was brought him, that he was encamped with a most puissant army within two daies march of him. With which v unexpected newes being sore troubled, and in the midst of that danger to seeke counsell, as one which began rightly to consider of his owne strength, and the strength of his enemy, began then to doubt what were best for him to do, & in great perplexity sometime hoped well, and by and by was as a man halfe discouraged and dismayed. And now become exceeding carefull both of his honor and himselfe, he began to doubt whether it were better for him to giue place to so great a danger, and shunning battell to retire with his army into places of more safety; or else courageously to abide the comming of his enemies, and to hazard the fortune of a battell, although it were vpon great disadvantage: forasmuch as he reputed it far more honourable, after the example of his predecessors from whom he had receiued that great kingdome (both gotten and kept by martiall prowesse) to die with honor in the field, than by shamefull and vnwonted flight, either to blemish their military glory continued aboue the space of 300 yeres, or for loue of a small remainder of life, being now 77 yeres old, to seeme willing to referre vnto obloquie and shame his last daies, deprived of all honour and reputation.

*C* There were amongst his chieftains many, which preferred wholesome counsell before that which was in shew more glorious: but aboue all others, one *Lamburd* (synamed *Gazelles* (sometimes the follower of great *Caitbeius*) a valiant man of great honor, for his long experience in martiall affaires, and at that time *Gouernor* of *Apamia*. He, as he was of opinion, That to fight with the Turks army, consisting for most part of expect soldiers, with so small a power, were a thing of desperat danger; so was he also, that it were good speedily to retire, and to chuse the city of *Damasco*, as the fittest place for those wars: forasmuch as the Turks army could make no haste after them, by reason of their footmen and carriages, so that they might at ease and with safety retire; and there calling together all the *Mamelukes* which were in garrison in *Iudea* and *Egypt*, and entertaining the *Arabians* their neighbors, to protract the war vntill *Winter*, when as they might easily distresse the enemy for want of victuall. And that it was not to be feared, that *Aleppo*, if it were furnished but with a reasonable garrison, could by and by be taken of the enemy, who had but small field pieces not fit for battery. Beside that, in short time aid would come from the Persians out of *Mesopotamia*; yea, and *Hyssael* himselfe bearing of the Turks expedition into Syria, was like enough to break into Asia the lesse: neither would the Christians refuse to furnish them with great artillery from the Islands of the *Rhodes* and *Cyprus*, against that common enemy, if they were thereto in time requested. All which things being laid together, he said, the Sultan might afterward vpon euen hand go into the field, if he should thinke it so much to concerne his honor, to giue his enemies battell. But forasmuch as the greatest wars, which at the first had most violent and furious motions, by the politicke enemies delay, did most commonly in time grow calme, he should not therefore make too much hast to aduenture the fortune of battell: for that the errors of war, which many times chanced through the oversight or rashnesse of the chieftaines, might well of good men be lamented and detested, but hardly or neuer be recovered or amended.

*Gazelles* his graue and considerat speech had much moued both the Sultan and others: yet the cheerefullnesse of the soldiers, and foolish hardinesse of the *Mamelukes* did so fill *Campson* eares, that he could not hearken to so good and wholesome counsell: for as soone as they heard certainly of the comming of the Turks, they began to leape and dance, and to reioyce among themselves, that the time was come wherein they might make prooffe of their valor, and win to themselves honor. For now (as they said) was come that time they had long wished for, wherein they would by notable slaughter of their enemies, aduance the honor and majesty of *Campson* their Sultan far aboue the fame of *Caitbeius*: and some euen of the chiefe men about *Campson*, vpon flattery and vaine ostentation, alledging how honorably and with what small labour they had before ouerthrown the Turks great army at *Taurus*; perswading him that the victory would easily and without any great danger be gotten. But especially *Cayerbeius* *Gouernor* of

The wholesome counsell of *Gazelles* for protracting the war.

of Aleppo and of the prouince of Comagena (who after his war ended, was in reward of his foule treason, by *Selymus* vnworthily preferred to the greatest honours of Ægypt) extolling with glorious words the faithfulness, courage, and valour of the Mamalukes, and extenuating the power and strength of the enemy, forced his wits to the vttermost to overthrow the whole, some counsell of *Gezelles*.

A secret grudge  
between Cam-  
pion and Cayer-  
beus the Governour  
of Comagena

For this *Cayerbeus* for all his faire face bare a grudge in heart against *Campion*, because he had some few yeres before poisoned his brother, whom he had in ieaousie, being a man next to himself of greatest power, wealth, and authority amongst the Mamalukes, and withall of an aspiring mind. Whereupon *Cayerbeus* afterwards thinking it good to looke to himselfe, and doubting the like practise to be intended against himselfe, being, as the matter of that kingdom was, summoned to a parliament at Caire, feigned himselfe sicke, and would not come: where-  
H with *Campion* was not a little offended, yet for a time he thought it best to dissemble the mat-  
te. & to wait some fitter opportunity for the taking away of that proud man, so forgetful of his duty, and bearing himselfe against his soueraigne, as if he had bin an absolute King in his own prouince: this he thought might most courtly be brought to passe, if he should vpon the oc-  
casione of the present war (as it then fell out) or els vnder the color of going in person himselfe to the riuier Euphrates, come to Aleppo: for it was the manner of the antient Egyptian Sultans, not to account themselves worthy of the name of a Sultan or great Generall, before they had, as *Cayerbeus* had of late done, encamped their army vpon the side of the riuier Euphrates at the city Byrrha (which standing vpon the banke of the riuier, retaineth at this day both the antient name and fame) and there with solempne pompe had in the sight of the army forced their hor-  
I ses into the riuier to drinke: giuing to vnderstand by that ceremony, the greatnesse of their em-  
pire, and that they were ready by force of armes to proue, that all those countries were theirs which lay alongst the riuier Euphrates, from the mountain *Taurus*, vnto the deserts of Arabia. But the consideration of this war letted that he did not as his first comming oppress him, be-  
cause he deemed it to stand best with his present affaires: and not yet knowing the purpose of *Selymus*, to expect the motions of the Turks and Persians, and to defer the execution of his  
K wrath against *Cayerbeus*, vntill the end of the war, for feare lest the other Mamalukes dismaied with the hainousnesse of the sudden fact, should either revolt from him, or els raise some mu-  
tiny and rebellion in that populous city. For *Cayerbeus* had by his courtesie and bounty many strong companies in the army fast bound vnto him: and beside that, was of greatest credit and  
K authority with them of Aleppo, hauing in his keeping a strong citadell, built vpon the rising  
of an hill in the midst of the city, which he kept with a strong and sure garrison.

But while *Campion* doth thus slowly and consideratly purpose his destruction, many of the Sultans secret friends, to him more officious than faithfull, secretly aduised *Cayerbeus* to be-  
ware of the Sultan, and by some good means in time to prouide for his own safety. He vnder-  
standing of the danger, and thinking all delay deadly, sent secret messengers vnto *Selymus*, dis-  
couering vnto him the cause of his grieffe, and promising as occasion should serue to come  
ouer vnto him, and to deliuer into his power the castle with the heart of the citizens, and all  
the strength of his owne horsemen; thereby to prouide for his owne safety, to reuenge his bro-  
thers death, and to further his victory against *Campion*: and for performance of promises on  
both sides, required secret hostages to be giuen. By the same messengers he also aduertised  
L him, what strength the Sultan was of, perswading him in any case to make hast to giue him  
battell before he had gathered any greater power. *Selymus* nothing doubted to condescend to  
all that the traitor had requested, promising of himselfe far greater things than euer he had  
required: assuring himselfe of the victory, if his enemy should lose so much of his strength  
by the revolt of so great a commander.

*Campion* enforced by the generall consent of his souldiers, and the violence of his inuita-  
ble destiny, then at hand, rejecting the good and faithfull counsell of *Gezelles*, at such time as  
*Selymus* was reported to be at hand; resolu'd according to the counsell of the traitor *Cayerbe-  
us*, to dare him battell. He lay conveniently incamped vpon the riuier Singa, almost ten miles  
M from the city, in such sort as that his souldiers might vse the benefit of the riuier, and removed  
from the houses and pleasures of the city, might yet neuertheless be easily relieued with the  
store and plenty thereof.

The Mamalukes scarce in number twelue thousand, but euery one of them, according  
as

The Mamalukes  
scarcely in number  
twelue thousand

A as he was of greater place or calling, so had he attending vpon him mo seruants, wel furnished  
with horse and armor. A goodly and inuincible army, if the battell might haue bin tried by  
true valor. The Mamalukes wearing their beards long and rough, with graue and stern coun-  
tenance, hauing strong and able bodies, vfed such cunning in all their fights and battells, that  
after they had giuen the first charge with their lances, they would by and by with wonderfull  
astutitie vse their bows and arrows, casting their targets behind them; and forthwith the hor-  
mans made or crooked scimitar, as the manner of the battell and place required. Their horses  
were strong and couragious, in making and swiftnes much like vnto the Spanish Genets; and  
that which is of many hardly beleueed, so docible, that at certain signes or speeces of the ri-  
der, they would with their teeth reach him vp from the ground, a lance, an arrow, or such like  
B thing; and as if they had known the enemy, run vpon him with open mouth, and lash at him  
with their heels, and had by nature and custom learned, not to be afraid of any thing. These  
couragious horses were commonly furnished with siluer bridles, gilt trappings, rich saddles,  
their necks and breasts armed with plates of iron. The horseman himself was commonly con-  
tent with a coat of male, or a breast-plate of iron: the chief and wealthiest of them vfed head-  
pieces, the rest a linnen couering of the head, curiously folded into many wreaths, wherewith  
they thought themselves safe enough against any handy stroke. The common souldiers vfed  
thrumbd caps, but so thick that no sword could pierce them.

*Campion* of all his army made four battells: the first was committed to *Cayerbeus*, because it  
was in his own prouince where the battell was to be fought: the second was led by, *Sybeus*,  
C who for his wonderful astutitie was of them called *Saluano*, which in their language signifieth  
a tumbler, or one that sheweth feats of a stutitie: he was gouernour of Damasco, a man of sin-  
gular faith and valor. These two great Commanders were appointed at once to charge both  
the wings of the Turks army. After them followed *Gezelles* with the third battell, to second  
either the one or the other of the two foremost, as need should require. *Campion* himself led the  
fourth, all glistering in gilt armor, behind the rest almost a mile and a half. The last was left for  
defence of the camp.

The order of  
Campion's  
battell.

But *Selymus* according to his wonted maner, so ordered his battell, that his Asian horsemen  
were in the right wing, his European horsemen in the left, his Ianizaries and Artillerie in the  
main battell; before whom in the middle betwixt the two wings hee placed his most valiant  
D and gallant Pensioners; amongst whom (contrary to his wonted custome) he chose to serue  
that day.

The order of  
Selymus his  
battell.

*Cayerbeus* so soon as he was come neer the enemy, in token of his braue courage gaue a hot  
charge vpon the European horsemen; and by and by, as if hee would haue compassed in that  
wing, wheeled a great way about behind them, where chancing vpon a great company of scul-  
lians, drudges, and other base people that followed the camp, with an infinite number of cam-  
els and cariages, he made there a great stir, with little slaughter, that as a valiant & cunning  
traitor, he might in the self same time satisfie the expectation of his valor and of his treason  
together. In the other wing, the gouernour of Damasco, to enter vpon the open side of the ene-  
my, forbearing to charge him afront, and turning about his tronpes on the left hand, entered  
E ouerthwart their ranks, where the Mamalukes fought with such fury, that hauing made great  
slaughter of the Asian horsemen, they brake in amongst them as if it had bin a raging flood,  
bearing down all before them, vntill they came to the ensignes in the midst of the wing. Nei-  
ther could *Mustapha* the Beglerbeg (who was by birth an Hungarian, and *Selymus* his brother  
in law) neither the Imbrahor Bassa (or master of the house) though they did what they might  
to withstand him, after the first were overthrown, stay the rest, but that they would needs turn  
their backs and fly. So *Sybeus* as a valiant conqueror hauing cut in two pieces the right wing  
of the enemies battell, and thrusting in betwixt the battell of the footmen, and the backs of the  
pensioners, brought a great terror & fear vpon the whole battell. The matter was now brought  
to extrem danger; for *Selymus* by the breaking in of *Sybeus* was almost cut off from his foot-  
F men, in whom he had reposed his greatest confidence. And now the Ianizaries were hardly  
charged by *Gezelles*, who following the fortune of *Sybeus*, had set vpon the head of the ene-  
mies battell. The Asian horsemen also being put to the worse, and cut in pieces, found no  
means how to restore again their disordered battell.

In this extremity *Sinan Bassa* in good time came in with his horsemen: by his coming, for  
that

that he had bin but lightly charged by *Cayerbeius* the Traitor, and had brought with him many fresh troupes of horsemen, the fury of the Mamalukes was repressed, the Turks again encouraged, and the victory shortly after wrung out of the Mamalukes hands; the great artillery being by the commandment of *Selymus* at the same time discharged among them, by the terrible thundering whereof the Mamalukes horses somewhat troubled, could not so well as before be ruled; neither could the men themselves, although they were of wonderful courage, much prevail, being on every side oppressed with the multitude of their enemies. Yet in that distresse being nothing dismayed, although they were by *Cayerbeius* & their good fortune forsaken, they were not to seek either of courage or direction; but setting themselves close together, they brake through the midst of their enemies, with great slaughter of the European horsemen, and hurt of the pensioners, and so with speed fled toward the camp and city. After whom followed *Sinan Bassa* with the readiest and freshest troupes of his horsemen: for *Selymus* (who that day in the extremest heat, for his wonderful pains, courage, and direction, seemed undoubtedly greater than himselfe) riding up and down, called earnestly upon his soldiers to venge the victory, and with all speed to pursue their flying enemies.

*Campson* had now (his destiny so leading him) set forward, of purpose, of purpose to have come to the relief of his men sent before; or if the Turks should be overcome, to be partaker of the victory: when upon the way he understood by them that fled, that *Cayerbeius* was revolted, his army overthrow, and the terror so great, as that the flight of his souldiers was not now possibly to be staied. Beside that, to augment the fear, it was reported, that the multitude of his enemies & force of their artillery was so great, that they were not then to be encountered. With which heavy news the proud old man, who in the perpetuall course of his good fortune had neuer tasted of euill hap, was ready for sorrow and grief of mind to haue sunke downe to the ground. And forthwith his own men, and the enemy pursuing them, comming upon him, who in their headlong course without regard but their own, whomsoever they met, every man making shift for himself, without respect of others harms, he being a corpulent man of great years, and beside the heauines of his armor, troubled also with a rupture, overcome with heat and griefe of mind fainting in that great preise, and so falling down, was without regard troden to death, after he had with great majesty governed the kingdoms of Egypt, Itacia, and Siria, many years. The valiant Tetrarchs of Damasco and Tripolis, whilst others fled for life, either to the camp or to the city of Aleppo, laboring in the hindermost of their flying troupes to represse the force of their pursuing enemies, were both fighting honorably slain. *Selymus* erecting a few tents in the same field wherein the battell was fought, and keeping most part of his army in arms, slept not all that night, but stood fast as a man not yet assured of his victory or good fortune; fearing lest men of so great courage as were the Mamalukes, should in the covert of the night return and set upon him in his camp. For he knew right well, that they were overcome and put to flight rather by the treachery of *Cayerbeius*, and fury of his great ordinance, than by the valor of his soldiers. But *Gazelles* and the other Mamalukes, after they certainly understood of the death of *Campson*, having given their horses a short bait, departed in hast from Aleppo to Damasco. The next day *Selymus* removing with his army, took the rich tents of his enemies, full of all princely store, which he gave to his soldiers for a prey: and marching thence to Aleppo had the city peaceably deliuered vnto him by *Cayerbeius*; where he fauorably took the Citizens into his protection, and the more to win their hearts, granted vnto them greater priuiledges than they had in former time enjoyed.

In this battell were slain not above a thousand Mamalukes, but of their seruants and followers a great number; mo being slain in the flight than in the fight, when as their horses fainting for heat, and dying vnder them for thirst, many of them were inforced to betake themselves to their feet, & so were easily slain of every base horseman. For a great number of goodly horses died there, which being foggy fat, and delicately brought up in cold stables, could not endure the feruency of the heat, and that vnacquainted trauel; for that day all things were burnt with the scorching heat of the sun.

This famous battell was fought, the 17 of August, in the year of our Lord 1516, the very same day (which is strange to tell) whereon but two years before hee had obtained the victory against *Hysmael* the great Sophy in the Chalderean fields. *Selymus* lost in this battell three thousand horsemen: whereby it may easily be gathered, That hee had there receiued a notable

The death of  
Campson.

Aleppo deliuered to Selymus  
by Cayerbeius the traitor.

A ble overthrow of his horsemen, if *Sinan Bassa* in the left wing (who by the treason of *Cayerbeius* escaped with small losse) had also hapned upon his *Sybeius*, as the other General did.

The dead body of *Campson*, found two daies after without any wound appearing thereupon, was by the commandment of *Selymus* laid forth in open place for all men to behold; that (such as beleued him yet to liue, and to be gon to repair his army at Cair, might be out of all hope of his return; and others that were already revolted, might thereby be the more confirmed, as now out of all fear of him. Not long after when the dead body began to putrifie & grow noisome, and to conuince the fame of his escape, had lien open to the view of all men by the space of three days, it was without any funeral pomp or solemnitie simply buried in the most ancient temple of Aleppo. Of the rising and fall of this great man *Ianus Vitalis* hath written this Elegium or Epitaph:

Campson dead  
body layed out  
for all men to  
view.

## CAMPSON GAVRVS, Sultan of Ægypt.



Law: Johnson. sculp. 1601

Paul. Iov. I. g.  
Mog. vitor. II.  
1601.

Fortuna caeca & surda, verè discip.

Et mente una pradis.

Ad altatollis scannam imo conditos,

Et mox cadunt profundum.

272

Moroja

*Azoresa ta mortalium appetentium  
 Potum, omne fulmine cyrus  
 Fugae, deinde te nihil petentibus  
 Benignitate prodigum.  
 Campion ut ille Gaurius, nil ambiens,  
 Nil te proterua flagitans,  
 Inuitus Imperator ora Aegyptia  
 Tumultuosa militum  
 Ex feces plebis factus insolemia,  
 Supra volabat nubila,  
 Inter receptus altiora sidera  
 Mox excidens altissimus,  
 Absumptus armis hinc & hinc rebellibus,  
 Gravis senectae pondere  
 Fit ludus atrox impotentis alee  
 Tuque per uicacia,  
 Amisti & cum vita, opes quas maximo  
 Cum regno habebat maximus.*

## In English thus:

Fortune, wel call'd both deaf and blind,  
 And therto fond withall,  
 Thou setst the beggar vp aloft,  
 To work his greater fall.  
 Thou peeuish dame, more sudden than  
 The thunder clap from hee,  
 Rejects the suits of greedy wights  
 Which to thee call and cry,  
 And lauishly consumes thy self,  
 And whatso els thou hast,  
 On such as craue nothing of thee,  
 Nor with ought to bee grac't.  
 As Campion Gaurus seeking nought,  
 Ne crauing ought of thee,  
 Against his wil, by soldiers rage  
 Was rais'd from base degree,  
 And soaring vp aboue the clouds,  
 Made King of Egypts land,  
 Receiv'd amongst the highest stars,  
 Did there in glory stand.  
 But forthwith falling thence, oppress  
 With rebels, war, and age,  
 Became the scorn of thine orethwart  
 Most fierce and fickle rage.  
 And so with life, together lost  
 A world of wealth also:  
 Which with his stately kingdom great,  
 He greatest did forgo.

*Selymus comes  
 to Damasco.*

Selymus hauing receiued the City of Aleppo into his obeysance, sent *Ioules Bassa* before him with a great part of his light horsemen, to pursue his flying enemies to Damasco, whither he himself in few daies after came also, with the remainder of his Army, when hee vnderstood that his enemies were departed thence & fled to Cair. They of the city of Damasco thinking it not to stand with their good to stay the course of his victory, and with their liues to hazard the

A the great wealth of that rich city; without delay presently opened vnto him the gates at his coming. By whose example other cities alongst the sea coast moued, especially Tripolis, Berytus, Sydon, and Ptolemais, sending their Embassadors; and receiuing in the Turks garri- sons, yeelded themselves in like maner.

Not long after, Selymus held a great councel in his camp, which then lay vnder the walls of Damasco: for he would not bring his soldiers into the city, for troubling the quiet and popu- lous state therof, together with the great trade of merchandise, which at that time was with wonderful security kept there by merchants of diuers countries comming from far, even from the remotest parts of the world. And in the Campe such was the military discipline of that most seuerer commander, that the soldiers (knowing the victory to giue them no whit the more liberty) suffered the fruitfull orchards and gardens of the citifens, in the most plentiful time of Autumn, to rest in safety vntouched, without any keeper. By which seuerer & streit govern- ment he so politickly provided against all wants, that his camp was in all parts furnisht with plenty of all things necessary, and that at prices reasonable. There taking vnto him men skil- full in the laws and customs of the country, and calling before him the embassadors of all the cities of the country, he heard and decided the greatest controuersies of the Syrians, appoint- ed gouernors ouer the prouinces and cities, took view of the tributes and customs, and abro- gated many customs and tributes due vnto the old sultans, which seemed either vnreasonable or grieuous to the people: therby to gain the fame of a iust and bountifull conqueror.

*Notable disci-  
 pline in Sely-  
 mus his army.*

When he had thus set all things in order in Syria, and sufficiently rested and refreshed his army, and especially his horses, which with long and continual trauel were grown meagre and lean; he of nothing more desirous than of the conquest of Egypt, and the vter subuersion of the Sultans state and Mamalukes gouernment, sent before *Sinan Bassa* into Iudea with 50000 horsemen, and a strong regiment of harquebusiers selected out of the Janizaries and other soldi- ers, to try the passage of that country, & to open the way for him to Gaza, which was thought would be to him very troublefome, by reason of the wild Arabians roaming vp and downe the Country. The City of Gaza standeth neere vnto the sea towards Egypt, not farre from the sandy deserts; wherby men with much difficulty and dangerous trauel, passe out of Syria, and so to Cair.

In the meane time the Mamalukes, who vnder the conduct of *Gaxeller* were come to Caire, with all the rest of their order which were thither assembled from all parts of the kingdom; entering into counsel together (as it often falls out in time of danger and distresse) without all contention or enuy choise *Tomombeius* (of the Turks called *Tuman-bay*) a Circassian born, to be their king. He was then the great Diadare, and by his office next in honor and power vnto the Sultan; whose prowess & policy was such, that he only in the opinion of all the Mamalukes was thought able & sufficient to stay & uphold the afflicted and declining state of their king- dom. He by their general consent and good liking promoted to the state of the great Sultan, thinking (as truth was) his own majesty, and the remainder of the Mamalukes hopes, to be re- posed wholly in arms and the fortune of battel; began with great care & singular industry to provide armor, weapons, and horses from all places; he also caused great store of ordnance to be cast, and mustred great companies of such of his slaues as seemed meet for the war: besides that, he entertained for pay many of the Moors and Arabians his neighbors. He also for great reward hired men skilful in the Countries, to go thorow the deserts of the Palmyrens into Mesopotamia, and so to *Hyssmael* the Persian King with letters, earnestly requesting him to in- uade the Turks dominions in Asia the lesse, or with all speed to break into Comagena, being by the departure of the enemy left bare and destitute of sufficient garriisons. And further to aduertise him, That Selymus who then lay in the borders of Iudea, might easily bee inclosed with their two armies, and so be vanquished, or for want of victuals distressed: and the rather, for that there was no fleet of the Turks vpon that coast, able from sea to relieue their Army by land, or yet to transport them thence, in case they should by chance of War bee distressed, and so think to return. In which doing, he should both relieue the Egyptian Sultan his friend and Confederat, for his sake brought into so great danger; and also without any great trouble or peril, notably reuenge himself of so many shamefull injuries as hee had before receiued from that most capitall Enemy. Whilest *Tomombeius* doth these things, *Sinan Bassa* the forerunner of Selymus, hauing easily repulsd diuers companies of the wild Arabians, who in

*Tomombeius  
 by general con-  
 sent of the Ma-  
 malukes chosen  
 Sultan of Egypt*

Gaza yielded  
to Sinan.

maner of theues and robbers lay vpon the passages, had now opened the way, & was come to Gaza, where the citizens, although they were in heart faithful to the Mamalukes, yet for that to shut their gates against the Bassa, and to stand vpon their gard without a sufficient garrison, seemed a matter both perillous and vnreasonable, forthwith yeelded their city vpon reasonable composition, and with the plenty therof relieued the Turks Bassa, giuing him great, but dissembled thanks, that by his meanes and the good fortune of *Selymus*, they were deliuered from the cruel bondage of the Mamalukes, promising for the remembrance of so great a benefit, for euer to remain his faithful seruants, *Sinan* commending their ready good will, required of them al such things as he wanted, or had occasion to vse, which they seemed willing to deliuer, and so lodged his army neer to the wals of the city, within the defence of the gardens, purposing in that place to expect the comming of *Selymus*.

In the mean time (as he was a man of great experience, and most skilful in martial affairs) he sought by all means to get knowledge of that desert and vnpeopled country, not inhabited for lack of water; and especially of the nature of the great sands wherby *Selymus* was with his army to passe. He also won by rewards the inhabitants of the country therabouts, by large offers to procure him the fauor of the chieftains and leaders of the Arabians neere vnto those places, and also to spy what the Mamalukes did at Cair, and wherein they reposed their chief confidence, and forthwith to giue him knowledge therof.

On the other side, the citizens of Gaza in heart enemies vnto the Turks, as daily feeling the grieuances of the present army, aduertised *Tomombeius* of the comming of *Sinan Bassa*, & that that power of the Turks army might easily be oppressed before the comming of *Selymus*, if a strong power of the Mamalukes were sent thither vnder the conduct of skilful leaders: promising, that if the Mamalukes would at an appointed time, vpon a sudden in the night set vpon the sleepey Turks, they would at the same instant fall out of the city vpon the Camp, & there with fire and sword do what harm they could for the ouerthrow of the enemy.

Of this deuice *Tomombeius* and the Mamalukes liked wel, and so without delay sent *Gazelles* with 6000 choise horsmen, and a great number of the Arabians, to perform the exploit vpon *Sinan*. For *Gazelles*, in that his wholom counsel had bin by *Campson* and others rejected (who being straitway desirous of battel, had rashly cast themselves & the whole state into so great calamity) and afterward in the greatest danger of the battel, hauing performed all the parts of a politrique and valiant chieftain, was grown into such credit, that all men held a great opinion on both of his valor and direction.

*Sinan* aduertised of the comming of *Gazelles*, goes secretly to meet him.

But he was scarcely wel set forth, when aduertisement was giuen vnto *Sinan* by his Syrian intelligencers, That the Mamalukes with the Arabians were comming thorow the sandy Deserts, vpon the sudden to oppress him; and that they would be with him before two daies were expired, forasmuch as they had set forward vpon the spur, without any cariages or baggage to let them. Which ouerture in good time giuen, as it was the safegard of *Sinans* army, so was it of greatest importance and moment for the subduing and obtaining of the full conquest of Egypt afterward. But *Sinan Bassa*, although he knew nothing of the trechery of them of Gaza; yet as a man of a proud and subtil wit, suspecting that such a thing might happen, because he would not haue at once to do with a double enemy, resolved to go & meet the Mamalukes vpon the way, and to giue them battel. Wherefore with great silence dislodging his army betwixt ten and twelue a clock in the night, he set forward and marched out of sight of the city about fifteen miles toward Egypt. There was neer vnto that place a little low village wherein traouellers used commonly to lodge, for the commodiousnes of a liuely and plenteous spring which there riseth: there by chance both *Sinan Bassa* had purposed to stay, and *Gazelles* in like maner had also determined to rest a few hours to refresh his army, that he might by night, after he had well refreshed his horses, come vnlooked for vpon his enemies at Gaza. When news was brought to both the Generals almost at one instant, by the fore-runners of both armies. That the enemy was at hand.

*Gazelles* not a little troubled with that vnexpected news, for that he perceiued himself disappointed of his purpose; and vnable to fight with his enemies in plain battel, especially his horses being foreworn with trauell, was inforced vpon the sudden for the safegard of himself & his followers, to resolve vpon a new resolution: yet nothing discouraged, with cheerful countenance and liuely speech exhorted his soldiers to make themselves ready for battel, & that

A that which they could not by policie bring to passe, they should by plain force perform. *Sinan* on the other side hauing somewhat sooner set his men in order of battel than had *Gazelles*, forasmuch as he had before at good leisure taken order what hee would haue don, if it should come to the point of battel; with constant look and long persuaasions full of hope, incouraged his soldiers to fight. But the conclusion of all his speech was, that they should play the men, and not once think of flight, forasmuch as all places about them would be shut vp and become impassable, if they obtained not the victory: and that about all things they should persuaade themselves, that none of them could that day perish, but such as the immortal God had by the ineuitable law of destiny appointed to die: and that with like hazard valiant men found life in the midst of their enemies weapons, that cowards by immutable destiny found death in their safest flight.

B The Bassa had placed his harquebusiers in the wings of his battel, which were ranged of a great length in thin ranks, thereby to vse their pieces at more liberty, and with more ease to inclose the enemy: in the middle were placed the horsmen to receiue the first charge of the Mamalukes. *Gazelles* approaching the enemy, sent before the troupes of the Arabian light horsmen to trouble the wings of his enemies battel, and with a square battell of his Mamalukes charged the middle battel of the Turks. The battel was a great while most terrible, & the victory doubtful: for although the Turks in number far exceeded, yet were they not able to indure the armed and courageous Mamalukes, but were glad to giue ground; and quite disordered by the breaking in of the Mamalukes, as men discouraged, began to looke about them which way they might fly. When by the commandement of *Sinan* the harquebusiers, who with the first volly of their shot had repulsed the Arabians, wheeling about, inclosed all the enemies battel. By which means both men and horse were afar off slain with the multitude of their deadly shot: where true valor helped them not, so on euery side inclosed. For where any troupe of Mamalukes pressed forward vpon the Turks, they quickly retired, and in all places of the battel, as much as they could, thinned to incounter their enemies with their horsmen, laboring only to gaul them with shot. *Gazelles* seeing his horses spent with extreame wearines, and that he was not to expect any further help, his Arabians beginning now to fal from him; and also considering that many of his most valiant soldiers were either slain or wounded, and hauing also himself receiued a great wound in his necke: he with the rest of his Army made way thorow the midst of his enemies, and hauing lost diuers of his ensignes, fled backe again to Cair through the sandy Deserts wherby he came. In this battel was lost the gouernor of Alexandria, and *Orchamus* Gouernour of Cair (both men of great account among the Mamalukes) and besides them a great number of the Arabians, with a thousand or more of the Mamaluke horsmen. Neither got *Sinan* a ioyfull or vncloudy victory, hauing lost about two thousand of his best horsmen, and amongst them certain Commanders men of great account.

The battel betwene *Sinan Bassa* and *Gazelles*.

E The Turks weary of this battel, which had endured from noon til night, and many of their horses fainting vnder them, were not able to pursue their enemies, and therefore incamped in the same place where the battel was fought, neer vnto the fountain. The day following they at leisure gathered the spoile, and cutting off the heads of their enemies, which were easily known by their long and rough beards, fastned them vp vpon the Date trees growing thereby, as wel in wines of their worthy labour, as by that strange and horrible spectacle to feed the eyes of their fierce Emperor (who was shortly after to passe that way) and so to manifest vnto him the victory of that day.

F In the mean time they of Gaza vpon the rising of the Sun, perceiuing the Turks camp left empty, as men not able longer to dissemble their couert trechery; and vainly supposing that *Sinan Bassa* vpon some knowledge of the comming of the Mamalukes, had for feare retired back into places of more safety; suddenly set vpon such as were left in the Camp, which were for most part sick and weak men (yet in number many) whom they most cruelly slew, and presently set vpon 2000 of the Turks horsmen sent from *Selymus* to *Sinan*, which by chance were come thither the same day, enquiring with great carefullnes, what was become of the Bassa and his Army; and spoyling them of their Carriages, put them to flight. Who after that discomforture, supposing the Bassa (whom they had thought to haue found at Gaza, carrying for the comming of *Selymus*) by some mishap or policy of the enemy to haue bene lost, with

all

all his army, and therefore fearfully retrying, were by the way miserably slain by the Arabians: neither had any one of them escaped, if they had not met with *Iuleb* the Gouernor of Achaia at the city of Rama: for he was also sent from *Selymus* to *Sinan Bassa* with a strong company of Grecian horsemen, by whose coming the fury of the Arabians was well repressed. Yet these pillering people still calling forth to the prey more and more of their leaders which dwelt in the mountains adjoining, and being grown to a great army, ouertook the Turkes at a village called *Carasbara*, where they enforced them to fight in a place of great disadvantage. For the Arabians having before taken certaine streits, which closed in the passage at the further end of a large vally, shewed themselves at once before, behind, & on both sides of the Turkes: their weapons were bow and arrows, and long spears armed at both sides, which they nimbly handled after the manner of the Moors. These weapons they most skilfully vsed vpon their swift horses, and both in their charge and retreat wounded their enemies deadly. So the Turkes in number few, and for their horsemen staues inferior to their enemies, durst not offer to charge them; but keeping close together, hardly defended themselves, still making way as they went: and had vndoubtedly been brought into extreame danger to haue been utterly lost, had not *Iuleb* with four pieces of artillery which he brought with him for his defence, driven them that kept the streits, from their high places, and so opening the way, with all speed brought thorough his men. Which streits once passed, and coming into the open fields, he with more safety marched forward, skirmishing afar off with the enemy, with his archers and harquebusers, and discharging his field pieces where he saw the greatest and thickest troupes of those wild people.

On the other part, the Arabians dispersedly hovering about them in troupes, were still in the rail of the army, and such as were wounded or weak, and could not follow the rest, they slew; and fought by all means to hinder their journey, nor suffering them (circumvented with so many dangers) either to refresh themselves, or to take rest. This was vnto the Turkes a most dismal day, for many of them tormented with thirst, and weakened with wounds and extreame labor, gaue vp the ghost: and now no help remained in this desperat estate, being still beset and hardly laid to with a multitude of those fierce and desperat enemies; when suddenly a great number of other Turkes came to them in the mid way vnlooked for, being now in despaire, and even at the last cast. For *Selymus* having left the *Imbrahor Bassa* with a strong army vpon the borders of Persia, for the defence of Syria and Asia, and having sent for new supplies of souldiers to Constantinople, which should with a great fleet be transported into Syria, had now removed from Damasco: and the better to provide for victuals and forrage, which began now to grow scant in that wasted country; every day sent before great troupes and companies of his army, as it were at certain appointed times.

So *Iuleb* deliuered of the present danger, by the coming in of these fresh souldiers, met with *Selymus* the next day, and in order told him all that had happened vnto him and his first troupes, at Gaza and Rama, and all the way after; and also what they supposed by conjectures to haue chanced to *Sinan Bassa* and his army, for the manifold wyles of so dangerous enemies. With which which news *Selymus* became exceeding melancholy, and therupon thought not good to go any further, before he perfectly knew how all stood with *Sinan*; in whose fortune he had reposed all the hope of his good success in that so great an enterprise. But whilst he was in this dump, suddenly came the Syrian spies, who declaring vnto him all that *Sinan Bassa* had done, converted that melancholy passion into no lesse ioy and gladness: for he saw that by that victory Egypt was laid open to him, and his desires as good as half accomplished in les time than euer he expected.

The next day after, he removed with his Army to Rama, and by the way as hee went (to the terror of others) burnt the dwellings, together with the wiues and children of those Arabians who but a little before had done so much harm to his men in their passage. And from thence sending before his footmen to *Sinan Bassa* at Gaza, he himself with his horsemen turned out of the way vpon the left hand to Ierusalem, to visit that most antient and famous City, so much renowned both for the antiquity thereof, and the fame of the religion of the Iews. That vnpeopled and desolat city lay then defaced with the huge ruins of the old sacred and stately buildings; not inhabited by the Iewes, the antient Inhabitants thereof (who for their inexpiable guilt, as men exiled out of the world, haue no Country or resting place) but for most part by a few

*Selymus doubting Sinan Bassa to haue been slain, became much melancholy.*

*News of Sinan's victory comforted Selymus.*

A few poor Christians, who to the great scorn and shame of the Christian name, payd yearely a great tribute to the Sultan of Egypt, for the possession of the sacred Sepulchre: when as the Christian princes flourishing at that time with glory, power, & wealth, could not by any mortuie of immortal glory and fame be incited to reuenge so great an injury; but deeming it (as should seem) better agreeing with their state to spend their time in idle vanities, or mortall war one against another, than in the quarrel of the true Christian religion.

*Selymus* having reuerently worshipped the antient monuments of the old prophets, & done especial sacrifice vnto his great prophet *Mahomet*, gaue vnto the Christian priests keepers of the place (as vnto good and deuout men) mony to maintain them for six months; and staying at Ierusalem but one night, matched in four daies to the rest of his Army at Gaza: where by the way he had continual skirmishes both day and night with the Arabians, who after their wonted manner were desperately at hand in euery place, and where the streitnes of the place enforced the Turkes to extenuate their ranks, there would they be ready to skirmish with them, and suddenly vnlooked for come to handy blows; and when they came into the Vallies, they tumbled down from the mountains great stones vpon them, which they had for that purpose before provided. At which time the Turkes harquebusers, in whom they had greatest confidence, serued them to little purpose: for the weather was so tempestuous and extreame moift with continual rain, that the powder in their flasks became wet and vsueruicable, and hardly could they keep fire in their matches. Yet by the valour of the Ianizaries the matter was so vsed, that neer vnto the person of the emperor no great harm was done by those naked robbers: for climbing vp the hills with pikes in their hands, they droue them from their standings, and enforced them to abandon the streits and high places.

But *Sinan Bassa* (who after the victory returning to Gaza, had put to death the authors of the late revolt, confiscated their goods, and exacted of the people in general a great summe of mony, as the iust punishment of their false treachery) hearing now of the coming of *Selymus*, went to meet him with his victorious souldiers, furnished with the spoils of their enemies. Whom *Selymus* most honorably receiued, and gaue generally to the captains, and particularly to the most valiant of the common souldiers, garments of silk, with a great sum of money in reward of their good seruice.

After that, he staid but four days at Gaza, for that he thought it not good to giue any long time of breathing vnto his discouraged enemies, now twice ouerthrown; or to suffer the new Sultan (not yet well settled in his kingdom) to grow stronger by new preparations and supplies raised in the most populous and plentiful country of Egypt. Which to let, although it required great hast in setting forward, and serued as spurs vnto him, naturally hasting to glory and renown; yet was his army to be refreshed after so long and painful trauel, and great provision to be made for the carriage of water vpon camels all the way through the dry solitary and sandy deserts. For between Gaza and Cairly vast vnpeopled and barren sands, which moued by the wind, rise vp in billows in manner of a wrought sea, so troublefome, that many times it is not possible to see for dust: & the light sands in many places gauled deep with the wind, wonderfully troubleth the weary passengers. But such a sudden calm ensued the great rain which fell but three dayes before, that *Selymus* vnto his great good fortune wanted nothing that hee could wish for the happy conduct of his army: for the air was become so calm, that there was no blast of wind to raise the sand to trouble their sight; and withall, such plenty of water was found almost in euery place, by reason of the abundant rain, which being not yet sunk far into the ground, afforded them water in such plenty, if they digged but two foot deep, that the souldiers commonly thought it needles to carry any bottle of water for fear of thirst. Yet for all that, the wild Arabians failed not in all that passage, on euery side to houer about the Turkes Army (as hawks ouer their prey) and suffered none of them to straggle out of order, or stay behind the rest of the army, but they were presently snatched vp and slain. Against whom *Selymus* provided an easy remedy, by placing his field pieces in diuers parts of his army, which by the direction of the Leaders (as euery man hapned to be neereft the danger) were forthwith discharged vpon the roaming enemy: and in the reward of his army were placed strong companies of harquebusers, for defence of the weak and feeble souldiers, who could but softly follow the army, and therefore were most subiect to danger.

By this means *Selymus* with some small losse receiued from the Arabians, in eight dayes march

1517.

*Sinan Bassa goes to meet Selymus, as hee was coming to Gaza.*

march drew neer to Cair, *Sinan Bassa* going before him, who with his European soldiers still kept one daies journey before. There is a village about 6 miles distant from the city of Caire, called *Matharea*, famous for the plenty of most excellent Balm, with liquor of al others most fragrant and soueraigne, distilled out of low trees there planted; whose outermost rinde the people cut with ivory knives, to giue the liquor passage, which Balm for the notable vertues therof being not elfwhere to be had, mens diseases and wanton desires haue made of a wonderful price. Into that place neer vnto a village called *Rhodania*, had *Tomombeius* conueyed al his new and old prouision of artillery, and had drawn deep ditches ouerthwart al the field and crosse the highway, which he had closely couered ouer with weak hurds and earth, as if it had bin firm ground. And he with his Mamalukes (in number about twelue thousand) and a great multitude of Arabian horsemen, lay in places conuenient, of purpose that when the Turks battels should approach, they should first feel the force of his great Ordnance, before they came within the shot of their arrows, & forthwith vpon great disadvantage with all his forces suddenly to set vpon them disfordred and intrapped. All which things were so cunningly & politically contriued and done, that there was none in the Sultans Army which doubted of the good successe of that day: and a great mischief had vndoubtedly befallen the Turkes, had not fortune which fauored *Selymus*, and frowned vpon *Tomombeius* (or more truly to say, the fatal period of that kingdom so requiring) by the false treachery of a few, frustrated the great indications of the Mamalukes.

There was in the Sultans army, among the soldiers of the court, four Epirot Mamalukes, who grieued to see *Tomombeius* (contrary to their desires) preferred to the kingdom by others of a contrary faction; whether it were vpon a malicious disposition, or vpon hope of reward and better preferment, or for that in so great a declination of their kingdom they thought it good to seek for new friends of more assurance, fled secretly to *Sinan Bassa*, as to a most famous captain, and one of their own nation. For this great commander *Sinan*, *Selymus* his right hand, was born in a poor country village of Epirus, in the mountain of *Ambracia*, whom a strange mischance preferred to that height of credit and wealth: for it is reported, that a fow kept in the house wherein he was born, bit off his genitoirs, being then but a child, as he lay by chance sleeping in the shadow, and being made of greater esteem by that mishap, was by them that took vp delicate minions for the Turkish emperor, brought to Constantinople, and presented to the great Emperor *Adahomet*, *Selymus* his grandfather: where fortune by the fatal direction of his good hap, advanced him to his appointed honors, whom she had long before dismembered. By these fugitiue Mamalukes, *Selymus* and *Sinan* were instructed of all the deuices of the enemy, and especially what stratagems *Tomombeius* had with great cunning and policy deuised: wherinto they must needs fall if they should go directly on, and not forsake the Highway. Wherfore guided by the said fugitiues, they fetcht a great compas on the left hand, and by an vnused way, before it was day, hauing escaped the front of the enemies Campe, with all the dangers prepared for them; they came and shewed themselves at their backs in order of battel, with their great artillery ready bent, because they were desirous without delay to join battel.

*Tomombeius* now too late perceiuing that his plot was discovered by the treason of some of his own people, although he was therewith aboue measure grieued, for that al that he had with so great industry and the labor of so many men brought to passe, was through spiteful fortune made frustrat, and in a moment brought to nought; yet for all that, as he was a man of an inuincible courage, presently entred into his wonted and deep deuices; and calling to him his chief commanders, quickly told them what he would haue don. Now in this short moment of time he was to do many things at once: the signal was to be giuen for the soldiers to mount their horses, and to make themselves ready, the order of his camp was to be changed, his battel to be ordered, his soldiers to be encouraged, and all his great ordnance, as the cause required, quite the contrary way to be turned: all which things, as they could but hardly and troublefomly by one commander be directed, so were they hastily and disorderly at once don by many. But aboue all other things, the great concourse of people for turning and remoouing the great artillery, most troubled the well ordering of the rest; for many of them were huge iron pieces of great weight, made fast in stocks of wood, with rings and iron Claspes, after the old and rude manner of ship Ordnance, which for their exceeding and ponderous weight could

*Tomombeius  
seeks to intrap  
the Turkes.*

*Selymus coming by a way  
vnexpected,  
maketh great  
confusion in  
Tomombeius  
camp.*

A could not be out of their places remoued, but by the strength of many horses, and the great labor of men, with levers and rouls put vnder them; and such as were mounted vpon carriages, when they were drawn thorow all parts of the camp, with the great clamour of the disfordred and hasty people, some drawing, some thrusting forward the same, with their tumultuous stir and doings wonderfully troubled the other soldiers, as they were mounting to horse, & repaire toward their ensignes. But two things maruellously helped these difficulties, the soldiers cheerfulness and constancy, which was such as passeth credit; for they did not vpon any apprehension of fear fail either in hope or courage, as oftentimes it happeneth in sudden accidents, wherein euen the old approued soldiers do many times fail of their wonted valor: & although they were twice overcome in battel, yet still they were of greater spirit and confidence, as men destitute neither of courage nor skill, but only of fortune.

B Wherfore *Tomombeius* hauing with much ado ordered this battell, and his souldiers with great cheerfulness desiring the signal to bee giuen, commanded all the multitude of his Arabians to compas in the wings of the enemies battel behind, & so to skirmish with them: that so (if it were possible) the Turks horsemen might with the danger of the doubtfull fight with such an vncertain enemy, be disfordred before he set forward to charge them with his troups; and withall commanded his great Ordnance (which was now turned vpon the enemy) to bee presently discharged. So did the Turkes likewise, discharging at once from a conuenient distance both their greater and smaller ordnance, and speedily recharging them, brought them within an arrow shot: that for a good space they lay beating the one the other on both sides with their great artillery, only: in which manner of fight the Egyptian cannoniers were almost all slain, and many of their field pieces broken by force of the enemies shot. For *Selymus* had in his camp many excellent and skilful canoniers, whom he had with great entertainment allured out of Italy and Germany, and especially of those refuse Iewes, who by the zeal of king *Ferdinand* being driuen out of Spain, afterwards to the shame of the Christians disperst those rare and deadly deuices through the East. The chief of these canoniers was one *Iacobus à regio Lepida*, a cunning enginier, who but a little before overcome by the Turks rewards, abjuring the Christian religion, reuoluted vnto the Mahometan superstition.

But after that the Mamalukes had brought the matter to battel on both sides, they gaue out a most hideous and dreadful cry, and with exceeding fury assailed the Turks in three places: for *Selymus* still keeping his wonted order, approached his enemies with his battel in form of a half moon. *Mustapha Bassa* had the leading of the Asian horsemen in the right wing; and *Ionnes Bassa* of the Europeans in the left: he himself stood in the main battel with the squadron of his trusty Ianizaries, and great store of artillery. But *Sinan Bassa* the Eunuch, General of the field, led after him a great number of most valiant horsemen, drawn out of euery troupe, to be ready against al the vncertain euents that might happen in the battel, vnto whom he joined 500 harquebusiers, Ianizaries, men of wonderfull courage and aduinitie, selected out of *Selymus* his own squadron, to relieue such part of the Army as should chance to be most prekt by the enemy.

So almost at one time, whilst *Tomombeius* stood in the main battel against *Selymus*, and the wings of the Mamalukes with equall battel incountred the wings of the Turks, and the Arabians also valiantly charging them in the rereward, as they had in charge, foure sharp battels were at once made in diuers places. It is reported by some that were present in that battell, that what for the clamor and cry of soldiers, what for the noise of drums and trumpets, & such like instruments of war, what for the thundring of ordnance, clattering of armor, and rising of the dust, all mens minds were so abashed and confounded, that running headlong as men furious and desperat, when neither their speeches could be heard, their tokens known, their Ensigns seen, or captains vnderstood, mistaking one another in that hurly-burly, they slew many of their friends in stead of their enemies: for neuer battels met together with greater hatred, neither did euer two great kings with lesse care of their persons and safety more resolutely or desperately make shew of their strength & courage: for both of them with like danger both of themselves and of their armies, seeing plainly that they had put both their liues & kingdoms to the hazard of a battel, promised vnto themselves no other hope of safety, but what they should obtain by victory. *Gazelles* desirous both of honor and of reuenge, to requite the European horsemen with like slaughter as he had before receiued from them not far from *Gaza*, with

*Christian canoniers  
serue the  
Turkes against  
the Egyptians.*

*The order of  
Selymus his  
army.  
Sinan Bassa's  
general of the  
field.*

with wonderful fury assailed *Ionus Bassa*, and at the first encounter brake his first ranks, and overthrew certain of his guidons; at which time the Arabians courageously pressing in at their backs, enforced those victorious troupes, which in all battels had hitherto carried away the prize (the very flour of Thracia, Thessaly, Epirus, Macedonia, & Grecia) to fly & shew their backs, which neuer enemy had before that time seen. At which time *Sinan Bassa* carefully attending every accident, came speedily in with his most valiant troupes of fresh men, upon the side of the enemy, and restored again the battel, now declining and foully disordered. But whilst *Sinan*, who in this his last worthy labour had interrupted the manifest victory of *Gazelles*, was with an invincible courage valiantly fighting in the head of his battel, hee was by the coming in of the courageous Captain *Bidon* with his Mamalukes overcharged and slaine. His most valiant followers also laboring to rescue and carry away his dead body, were by *Gazelles* unfolding his troupe (that standing thin, they might at more liberty vse their swords, in which manner of fight the Mamalukes far excelled the Turks) for the most part slaine, and thereto put to flight: and that chosen company of five hundred of the most valiant Ianizaries, now destitute of their horsemen, when they had most courageously done what was possible for men to do, being compassed round with the Mamalukes horsemen, were all in a manner cut in pieces and trodden vnder foot. Thus refresheth this Eunuch *Bassa* in the bed of fame, who liuing had the leading of the most warlike Emperor *Selymus* his greatest armies in his most dangerous wars.

*Mustapha* in the other wing of the Turks battel, coming on courageously with his Asian horsemen, did fore presse the left wing of the Egyptians (whereof *Helymus* the Diadare, and *Gialpal*, two valiant captains, had the leading) who but a little before had receiued great harme by the great ordinance that was discharged out of the midst of *Selymus* his battel onerthwart the field: which *Mustapha* perceiuing, and desirous to blot out the old infamy he had before receiued, did fiercely presse upon them, so disordered, and with his whole troupes overthrew their broken ranks; and glistering in his bright armor, with a loud voice encouraged his Asian souldiers, exhorting them that day with valiant prowesse or honorable death, to recover their ancient honor, of late lost in the fields of Aleppo.

At the same time also *Tomombeius* breaking through the middle battel of the Turks horsemen, was entred into the squadron of the footmen, with his crooked scimitar giuing many a deadly wound, himself being a valiant big man, and of great strength. The Arabians had also in a ring inclosed the vntermost parts of the Turks army, and in many places enforced them to turn their battel upon them, being fore charged with a doubtfull fight both before and behind: when *Selymus* set forward with his battel of footmen, and his squadron of Ianizaries, his last and most assured refuge in that his hard distress: whose invincible force, neither the courageous barbed horses nor their victorious riders were able to abide; for part of them with their harquebuses, and the rest with their pikes, had so strongly set the front of their battel, that nothing was able to stand wherefoeuer that firm battel, linked together as if it had bin but one whole intire body, swaied. Yet was this cruell battel continued with diuers fortune on both sides, from four a clocke vntill the going down of the Sun: neither was there any part of their armies which had not with diuers successe and change of fortune, endured the fury of that battel: for both the victors and the vanquished being enraged with an implacable hatred the one against the other, fought desperately as men prodigal of their liues: the Mamalukes disdain- ing to haue the victory wrung out of their hands by them whom they had in so many places discomfited, and the Turks taking it in no lesse scorn, that they whom but of late they had overcome and vanquished in two great battels, should now the third time make so strong resistance: so that on both sides their fainting hands and bodies, both wearied and weakened with wounds, supported only with anger & obstinacy of mind, seemed yet sufficient to haue maintained that bloody battel till the next day, if the darknes of the night now coming on, had not made an end of that daies slaughter.

*Tomombeius* vndoubtedly vanquished, and fearing to be vnterly overthrown, first caused a retreat to be sounded, that his Mamalukes which were not indeed able to withstand the Ianizaries, might not seem to be put to flight, but rather as men commanded, to retire. Which he thought to concern much both for encouraging his souldiers, and for the keeping of his owne credit and estimation with his subjects. For now the self same fortune which had deceived his

*Sinan Bassa*  
with most of  
his followers  
slain by *Bidon*.

*Mustapha* and  
his Asian souldiers  
carried off  
with the left  
wing of the  
Turkish army.

A his first hopes, seemed to him (as it fareth with them in distresse, still hoping for better) to promise him more prosperous successe, if he were not discouraged: but referring such remainders of his forces as were left, he should againe courageously renew the war.

The battel thus broken off by the approach of the night, the Turks as victors enjoying the tents and great artillery of their enemies, pursued the Mamalukes vntill midnight, who held on their way to *Caire*, in manner as if they had fled. This great battel was fought vpon a Thursday, the 24 day of Ianuary, in the yere 1517. The Diadare was taken in the fight mortally wounded, and with him the valiant captain *Bidon*, having in the battel one of his legs broken in the knee with a shaft of a shot, whereof with his horse was also slaine vnder him. *Selymus* commanded them both the next day to be slaine, either for that their wounds were supposed to be incurable, or els for that it was his pleasure, with the death of those two honorable personages, to appease the angry ghost of *Sinan Bassa*, whose death he wonderfully lamented.

The Turks although they still preuailed, yet was their army greatly impaired even in their prosperous successe, and fortunate battels: the fourth part of their army was consumed with sickness and the sword, and that daies labor had tyred a great number of their horses, beside the long journey they had before endured. For which causes *Selymus* was enforced to slacke somewhat of his accustomed haile: for as yet he had no experience of the disposition of the Egyptians which dwelt at *Caire*, neither could he vnderstand by any certaine report, where *Tomombeius* staid, or vpon what resolution he rested. Which things not thoroughly knowne, he thought it not good, to commit himselfe and his army into that most populous and spacious city: but staying foure daies at the village of *Matharea* and *Rhodania*, carefully provided for his wounded souldiers, and caused the bodies of such as were slaine to be buried, but the dead carcases of his enemies he left to the birds of the aire and beasts of the field. And afterward removing his campe thence, that he might more commodiously water, he came to the plaines betwene old *Caire* and *Bulach*.

In the meane while *Tomombeius*, nothing discouraged with so many mishaps, gathering together the Mamalukes from all places, encamped his army commodiously betwene the new city of *Caire* and the river *Nilus*; he also armed eight thousand *Ethiopian* slaves (which kinde of men he had not before vsed, for the remembrance of their old rebellion): beside that, he opening the old armoury, put arms into the hands of the Mamalukes sons and Moores, (his vassals) into the hands of the Iewes and Arabians also, and courageously prepared for a greater and more mortal war, than before, but forasmuch as there were many difficulties in the managing thereof, hauing almost lost all his great artillery, with many of his most valiant horsemen slaine in the former battels; he in his troubled mind did so cast the doubtfull hopes of his last device, (which cruell necessity wrung from him) that forasmuch as he had by manly force nothing preuailed in open field, he would now altogether vse policy; as he which of late hauing vnturnately made prooue of his strength, his forces yet all whole, thought it not good againe to adventure the fortune of a battel: neither was he in hope if he should so do, to be able with his small power and desperat supplies to protract the war vntill the heat of Summer, as he desired. Wherefore he resolved by night to assaile the Turks campe, and if possibly he

B could, to set it on fire. For which his device he seemed to haue two reasons: whereof the one consisted in the speedy execution, that he might desperately attempt to do some notable exploit in the night, before the enemy should perceiue the weaknesse of his power, which was not great, and scambled vpon the sudden; as also before he himselfe should grow into contempt with the naturall Egyptians, who desiring nothing more, than to cast off the seruile yoke of the Mamaluke gouernment, with wauering minds expected but some fit occasion to rebell: The other was, That by the benefit of the night he might auoid the danger of this great ordinance; which in sudden accidents, and especially in the darknesse of the night, serueth to little or no purpose: in which kind of strength he had before to his great losse learned, that his enemies were too good for him. But these his reasonable policies, when all things were in readinesse to haue put the same in execution, were in like manner as the first, overthrown by the treason of as such as secretly reuolted from him to the enemy.

For *Selymus* vnderstanding the whole plot by certain Mamalukes (which hauing the Kings euill fortune in contempt, as it commonly falleth out with men in misery, dayly forsooke him) commanded his army to be alwaies in readinesse, and making great fires in diuers parts of his campe,

*Selymus* caused the Diadare & the valiant captain *Bidon* to be slaine.

*Tomombeius* is thus disposed of.

campe, kept most carefull and vigilant watch. By which his diligence it came fitly to passe, that the night following, *Tomombeius* approaching his camp, was repulsed, with no small losse of his first troupes which vnadvisedly were gone on too far, and had no doubt that night thereby receiued his last ouerthrow, but that he wisely misdoubting the vnwounded light of the fires shining in all parts of the campe, in time called backe his battling troupes, which were themselves with more haile than good speed marching into the very mouth of the *Turks* great artillery, bent of purpose vpon them.

*Tomombeius* disappointed of his purpose, by persuation of the *Chieftains* retired to *Caire*; for the *Mamalukes* still put to the worst in plaine field, thought it best to proceed in another manner; perswading him, with the whole strength of his army to man all the convenient places of that great city, otherwise exposed to the enemies pleasure, and so to keepe the *Turks* from entering. For they as men brought to this extremity, that they must now fight for their dwellings, liues, wiues, and children; thought it more honourable and better agreeing with their ancient glory, (so to do in their fight, and in the entrance of their houses, than elsewhere further off. Wherefore the *Mamalukes* coming home to *Caire*, furnished all their families and flat roofes of their houses, with all manner of weapons: every one of them now humbly requesting the *Egyptians* their neighbours, to take vp arms against the *Turks* their ancient and mortall enemies, and not to suffer themselves to be cowardly slaue, their goods spoiled, and their wiues and children carried away into most miserable captiuitie; forasmuch as the mercilesse and greedy enemy, if he should once get the victory, would no whit spare them, although they should as neuters stand looking on, and helpe neither party: for victory (as they said) alwaies full of insolent pride, would know no friend but such as with resolute hand did their vttermost deuoir in time of danger for the obtaining thereof.

There were many of the wealthiest of the *Egyptians*, who as they thought the change of the state would be hurtfull to their trades and wealth, so were they ready in all they could to helpe the *Mamalukes* their old lords: so on the other side there were many of the middle sort of the citizens, and a far greater multitude of the basest sort of the vulgar people, who hauing little or nothing to lose, liued in hope now to make a gaine of other mens losses; and withall, remembreing what misery and slavery they had endured about the space of three hundred years, vnder the proud government of the *Mamalukes*, kept themselves close in their houses, expecting the last euent of wars; and secretly reioycing in their hearts, that the time was come (God so appointing) wherein their outrageous and cruell masters should be justly and worthily punished for their oppression and hard dealing; and that which gladdened them the more, was, That the reuenge should be taken by the hazard of other mens liues, with which wished spectacle they well hoped shortly to fill their desired eyes.

*Tomombeius* with much labour and greater care, fortified all the gates and entrances of the city, appointed vnto every street a particular captain, in every publike place encouraged the people, omitting nothing that could possibly be done or deuised; and that which in so great a calamity and danger was of all other things the hardest, with cheerefull countenance and vndaunted courage made shew of greatest hope. The *Mamalukes* also, beside the necessity (which in cases of extremity is of power to encourage and make desperate the faint hearted coward) prouoked with emulation, straued amongst themselves, who should best performe all the duties of worthy captaines and souldiers: for every one of them according to his conceit and deuice, caused great ditches or great timber-logs to be cast ouerthwart the streets; some in couert trenches set vp sharpe stakes, whereupon the enemy falling vnawares might be gaged; other some according to their store, furnished the windows and fronts of their houses in the greatest and most open streets, with harquebusiers: all which things with many more, were done with such celerity, that none of the best and most honourable of the *Mamalukes* refused to handle a spade or a mattocke, or to put his hand to any other base labour; so that nothing could be sooner deuised, but it was forthwith performed.

This great and ancient city of *Caire* was not compassed with any wals, yet were there diuers gates and entrances which led vnto it: whereof one broad strait street came directly from the East gate vnto the castle and middle of the city; the rest were so narrow and crooked, that by them no great artillery could possibly be brought, or souldiers enter without great danger. Into this place especially had *Tomombeius* conueied his chiefeft strength; for that he knew his enemies

The Egyptians  
dun, dyffidled  
toward the  
malukes,

The description  
of the great  
city of *Caire*.

A enemies must of necessity come in that way for the largenesse of the streets; the other part of the city he kept with lesse garrisons. But the innermost part where the castle stood, was kept with a very great and strong garrison of most valiant souldiers: that whithersoever the clamor of the enemy or danger of the battell should call, they might speedily from thence come with reliefe. For why, that city of all other the greatest, could not with so small a power as *Tomombeius* then had, be in every place and entrance sufficiently defended; for within the circuit of *Memphis* (now called *Caire*) are contained three great cities, which joyned one to another with stragling bridges, make one city; whereof the greatest and most populous, is at this day called new *Caire*. It lieth in length six miles, alongst the riuer *Nilus*, from which it is equally distant a mile: the breadth thereof exceedeth not a mile and a quarter. In the midst thereof

B is a castle standing vpon a little rising ground, somewhat higher than the rest of the city; more notable for the beauty and greatnesse thereof, than for the manner of the fortification: for in it were many Princely gardens, a faire street with many large galleries, diuers faire tilt-yards and courts, with stately chambers opening every way: the vtter part thereof was garnished round about with towers, fortresses, and beautifull battlements, from whence all parts of the city, the riuer *Nilus* running by, and the high *Pyramides*, were most pleasantly to be scene. Not far from this Princely pallace, is a lake made by the hand of man, the water wherein deriued from the riuer *Nilus*, is on every side inclosed with most stately buildings; and is a place of wonderfull pleasure, when as a man standing at a window may take both fish & foule, whereof there is in the lake great store. Another lake there is far greater and fairer than this, in form

C of a triangle, in the vttermost part of this new city of *Caire* toward *Bulach*: it is filled at the rising of *Nilus* by a great sluice made of stone with yron floudgates, and being joyned to the great riuer by a broad chanrell, is able to beare small boats and barges, wherein gentlemen for their disport vied to solace themselves both by day and night in courting their mistresses. The houses were all gallantly built afront all about the lake, with porches garnished with open galleries, and paved with smooth marble euen to the brim of the lake: there the citizens in their more prosperous times vied to row vp and downe in boats, and with pleasant musicke to delight the listening cares of the hearers. On the East side of this lake stood a most sumptuous and stately pallace, the late work of queene *Dulibe* wife of the great Sultan *Caybeius*, for manner of the building & inward beauty far exceeding the other proud buildings of this pleasant

D place: for the wals glittered with red marble, and pargetting of diuers colors, yea, all the house was paved with checker and tesseled worke; the windows and gates were made of alabastr, white marble, and much other spotted marble; the posts and wickets of masse yuory, checkered with glittering black ebony, so curiously wrought in winding knots, as might easilier stay than satisfie the eyes of the wondering beholder: neither was the furniture in it inferiour to the magnificence of the building, but such as might fitly answer both a princes state, and a womans quaint desire. All which things shortly after (*Selymus* hauing obtained the victory) carried to *Constantinople*; not sparing the very wals, but plucking them down, so to take out the curious stones whole. Beside the goodly buildings about that lake, in every place of New *Caire* was to be scene the faire houses of the chiefe *Mamalukes*, more commended for their

E commodiouse, than for the manner of their building. The rest of the buildings of the city was but low, replenished with the common sort of base people. There are yet extant in diuers places of the city, three churches of the Christians; whereof one is holden in greater reuerence than the rest, for the same of a low vault in the ground, where it is reported the Virgin *Mary* flying the fury of *Herod*, to haue reposed her selfe with her child *Christ Iesus* the Sauour of the World: another dedicated to the Virgin *Barbara*: and the third to *S. George*, which amongst those nations are of great fame. Vnto the city of New *Caire*, the city of *Bulacha* is joyned almost with continuall buildings. It is of an high and stately building, lying close vnto the riuer *Nilus*, and was in Summer time frequented by the *Mamalukes* and other noble men, that they might at their pleasure from their high places behold the inundation of that famous riuer.

F There land all the ships which come vp the riuer, yet the great meeting of the Merchants is at New *Caire*. On the other side of the riuer ouer against *Bulach*, are many cottages made of hurdles and leaues of Date trees, the dwellings of poore fishermen and watermen. A little about *Bulach* is old *Caire*, which is also joyned vnto the new city with continuall buildings; yet distant from it about two miles and a halfe, and standeth also fast by the riuer *Nilus*.

Over against it in the midst of the river is an Island, notable for the pleasantness of the gardens and banquetting houses therein: in it is an ancient temple, famous for the love of king Pharaoh's daughter, and the danger of Moses (a most ancient history, yet every where there it is fresh in memory.) But most part of the buildings of old Caire, are now grown into gardens and rude ruins. It is supposed by many probable conjectures, that there sometime stood the ancient city of Memphis. Upon the bank of the river, the late Sultan Campsen built a sumptuous tower, overtopping the castle in new Caire, to convey water thither out of Nilus; which being by many wheels and ingenious devices forced into the top thereof, and there received into great cisterns, was from thence by pipes of stone and lead, conveyed into all places of the kings great palace at new Caire. About five miles distant from old Caire on Affricke side, stand the Pyramids, monuments of the barbarous Egyptian kings vanity; whose proud names and titles Time hath worn out of those huge and wonderful buildings, of purpose made for the vain eternising of their fame and endless wealth; so that of them it may now well be said,

*Miramur perisse homines? monumenta fatiscunt:  
Interitus faxis nominibusque venit.*

What wonder we that men do die? the stately tomes do weare:  
The very stones consume to nought, with titles they did beare.

Within them are the sepulchres of the old Egyptian Kings, divided into chappels, garnished with stone of great price curiously wrought. Yet are those places loathsome of smell, and for darkeness thereof, dreadful to behold: for as men go downe to come into them by a narrow way, almost swarmed up with rubbish, their lights are oftentimes put out with the dampe of the earth and swarms of remise flying about their eares. Some having got to the tops of them, report, that the watch tower of Alexandria, and the mouth of the river Nilus where it falleth into the sea, is from thence well to be seene: and that for the great height of them, a man cannot shoot an arrow so high as the midst of the lower tower wheron the spire standeth. Of these outrageous buildings are written many strange and almost incredible things, as that an hundred thousand men should be occupied continually by the space of twenty years, in building of one of them: during which time, the charges for roots, garlike, and onions onely, amounted to 1600 talents of silver. These wonderful Pyramids only excepted, nothing is in the three cities more to be wondered at than the multitude of the people, who in number almost incredible go up and downe every street: but for most part ragged and torne, for that they which held any wealth, durst not make any shew thereof for feare of the Mamalukes. The common people did then generally live with mutton, hens, and rife, whereof the country yeeldeth plenty: neither had they as yet the knowledge of the curious but unwholesome forced dishes, and provocations of gluttony, which other nations had to their great cost and hurt inuented. But againe to our purpose.

When Selymus understood assuredly, that Tomombeius was retired into Caire, and that the Mamalukes having thither assembled all their strength, were resolved there to proue the vertu-  
L  
termost of their fortune: he with his army drew neerer vnto the city, exhorting his soldiers to set downe themselves that day for ever to vanquish and subdue their enemies, whom they had so many times before overthrowne; and now a little to force themselves for the gaining of the rewards due to their former labors and victories: which (as he said) would be so many and so great, as they had not the full thereof before in their immoderate desires imagined. Telling them moreover, that there was but a few good soldiers left with the desolat Sultan, who already wounded and terrified, and not able longer to keep the field, had made choice to end their daies in the fight & arms of their wives and children. Beside that, he made them beleue, that he was voluntarily sent for by the Egyptians, deadly enemies vnto the very name of the Mamalukes, whose utter destruction they earnestly expected: and had therefore promised him for the rooting up of that wicked and cruell kind of men, to assaile them as occasion served out of their houses, and so to further his victory: yet neuertheless he said, that the accomplishment of the whole matter, and to make a full conquest, consisted in the subduing of those weak remainders of the vanquished and scattered army; forasmuch as they were not to be accounted as men quite

A quite overcome, which did yet live in hope, with weapons in their hands, possessed of the chiefe city and seate of their Empire. Wherefore that they should thinke, that in the fortune of that day, rested the good or bad estate and condition of all their liues, honours, and fortunes. Assuring them, that it would be a matter but of small labour and trauell, to bring it to a wished end, if they would in that new kind of fight (as they had alwaies valiantly in other battels vnder his conduct) but resolve with themselves, that they would overcome.

This is speech much inflamed the minds of his souldiers, but the hope of so great a prey much more: so that being in good order and ready, they expected but the signe of the assault. When Selymus entering by the gate called Basuela, did at one instant thrust in his horsemen at diuers places of the great city; but his Lanzaries he brought in by the greatest and largest  
B street. At the first entrance of the City, horsemen encountered with horsemen, and made a bloody fight in the narrow streets and lanes: but the footmen placing their culverins and salcons before, and suddenly discharging them where they saw the thickest troupes of their enemies, cleared the street directly before them. But when they came to the barricado's and trenches, and were by force to remove the timber-logs and other like things lying crosse the streets, and so to passe the trenches, the Mamalukes on the other side valiantly withstanding them; they fought with such force and obstinacy on both parts, that in the memory of man was neuer a more fierce and cruell battell scene. For both the Mamalukes and the Turks in that fight shewed the vttermost of their strength and power: not ignorant, that in that, as in the last, they were to fight not for honour only, but euen for their liues and Empire; when as  
C greatest rewards, or else extreame misery, were by dallying fortune on both sides propounded both to the vanquished and vanquisher. At these barricado's the Turks received great losse, as also at the trenches; for they vnadvisedly running on, the hindermost still bearing forward the foremost, tumbled by heapes one vpon another in the couert trenches, and were there miserably impailed vpon the sharpe stakes, for that purpose before set vp by the Mamalukes. The women also and children, with manly courage threw downe stones and tyles, and such other things from the tops of their houses, and out at their windowes, vpon the Turks: and they on the other side as they could espy them, fetched them off from those high places with their harquebuses, or else violently brake into the houses from whence they were assailed, and there fought with diuers success. But most part of the Egyptians, diligently obseruing the fortune both of the one and of the other (accounting them both for enemies) with diuers affection assailed sometimes the Turks, and sometimes the Mamalukes, seeming still notably to helpe that part whom they saw for the time to haue the better. Many cruell and most terrible encounters were at once made in diuers places of the city: for as they crossed from street to street, sometime the one, and sometime the other hapned vpon new troupes of enemies; and they which as victors pursued their enemies afront, were by others following them at the heeles, slain downe right; so that in the victory no man could assure themselves of safety. The lanes and streets (a most horrible thing to behold) did so flow with the blood of them which lay by heaps slaine, that the dust which at the first rose wonderfull thicke, was quite layd, as with a plentifull shoure of raine: the aire was darkned with the smoke of shot, and showers of arrows:  
E and such was the clamor of the people and soldiers, the clattering of armor, and report of the artillery, that the earth seemed to tremble, and the houses to fall downe.

This dreadfull and doubtfull fight endured two whole daies and nights without intermission: yet so, that the Mamalukes in number few, and not able to endure so long labour and watchings, giuing ground by little and little, and forsaking their first munitions, retired themselves further into the city. The third day, beset with the greatest danger that could be, as to lose themselves with all that they had, (which commonly enforce mens courages in their last attempts) they renewed the battell with such resolution, that they constrained the Turks to retire a great way, and for hast to leaue behind them certaine of their field pieces. With which repulse it is reported, that Selymus despairing of victory, commanded to set fire vpon the  
F houses; moued thereunto with iust displeasure against the Egyptians, for that Ianniss Bassa, now his greatest man of war, had euen before his face receiued a dangerous wound in his head, by a stone cast out at a window.

Now were the houses pittifully burning, and the Egyptians weeping and wailing cried for mercy. The Turks themselves fought but faintly, expecting the sound of the retreat: when

newes was suddenly brought by many at once, that the enemies in the other side of the city, G were by *Mustapha Bassa* enforced to retire, and afterward had betaken themselves to flight, as to their last refuge. For *Mustapha* by the ouerture of the Egyptians and fugitive Mamalukes, was directed to a faire broad street, where the Mamalukes had left their horses ready saddled and bridled; that if the worst should chance, they might thither retire, and taking horse, speed themselves to such places of refuge as they had before thought vpon. All these horses, referred by the Mamalukes as their last refuge, *Mustapha* tooke away, hauing before put to flight the garrison which kept them, which was but weake, consisting for most part of horse-boies, and muletors; as safe enough in such a place of the city as was least to be suspected and feared.

This accident (as it oftentimes falleth out in great and vnexpected mischances) did not a little daunt the courage of the Mamalukes: who now seeing themselves hardly beset, and that H dreadfull battell by no other hope or helpe maintained, but only by courage; being in their own judgements overcome, betooke themselves to flight. Most part of them hasting to the riuer of Nilus with *Tomombeius* (who in that battell had all in vaine proued the vttermost of his prowesse and policy) being transported ouer the riuer in boats, fled into the country of Segesta: others of them hid themselves in the houses of the Egyptians, and in the loathsome corners of the city. A thousand five hundred of the better sort of the Mamalukes fled vnto the greatest Temple of their vain Prophet: where after they had a great while valiantly defended themselves as out of a strong castle, because they would not yeeld themselves but vpon honorable conditions, at last overcome with thirst, wearinesse, and wounds, together with the fury I of the great artillery, they yeilded themselves to the pleasure of the conqueror: part of whom the furious soldiers slew in the porch of the same Temple, and the rest within a few daies after were sent downe the riuer to Alexandria, there to be afterwards murdered.

*Selymus* hauing thus gained the victory, forthwith sent part of his army to quench the fire then raging, and caused proclamation to be made thorow al the city, That all the Mamalukes which would yeeld themselves within twelue houres, should be taken to mercy, but vnto such as yeilded not within the appointed time, should remaine no hope of life. Vnto the Egyptians also that should reueale the hidden Mamalukes, hee proposed rewards: but to such as should conceale them, he threatened to inpaile them vpon stakes, and hauing sold their wiues and children, to burne their houses: vpon which proclamation, many of the Mamalukes before crept into corners, came forth and yeilded themselves, & were forthwith cast into yrons. K All which were shortly after, contrary to his promise, most dishonourably murdered in prison, (because it was giuen out, they fought means to haue escaped. Many of the Egyptians which would not breake the bonds of faith and fidelity with the Mamalukes their old lords, being appeached by their malicious neighbours, most constantly died for their friends, for whose sake they had vowed themselves to death.

With this victory the Turks growing insolent, ranfackt euery place of the city, drew out the Mamalukes that had hid themselves, and slew them, rifled the houses of the Egyptians, as well friends as foes, and left nothing shut vp or in secret. And some there were, which at one time in the same houses ragd with couetousnesse, cruelty, and lust; euery man fitting his owne L humour, whereunto he was by nature or custome inclined: for that in time and place of so great liberty, most men, but especially the common souldier, flattereth himselfe to the full, making conscience of nothing, but measuring all things according to his insolent and disordered appetite. The same day that *Selymus* tooke Caire, *Gazelles* (who but a little before by the conuincement of *Tomombeius*, was gone to Thebais, to assemble the Arabians and to entertaine new supplies) came to Caire, but finding all lost, and seeing no possibility either by force or policy to preuaile, and therefore thinking it not good againe to proue the fortune of war, which had so often with contrary course frustrated the endeouours both of himselfe and his partakers; he came to *Selymus*, vpon his faith before giuen for the safety of himselfe and his followers (which were three Arabian captains, and a number of good horsemen) and being admitted to his presence, in the midst of his greatest captaines boldly spake vnto him as fol- M loweth:

If fortune, whom by thy great valour thou hast wont to be thy friend, had not enuied our felicity, thou shouldst not haue (most noble *Selymus*, at this time, after that all things haue giuen place vnto thy valour)

A valour) matter whereby thou mightest excell others in worthinesse of mind also. Whilste we were in arms against thee for our lines and kingdome, our wealth and state yet standing whole, we alwaies as men proudly presuming vpon their owne vaine strength, made little account of thee or the name of the Turks; yea, to say the truth, we hated thee as became enemies: But now that we haue to the vttermost of our power made proofe of thy force, and haue in all battels beene put to the worse; admiring both thy wonderfull and diuine prowesse, and most prosperous victories (not giuen thee without the prouidence of the immortal God) we humbly come vnto thee, by thy goodnesse to better our hard and aduerser fortune: that thou by sparing and pardoning thy vanquished and yeelding enemies (by which only vertue men come nearest vnto the gods) maiest extend thy name and fame about the bounds of the rest of thine immortal glory. We haue faithfully serued *Tomombeius*, so long as he held the strength and majesty, yea, but the name of a King, or liued in any countenance: but seeing he is (his destiny so requiring) driven out of his country, and wandreth the deserts, with vncertaine report whether he liue or not; we come vnto thee, rather as men of him forsaken, than such as haue forsaken their Prince; ready to shew vnto thee our loyalty and valour in our better condition and state: if we may by thy goodnesse, changing our hard fortune, liue and serue vnder thy worthy conduct.

*Selymus*, for that he right well knew *Gazelles* both for his vertue and valor, wherewith valiant men win credit euen with their greatest enemies, and also desiring to ioine in league & friendship with the Arabians (or rather Alarbes) whom he knew of all others to be most to be feared, receiued them all courteously: appointing vnto euery one of them an honourable pension, and perswading them to forget their old estate, willed them to looke for far greater things of his bounty. Not long after, when as the Moores and wilde Arabians, with certaine Mamalukes that were fled to the city of Achasia, made incursions into the country about Caire, and oftentimes did cut off the Turks which went any thing far from the city to seeke abroad for forrage, he sent *Gazelles* with part of his army to repress them: who hauing quickly won and sackt Achasia, and slaine most part of those aduenturers, to his owne great praise, and the wonderfull contentation of *Selymus*, honourably returned in lesse time than was expected.

In the meane time, *Tomombeius* in the country of Segesta (which is on the other side of Nilus towards Cyrenaica) miserably beset with so many mischieses, began to make head againe. There were come vnto him a strong company of Mamalukes from Alexandria, which he had D by letters sent for out of the garrison of that city, and many others had followed him in his flight from Caire. And there were not wanting many great men amongst the Arabians and Moores (the inhabitants of that country) which promised him their help and furtherance. Beside that, many of the Egyptians whose houses and families were become a prey and booty vnto the insolent Turks, promised him, That if he would by night come to Caire, they would raise such a tumult in the city, as should easily worke the confusion of the Turks; forasmuch as they all hauing endured most horrible indignities and villanies, could no longer abide those most insolent men to rage and reigne ouer them. They sent him word also, that the Turks huge army was now brought to a contemptible number, most part of them being slaine in the battell at Caire: and the rest being for the greatest part brought to extreame weakenesse with E wounds and sicknesse. For which causes as *Tomombeius* his forces increased daily, so hope also, which neuer faileth the poore vanquished and distressed king, began now also to reuiue in his inuincible heart, about the condition of his miserable estate. So that fawning fortune, which euen then most cruelly and despitfully went about vtterly to supplant him (of all other distressed Princes most miserable) seemed but then first to change her frowning countenance, and to promise vnto him most happy and prosperous successe.

Whilste *Tomombeius* was making this preparation, one *Albuchomar*, an Egyptian, for authority and wealth the greatest man by far in all the country of Segesta, whether it were to auert the misery of the present war out of his country; or else by the pleasure of his reuolt to gaine the good liking of *Selymus*, vpon whom all things seemed to fawne, came and certified him both F of *Tomombeius* his strength, and of the new practises of the citizens of Caire. Wherevpon *Selymus* caused strong watch and ward to be kept in all places of that great city: and such citizens as he suspected to fauour *Tomombeius*, he shut vp in the castle; which being before abandoned by *Tomombeius*, was then together with the city in his possession: and placed all alongst the Riuer, boates furnished with men and artillery, to keepe and defend the farther banke of

*Albuchomar* discouereth to *Selymus* the power of *Tomombeius*, and the treachery of them of Caire.

of Nilus, and to impeach *Tomombeius* his passage ouer. Yet considering with himselfe, with G how great danger he had for many times fought with those desperate enemies, and what a difficulty it would be to intercept *Tomombeius*, (protracting the war in those vast and vnknown countries, and still preparing greater forces, without whom he could nothing assure himselfe of all his former victories) to proue if he might be won by clemency and bounty, he resolved to send Embassadors vnto him, to persuaide him to lay downe armes, and after so many overthrowes, at last to acknowledge the fortune of the victor: and withall to promise him vpon the faith of a Prince, That if he would come in and submit himselfe, he should of the courtesie and bounty of the conquerour, vpon conditions reasonable repossesse that his late kingdome, which he should neuer be able by force to regaine. But if he would needs desperately proceed to make head againe, forgetting his offered grace, together with his owne disability, he should H afterward when the matter was againe tried by battell, by his owne just desert neuer more find at the hands of his angry enemy, any regard of his princely state or dignity.

The cause mo-  
u'd Selymus to  
send Embassad-  
ors to Tomom-  
beius.

For *Selymus* seeing himselfe by the course of his victories drawne into a far country, and not without cause fearing with so small power as he had left, to be oppress'd in that so great and populous a city, euen with the very multitude, men of doubtfull faith; thought it better by some honorable composition to assure himselfe of some great part of that he had won, than by going on, to thrust himselfe with his army into new dangers, with the hazard of all. Besides that, he was certainly aduertised, That the Mamalukes before fled into diuers countries, were in every place leuying new supplies of horsemen: and that the fleet which gone into the Arabian gulf against the Portugals, was daily expected at the port Suezia, wherein were three I thousand Mamalukes, vnder the leading of *Amyras* and *Ray Salomon*, two expert captains, with great store of good brasse ordnance: by which good helps *Tomombeius* stood in faire possibility to recouer his former losses, and to returne againe to Caire, whither he was by his secret friends most earnestly inuited. But aboue all things, the care he had of the Persians most induc'd him to thinke of peace: for feare that if the Bassa whom he had left at the mountaine Taurus, should not be able to withstand the forces of the Persian King, he should so be excluded out of Asia the lesser, and Syria also, before his fleet could from Constantinople arriue with new supply of men and victuall at Alexandria.

Selymus sent  
Embassadours  
to Tomom-  
beius.

Wherefore he sent certaine of the most reuerend of his Turkish Religious, and with them some of the most honourable Egyptians, Embassadors to *Tomombeius*: who passing ouer N. Nilus, into the country Segesta, were without further hearing, with more than barbarous cruelty flaine by certaine Mamalukes which chanced vpon them: thinking thereby to gratifie *Tomom- beius*, as yet not knowing of any such matter, and to manifest their affection towards him, as also that they were not desirous of any peace with the Turks.

This proud and insolent fact vtterly brake *Selymus* his patience, and shortly after made an end of that mortal war, together with the honour of the Mamalukes. For he being a man of an hot and cruell nature, euen when he was nothing at all moued, could by no meanes brooke that his enemies, so often vanquished and put to flight, should so lightly reject his offers vnto them as the case stood, both honorable and profitable; and that worse was, violate his Embassadors against the law of Nations, most religiously kept euen amongst the most barbarous and savage people. Wherefore prouoked by so great an injury, he carefully provided for all things necessary for his expedition into Segesta against *Tomombeius*. And because it stood not with his honour (as he tooke it) nor with the good of his present seruice, to passe the riuer by boats, he gathering together all the small vessels and lighters he could possibly, made thereof a large and strong bridge ouer Nilus.

*Tomombeius* vnderstanding by his espials, and from his friends at Caire, of the preparations of *Selymus*, and of the bridge he had made, fearing also the reuolt of the country people, whom he probably suspected to be alienated from him, by the reuolt of *Albuchomar*, a man of so great power and authority amongst them; determined once againe to proue the fortune of battell, which had so often deceiued his expectation. For he justly measuring of his own strength, and finding himselfe in all things inferior to his mighty enemy, well saw that he was neither able to protract the war, neither in open field to abide his comming with all his forces; and to fly further into the deserts, was as he deemed it, nothing else but to make shipwreck of that small remainder that was left of his honour and credit. Wherefore by the aduice of his best captains (which

A (which was the last indeuor both of himselfe and of the Mamalukes) he departed betime out of the prouince of Segesta with foure thousand Mamalukes, and twice as many Moores and Arabians, and trauelled day and night without intermission to come to the riuer Nilus. By that desperate attempt to deceiue the Turks, suspecting no such thing from their vanquished and weake enemy: as also by celerity to preuent the fame of his comming, hoping so by his sudden and vnexpected approach to ouerthrow that part of the Turks army which should first passe the riuer, before they could possibly be relieued from the other side. Neither was he deceiued in the computation of the time, which he hauing before exactly cast, with the manner of his trauell, fell out so fitly, that he came to the place he desired, euen at such time as the Asian horsemen were come ouer the bridge, as he had before guessed. The harbengers and pages B of *Selymus* his chamber, which were gone something further than the rest, to make choice of the most commodious place for the erecting of the Emperors pavillion; by the rising of the dust, first perceiued the comming of the enemy: and *Mustapha* the great Bassa aduertised thereof, suddenly raised an alarm: which so vnexpected a matter brought a great feare both on them which were already past ouer, and also on them that were on the further side of the riuer.

Tomombeius  
discomfited  
the Turks  
passing  
the bridge  
made ouer  
Nilus.

*Tomombeius* presently assailing his enemies, as yet but putting themselves in order, and repairing to their ensignes, at the first onset slew such as made resistance, and the rest he discomfited & put to flight. Neither was *Mustapha* the great commander (although he did what possibly he could, by his owne example to haue encouraged them) able either by his owne inuincible courage or other persuation, after his first ranks were ouerthrowne, to repaire his disordered battell, or stay the flight of his men: for in that so hot and sudden a skirmish all was full of tumult, slaughter, doubtfulness, and feare; and all alongst the banke of the riuer, both aboue and beneath the bridge, were to be seen fearfull companies of the Turks, ruthfully looking vpon the riuer, and crying vnto their fellowes on the other side for helpe. Many forced by the furious enemy, tooke the riuer and there perished: others struiuing at the end of the bridge, to returne that way, and ouerborne by their fellowes or others continually sent from the further side, or else amased with feare, fell into the riuer, and were there drowned: the bridge was so broad, that foure horsemen abreast might easily passe ouer at once, and so great numbers of them in short space be conueied ouer. But when the great ordnance (the Turks chief strength) was also to be transported, fewer troups of horsemen were sent ouer, than either the greatnesse D of the present danger, or suddenesse of the chance required. Neither did their great artillery as then stand them in any stead, for that it could neither be so speedily conueied ouer, nor without great hurt be discharged from the hither banke to the further, by reason of their own men standing betweene them and the enemy.

In the meane time *Selymus*, who in the beginning of the skirmish came downe to the riuers side, filled a great number of boats, and other small vessels with his Janizaries with their harquebuses, and withall hastened his horsemen ouer the bridge to relieue their fellowes distressed on the further side: in which boats the nimble watermen vsed such diligence in landing of some, and presently in fetching ouer of others, that in short time they had transported diuers bands of those most ready and valiant soldiers: whose comming wonderfully comforted the E Asian soldiers, euen now at the last cast, and ready to haue giuen ouer. *Canoglis* also, the Tartar kings son, and *Selymus* his brother in law, encouraging his horsemen to take the riuer, with losse of some few of his men recouered the further side, to the great admiration of the beholders: which in that nation was not so much to be maruelled at, as they which by troups with their horses had oftentimes swam ouer the great riuers Taurus and Volga, no lesse dangerous than was the riuer Nilus.

*Tomombeius* at the same time, for that he saw speedy victory to consist in one thing especially, ferring his troups together, strained himselfe with might and maine, to haue gained the head of the bridge, that by plucking away some few of the first boats, he might shut in his enemies already come ouer; and by cutting the cables wherby the boats were fastened to the F banke, all the bridge with the Turks vpon it, might be borne away with the force and violence of that great riuer: whereupon rose a most cruell and deadly fight, for the resolute Mamalukes in the front of the battell fought valiantly: and *Mustapha* well considering the danger, had drawn to that place both his ensignes & his best soldiers: so that there was fought such a fight, as a matter of so great consequence required: the Mamalukes plainly seeing, that if they could obtaine

obtaine the place, they should shortly after with little ado, ouerthrow all the former victories of their enemies. And the Turks no lesse ignorant, that except they kept the bridge whole, they were all but lost men that were already come ouer; and that the rest of the army together with their Emperor so far from home, and in the midst of his enemies, must of necessity shortly after run the same fortune. But *Mustapha* well relieved by the Ianizaries and the European horsemen, which were now come ouer in great number, not onely receiued his enemies charge, but pressing vpon them, gained ground, and by little and little inforced them to retire. This is that *Mustapha* the Hungarian, and *Bajazet* his son in law, which for his owne glory and perpetual fame, built that notable, stately, and sumptuous stone bridge (of the spoiles of this victory) ouer the riuer *Stremon*, which at this day men passing ouer into *Thracia*, wonder at, as at a worke befitting the greatnesse of the Roman Empire.

*Tomombeius*, to giue a time of breathing to his Mamalukes, who, their horses for wearines now fainting vnder them, were not able longer to shew their wonted courage; and desirous by them again to proue the vttermost fortune of the battell, exhorted the Moores & Arabians, a while to charge the enemy, which thing they after the manner of their fight valiantly performed; and shortly after, the Mamalukes hauing a little breathed themselves & their horses, came in afresh and renewed the battell; with such fury that *Selymus* doubting the victory (although he was by his most faithfull counsellors perswaded to the contrary) yet doubted not to aduenture the bridge, and in person himselfe to go and relieue his distressed soldiers; who by his comming in, encouraged, and in the sight of their Emperor desiring euery man for his part by some notable seruice to deserue both credit and preferment, repressed the fury of the enemy; who in short time after, by the comming on of certain fresh companies of Ianizaries, were notably repulled, and so at length put to flight: whom the horsemen which were not in the battell, pursued all the fields ouer. At length also the Tartarians (who carried away with the force of the stream, were somewhat long before they could recover the farther bank and come to their enemies) were now come in also, and with their swift horses following the chase, augmented the slaughter. But *Selymus* about all things desirous of *Tomombeius*, presently commanded *Mustapha* the great Bassa, *Gazelles*, and *Cayerheims*, with certaine fresh troupes of light horsemen to pursue him at the heeles, and if it were possible not to suffer him to escape: for so long as he liued, he could not assure himselfe of any thing he had yet gotten. These vigilant captains not vnmindfull of their charge, followed fast after him, ouertooke him the next day at the sluice of a great deepe fen, where he had a little rested himselfe and his followers, being then about to cut off a wooden bridge, so to haue hindered the enemies pursuit. Some of his followers being there slaine, and some taken, he was againe inforced to fly. The third day when he had almost lost all his men, and was come with some few into the territory of the Secussan Prince, these great capitaines still eagerly pursuing him, and denouncing vnto the poore country people which dwelt in villages thereabout, all extremities and tortures, if they did not with most diligent watch and ward so keep the passages of those marishes, as that he should not possibly escape; he was so beset on euery side, that for safegard of his life he was glad to hide himselfe all alone in a foule deepe marish: where shortly after he the poore Sultan was by the diligent search of the country peasants found out, hidden among the flags & bulrushes, standing in the water vp to the shoulders, who deliuered him miserably bound vnto the Turks. Shortly after, he with certaine captains and other of his chiefe friends taken in that flight, was brought to *Caire*. *Selymus* before resolved to put him to death, and the rather for the injury done to his Embassadors, would not suffer him to come into his presence, but commanded him to be tortured, so to haue caused him to haue reuealed the great treasures of *Campson* his predecessour, which were thought to haue bin by him hidden: in which most horrible and exquisite torments it is reported, that he with great constancy & sterne countenance vntoed nothing but certain deep sighes and grones, ouercomming with patience the tyranny of the proud conqueror: who after that, commanded him in base and ragged apparell, with his hands bound behind him, as a theefe or murderer condemned to die, to be set vpon a foule leane cammell, & so to be carried in derision through all the publike & notable places of the city; that the Egyptians might see him, whom they but a little before had adored for their king, by chance of fortune cast into extremity, by most shameful death to end both his life & empire together: when they had thus despightfully led him as it were in triumph, & brought him to the chiefe gate of the city

THE MAMALUKES  
GIVE A  
PUSH TO THE  
ENEMY.

THE MAMALUKES  
GIVE A  
PUSH TO THE  
ENEMY.

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GIVE A  
PUSH TO THE  
ENEMY.

THE MAMALUKES  
GIVE A  
PUSH TO THE  
ENEMY.

A city called *Bafueta*, they there openly strangled him with a rope: and that he might be the better seene, and become more contemptible to all that passed that way, they hanged him vp by the necke vpon an yron hooke in an arch of the same gate, and so left him to the Worlds wonder. *Palaerim* propounding him as a mirror both of the better and worse fortune, for all men to looke vpon, aptly describeth both his happinesse and misery in these few verses following:

## TO MOMBEBUS, THE LAST Sultan of Egypt.



Paulus Iovius  
lib. 4. Elog. vi.  
reum Illustr.

Non fuit in toto, Rex aquè Oriente beatus:  
Nec magis in toto Rex Oriente miser,  
Quam dolor Egypti, olim Tomombeius, auro  
Ingenti, atque armis, & ditissime potens.  
Captus ab hoste fero, miserum simul atque beatum,  
Exemplo potius est, communis fuisse suo.  
Quid vides temere? quid fies? vis te cohibere?  
Et natum posthac te meminisse hominum?  
At trabeam induto, gemmis auroque corona  
Cingebat, fulgens & diadema caput.

city called Babels, they there  
 Numbred many of the  
 and by the  
 and by the  
 and by the

In all the East a King more blest was no where to be found,  
 Nor in the East one more accurst liv'd not upon the ground,  
 Than *Tomombeius*, Egypt's grieve, sometime for store of gold,  
 Of power great for martiall forces, and kingdome head of all  
 But taken by his cruell foe, may good example be  
 Both to the happy and distressed, of mans viccinity.  
 Why do'st thou fondly laugh? Why do'st thou vainly crie?  
 Canst thou from henceforth flay thy selfe, and thinke thee borne to die?  
 My garments were the royal robes, I wore the crowne of gold,  
 With richest stones most richly set, most glorious to behold:  
 My necke adorn'd with richest gems which Kings sometimes weare:  
 But now trust vp in shamefull rope, behold me hanging here.

The Egyptians  
 in doubt of  
 their life, the  
 more the death  
 of *Tomombeius*.

This misery befell *Tomombeius* the 13 of April, in the yeare 1517, upon the Munday in Easter weeke. There were many which shed teares to behold that so cruell and lamentable a spectacle, who by their wofull countenance and pitifull lamentation seemed to detest that foule and unworthy death of their late Sultan; notwithstanding that the Janizaries reproved them therefore, and threatened them with death, who like giddy brain'd fooles (as they termed them) enured to the slavery of the Mamalukes, joyfully and thankfully accepted not of their deliuerance; for the Egyptians were as yet uncertaine of their estate, and therefore as men in suspence (not without cause) stood in doubt what should become of themselves: fearing lest the Turks, a warlike nation, and a terrour to all the Princes of Europe and Asia, nothing more courteous than the Mamalukes, should with no lesse intency rage and tyrannie over them, vnder their warlike and cruell Emperor. Besides that, the wofull sight of *Tomombeius* hanging in the gate, as the unworthy scorne of fortune, wonderfully wounded their hearts: for why, it was yet fresh in remembrance, that he with the good liking of all men, and generall fauour of the nobility, with good fame rose vp all the degrees of honor both in field and court, vnto the height of regall dignity; and therefore grieved the more to see him by inevitable destiny cast downe headlong, so shamefully to end his life and Empire together. A notable spectacle vndoubtedly amongst the rarest examples of worldly fragility, both to the happy and vnforsunate: the one, not to be too proud, or too much to flatter themselves in their greatest blisse; and the other, to learne thereby with patience to indure the heauy and unworthy changes and chances of this wretched and miserable World. And so much the more did *Tomombeius* so hanging moue men to compassion, for that the majesty of his tall and strong body, and reuerend countenance, with his long and hoary beard, well agreed with his imperiall dignity and martiall disposition. The same fortune with *Tomombeius* ran also diuers of the Princes of the Mamalukes, with some others of the common sort also.

*Tomombeius* thus taken out of the way, and all the Mamalukes almost slaine, and no power of the enemy to be heard of in all Egypt to renew the war: *Selymus* diuiding his forces, sent them forth with his capitaines, to take in the countries and prouinces of Egypt lying further off. They of Alexandria after the battell at Caïre hauing thrust out the garrison, and easily surprised the castle of Pharos (which the weake defendants chose rather vpon the hope of present reward to deliuer, than with doubtfull euent to defend) yielded themselves many daies before vnto the Turks. *Damiata* also, called in antient time Pelusium, opened their gates, and submitted themselves to the victors. There was no city betwixt the river of Nilus and the borders of Iudea and Arabia, which yielded not to the obedience of *Selymus*. The Kings also of Affricke bordering vpon Cyrenaica, tributaries or confederats of the Egyptian Sultans, sent their Embassadors with presents to *Selymus*.

There remained none now but the wild Arabians (a people neuer to be tamed) and especially they of Affricke, who hauing lost many of their friends and kinsmen in aiding *Tomombeius*, would

A would not (as it was thought) submit themselves vnto the Turkish obedience. This wandering kind of people, liuing for most part by theft, had filled the countries from Euphrates, where it runneth by the Palmyrens, with all the inner parts of Egypt and Affricke vnto the Atlantick sea, with huge multitudes of men: and being diuided into many companies vnder diuers leaders haue no certain dwelling places, but liue an hard and frugall kind of life in tents & waggon, after the manner of the Tartars: their greatest wealth is a good seruicable horse, with a lance or a bundle of darts: they were alway at discord and variance amongst themselves, by reason whereof they could neuer agree for the expulsiue of the Mamalukes, who otherwise had not bin able to haue stood against them, if they should haue ioined their forces together. So that the late Egyptian Sultans seemed to hold their state and empire among so populous a nation, rather by their discord than their owne strength: wherefore *Selymus* hauing now by fit men, vpon his faith before giuen, allured many of their chieftaines and great commanders to Caïr, honorably both entertained and rewarded them. By whose example others mooued, came also in daily, and hauing receiued their rewards, gaue their Oath of Allegiance to *Selymus*. Others which could by no fair promises or words be won, being cunningly intercepted by other captains, and deliuered to *Selymus*, indured the pains of their vain obduracy and mallice. The other remote Nations toward Ethiopia, as they had in former time rather acknowledged the friendship than the command of the Egyptian Sultans, so now induced with the fame of the victory, easily joined in like amity with the Turks.

*Selymus* cunningly reduces the Arabians to his obedience

About the same time *Selymus* sent certain troups of horsemen to Suezzia, a port of the red sea (of old called Arsinoe) about three days journey from Caïr; in which port *Campson* the great Sultan (a little before the comming of the Turks) had with infinit charge and 4 yeares travel built a strong fleet against the Portugals, who by their conquests in India had taken away all the rich trade of the Indian merchandise into the Gulf of Arabia, to the great hindrance of the Egyptian Kings customs: ouer which fleet (a little before the beginning of the Turkish wars) *Campson* had appointed one *Amyrastes* and *Ray Salomon* Generalls, with a strong power of Mamalukes and great store of ordnance against the Portugals. These valiant Capitains hauing yet don nothing in the seruice they were appointed vnto; as they lay at Gidda, (the port of the famous city of Mecha, wherein is the temple of their great prophet *Mahomet*) vnderstanding of the death of *Campson*, and of the comming of *Selymus* into Egypt, fell at variance betwixt themselves, one of them being willing to continue his obedience towards the new Sultan, and the other no lesse desirous to follow the good fortune of the victor. Whereupon a mutiny arising among the soldiers, *Amyrastes*, who fauored *Tomombeius*, was inforced to fly to Mecha; but shortly after, *Ray Salomon* requisiue to haue him, and threatening all hostility except he were forthwith deliuered, he was apprehended by them of Mecha (fearing to haue Gidda their port spoiled) and so sent back again to the fleet. *Ray Salomon*, that he might be Admirall alone, his associat being taken out of the way, and by some notable fact to insinuate himself into the fauor of the Conqueror, caused *Amyrastes* in the night to be cast aboard, and giuing to the soldiers two months pay, and swearing them to the obedience of *Selymus*, in few days sailing came back again to Arsinoe, where leauing the fleet, he came directly himself to *Selymus* at Caïr, of whom he was graciously receiued. After that, all the Princes that were before tributaries or confederats to the late Sultans of Egypt, euen to the confines of *Dauid* the most mighty King of Ethiopia (whom some call *Presbyter John*) without delay entered into the like subjection or confederation with the Turks.

Egypt with all the prouinces therunto belonging, thus brought into subjection, *Selymus* about the beginning of Iuly sailed down the river of Nilus to Alexandria (*Cortuz Oglis* a famous pyrat of Halicarnassus sitting at the helm of his gally) there to take view of his Fleet, but lately come from Constantinople with new supplies both of men and victuals, sent from *Pyrrhus Bassa* and his son *Selyman*: which after he had well surueyed, and diligently viewed the wals of the city, and of the cattle of Pharos, he returned again to Caïr. In the mean time the Mamalukes in durance at Alexandria, were by his commandement murdered euery mothers son, in the entrance of the prison. At which time also about five hundred families of the noblest & richest of the Egyptians were commanded to remoue from Caïr to Constantinople, and a great number of women and children, of the race of the Mamalukes, were transported thither also in ships hired for that purpose. Into this fleet besides the Kings treasure and riches,

of this Cortuz Oglis see more in the life of *Selyman*.

riches, he conveyed all the priuat and publique ornaments of that most rich and famous city, G with such a couetous and greedy desire of spoil, that the very marble stones, commended either for the excellencie of the workmanship, or beauty of the stone, were violently rent out of the main walls, to his great reproch and infamy. Lying at Cair, he with great pleasure beheld the rising of the riuer Nilus, which had then ouerflowed the Countrey next vnto it; and that with such a desire, that he most curiously inquired of the old Countrey men the measure and nature of the riuer; for by the diuersitie of the rising therof (which they by certain marks and measures wel find out) they prognosticat somtime abundant plenty, sometime extreame dearth, and somtime reasonable store: when as the violent riuer moderately or furiously breaking out, somtime so drownes the greatest part of the countrey, that all the seed season it lieth vnder water; and at another time floweth so sparingly, that in many places it scarce layeth the dust, therby foreshewing an vndoubted dearth. So that the Egyptians then assure themselves of plenty, when as Nilus keeping a mean, pleasantly riseth neither to the highest nor lowest marks of his inundation.

The Traitor  
Cayerbeius  
made gouernor  
of Cair and E.  
gypt.

The Mamaluke kingdom, together with the name of the Mamalukes thus ouerthrowne, and the conquest of Egypt so happily atchieued, Selymus resolved to make his return into Syria; and the rather, for that it was reported, That *Hysmael* the Persian King was comming with his army into Mesopotamia, and so like enough to break into Comagena. Wherefore hauing as he thought good disposed of all things, he left a garrison of his best souldiers at Cair, and appointed *Cayerbeius* that notable traitor his Deputy and great Commander ouer all that great and new gotten kingdom of Egypt, now conuerted into the form of a province, as it remained at this day. Which honorable preferment so vnworthily bestowed, exceedingly both grieved and troubled the great Bassa *Ionus*, before inflamed with the hope and iust desire therof: for now that *Sinan Bassa* was dead, hee puffd vp with the estimation of his own worth and valour, and proud of the wound hee had lately received in the presence of Selymus at the entering of Cair, and to the vtmost of his power suffering no man to grow neer him in credit and estimation, thought himself the only man now left, to whom of all others that especial and honorable charge should in the iudgment of Selymus and of the whole Army of right be committed. Neither wanted he the general good liking of the men of war, for immediately after he was recovered of his wound, when he in the most magnificent house of the *Diadare* at Cair (which he in the victory had rather of himselfe vsurped, than by the gift of Selymus obtained) daily kept princely cheer for all commers (no small means to gain the loue of the common souldiers) and gaue frankly to them all; to some horses, to some beautiful slaues, to some money, plate, jewels, rich garments, fair armor, and such like; he vnto himselfe such fauor and credit, that wherfoeuer he should (as the maner was) go to the castle vnto the Emperour, he was brought thither with a great and goodly train of his fauorites and followers, as a man in all mens iudgements assigned vnto the gouernment of that great and rich kingdom. All which things highly offended the mind of Selymus, who as he was apt to suspect, and cruel where he feared; so did he also in secret enuy great vertues, accompanied with too much honour and power.

*Ionus* enuies  
at *Cayerbeius*  
his preferment.

*Ionus* seeing *Cayerbeius* the Traitor thus vnworthily promoted, overcome with griefe and indignation (who as a man of a proud and haughty mind took it as don to his owne disgrace) yet colouring his inward discontentment by counterfeiting himselfe sicke, for certaine dayes came not abroad: neuertheless still more and more tormented both with the injury (as hee took it) don vnto himselfe, and the vnworthy preferment of the Traitor, hee could not so well contain himselfe, but that in his choler some words fel from him, whereby his discontentment was perceiued. It hapned that *Cayerbeius* comming in cutesie to visit him, and in the heat of the day familiarly calling for drink (which was water and sugar after the maner of the Egyptians) immediately after he had drunke, felt such grievous and vnwoonted gripings and tormentings in his stomack and belly, that many supposed him to haue bin poisoned by the Bassa: yet was he by the power and vertue of a more soveraign and effectuell remedy preferred. Which report, whether it were true or no was vncertain, but certain it is that it did sinke further into the mind of Selymus than any man would haue thought. He had also but a little before been informed, That many of those rich Egyptian Families which hee had before commanded to be remoued to Constantinople, had for great sums of money obtained of *Ionus* (who

A (who had the whole ordering of the matter) that they might quietly and in safety remain still in their own country. Of which his couert dealing great probabilitie was alledged by such as repined at his honor; and secretly accused him, that those princelike and excellent charges and expences, which he was not able possibly to maintain of his ordinary pension, were royally supported with the imbevelled spoil and reuenues of that new gotten kingdom. Which malicious suggestions, as they tended to the lightening of his credit, so also another crime, (whether it were of fraudulent dealing or negligence, or other further respect, is vncertaine) comming in the neck of another, wrought his vtter disgrace and finall confusion: for Selymus after the manner of great princes (who more seuerely to punish the former offences, notably dissembling their present anger, expect but the occasion of some new crime) with vigilant eye waiting vpon his words and deeds, prosecuted him with a mortall and deadly hatred, with full purpose to destroy him.

A few daies before it was certainly reported, that Selymus would againe returne into Syria, the souldiers appointed to be left in garrison at Cair, alledging the great distance of the place, and the greater dangers they were to expect, with the labor by them already endured, requested of the bounty of their most fortunat Emperour, that they might haue their wages augmented. Which thing Selymus (neuer spare handed to his men of war) easily granted; commanding *Ionus* the stately Bassa, that the sum they required might be added to their accustomed wages, and so entered into his accounts for the wars. But he caried headlong with discontent, made neither the treasurers nor pay-masters acquainted with any such matter as Selymus had before commanded: of purpose that the garrison souldiers deceived of their greater wages promised them by their Emperour, might euen at the first begin to hate and condemn *Cayerbeius*, as author of so great an injury, that so the state of Cair, and of that new gotten Kingdom, disquieted by the mutinie of the garrison souldiers, Selymus enforced to change his former purpose, should in stead of that strange gouernor (hated of the Egyptians for his late treason, and not beloued of the garrison souldiers, because he was vnto them a stranger) of necessity send some of his own Bassa's, a Turke, for the better stay and assurance of that wauering and mighty province. But all these things (as commonly wicked purposes haue their foule euents) fel out in fine far otherwise than he had in his troubled mind before conceived. For Selymus being departed out of Egypt, and now on his way almost as far as Ierusalem, the garrison souldiers of Cair, the pay day being now come, and receiuing no more but their old accustomed wages, moued with that euil dealing (as contrary to the Emperours promise, and their generall expectation) began with more fury and rage than euer *Ionus* had before imagined, openly and insolently to insult and threaten the treasurer and pay-masters, and with open mouth to rail vpon *Cayerbeius* their gouernor. With which so insolent and opprobrious speeches he astonished (as one not yet acquainted with the fashions of the Turks garrisons) together with the pay-masters, in best maner they could excused themselves vnto the souldiers, requesting them not to think so hardly of them, who were altogether innocent in the matter, but with patience to vnderstand the truth of the cause; wherein if they should on their part finde any fraudulent or euil dealing, they craued no fauor, either refused any punishment. Thus *Cayerbeius* and the pay-masters seeking by all means to auoid both the suspicion and the present danger, and the mutinous souldiers no lesse hastning to find out by whom they were so abused, and to be therof reuenged, it was at last with much ado agreed, that trusty messengers should forthwith be sent vnto Selymus (who was not yet gon out of Iudaea) to vnderstand of him the truth of the matter.

These speedy messengers hauing with wonderfull celerity dispatched their journey, ouertook Selymus with his Army a little from Larissa in Iudaea: and admitted to his presence, orderly declared vnto him both the complaints of the souldiers, and the carefulnes of *Cayerbeius* and the pay-masters to excuse the matter, together with the danger they were in, with euery other accident whatsoeuer which had hapned since the time of his departure from the City of Cair. Which complaint so inflamed the mind of Selymus with new passions of anger and choler, being already sore alienated with former displeasures, that he without further delay commanded *Ionus Bassa* to be brought before him to answer the matter. Who although he were inwardly stricken with the guilt of his own conscience, and surprised with a deadly feare, which appeared in his colour as pale as ashes, seeing in the angry face and countenance

Selymus commands the wages of his souldiers to be left in garrison at Cair to be augmented.

The answer of  
Jonnes Bassa.

of his Soueraign the most certain tokens of his heavy displeasure: yet as he was a man of great spirit answered boldly, That he had forbidden the soldiers wages to be augmented, contrary to his Majesties command, not upon any euil meaning to haue inuerten that money to his own vse, neither thereby to haue drawn any man of purpose into disgrace, as was by some his malicious enemies suggested; but for great reason, thereby to prouide for his Majesties Coffers, wonderfully emptied with those late wars: beside that, the constant report of new troubles like to arise out of Persia, gaue good occasion for him to spare vnecessary charges. Whereas on the other side, as he said, the garrison souldiers were already enriched with the plentiful spoils of Egypt, and in a most goodly city possessed the houses and lands of the Mamalukes, feeding upon the goods of the Egyptians, and had already receiued both greater pay & more bountifull rewards from him, than euer any souldiers had from any his predecessors the Ottoman Kings: in which case if they were not past all modesty, they might well enough take it in good part, if they were something restrained in their vnreasonable requests. Hee alledged moreover, That great Princes which retain their soldiers in reasonable pay in time of peace and war, ought sometime for warlike discipline to require of them a moderation of their desires, lest whilest they all strue with greedines for their priuat gain, there want money afterwards in the common treasure to maintain a greater and more necessary charge, wars still rising upon wars: seeing no Commander, were he neuer so valiant or fortunat, euer did any great matter in wars, if he wanted coin, the most proper instrument and very sinues of War, answering to his other most heroical parts and sufficiencie. But as he was yet thus speaking, Selymus full of wrath and indignation interrupted him (for if he should haue suffered him in longer discourse to haue recounted his former deserts and worthy seruice don, as wel in the time of his father Bajazet, as of late euen in his own presence, he was like enough to haue had of them who were able to do most with him, intercessors for him) and so without further delay caused him euen there in his own presence to be executed: saying moreover, that others who would arrogantly presume to prescribe vnto their Soueraigns what they had to do, should for euer after by the example of that most insolent seruant be admonished of their duty and condition. It is reported, that the soldiers in despight of Selymus wonderfully lamented the vnworthy death of this so worthy a man. For he, beside his notable and rare valour, so many times to his great honour in sundry battels approued, had by the dexterity of his Grecian wit, comelines of personage, military eloquence, and gallant manner of liuing, so won the loue and fauour of all men, that there was few or none in all the Army which did not acknowledge himselfe some way indebted and beholden to him; and did therefore condemn the Emperors cruelty. They then began to tell, how Mustapha surnamed Caloger, a man of wonderfull credit and authority both with Bajazet and himselfe, was in the heat of his fury slain without hearing. And in like manner of rage, old Chendemus, a man of greatest honor and integrity of life, and of all the chieftains which came out of the great Emperor Mahomets nursery the most skilful, had bin for his graue and wholsome counsel without cause murthred. Neither was then Bastanges his son in law forgotten; neither Cherscogles (the most honourable for the great place he held in court, and the marriage of Bajazets daughter; and the other a man of no lesse marke, being his great Admiral, and bearing himself high upon his infinit wealth, but more upon his wife, one of the daughters of Selymus) both which two noble Gentlemen, about two yeares before had their heads struck off, no man well knowing wherefore; and their dead bodies cast out at the Court gate, to the terror of the beholders, as a miserable spectacle of their own misery & the Emperors cruelty. Yea, the remembrance of his old tyrannie (renued as it were with this late outrage) presented afresh vnto all mens eyes the reuerend old Emperour Bajazet his father, with his two brethren Achomates and Corcutus, by right both called vnto the Empire before himselfe; with many other young princes of the blood, of great hope and expectation, who as all men knew, perished through the vnnaturall and execrable cruelty of this most mercilesse man. So that men generally did both feare him and hate him; forasmuch as he without all fear of God, or regard of worldly shame, accounted no practise wicked, or deuise detestable, that might serue for the better establishing of his kingdom: and had set down in his minde, (long before corrupted with ambition and tiranny) That it was far better, for the assurance of his estate, to be feared of all, than beloued of many: and therefore spared no mans life of whom he had but the least suspicion. Howbeit the severity by him vsed against this so great a man, and

The death of  
the great Bassa  
Jonnes.

A and so gracious with the people, may in some sort be excused, as iustly moued thereunto by the presumptuous & malicious dealing of the proud Bassa vnder hand, contrary to the charge given him by his lord, to the perill of those his great but late conquests both in Ægypt and Syria.

This great Bassa whilst he yet liued and flourished in the court, in nothing so much offended the minds of the people (who generally both loued and honoured him) as by the cruelty by him shewed upon the person of the fair lady Manto his best beloued wife. Who being a Greek born, and adorned with all the good gifts of nature, whereunto her lonely conditions were also answerable, was by Zebalia her first husband (a man of great honor) carried with him into the wars, as his greatest treasure and chief delight. But he slain, and shee by misfortune

B falling into the hands of the Turks her enemies, remained so prisoner with them for a time; vntil that this great Bassa Jonnes shortly after (seeing her among the other Captiues there taken, so far to exceed the rest as doth the Sun the lesser stars) surprised with her incomparable beauty, became of her amorous; and in too curious viewing of the captiue Lady, was by her himselfe taken prisoner. Where finding her outward perfections no lesse graced with inward vertues, and her honorable mind answerable vnto her rare feature, took her vnto his wife, honoring her far aboue all the rest of his wiues and concubins; and she again in all dutiful loyalty seeking to please him, (or a time liued in all worldly felicity and blis, not much inferior to one of the great Sultanesse. But long lasteth not the summer fruit of wanton loue, blasted most time in the blossom, and rotten before it be wel gathered: for in short time the Bassa

C more amorous of her person, than secured in her vertues, and after the manner of sensuall men, still fearing lest that which so much pleased himselfe, gaue no lesse contentment to others also, began to haue her in distrust, although he saw no great cause why, more than his own conceit not grounded upon any her euil demeanor, but upon the excesse of his owne liking. Which mad humor (hardly to be euer purged) still more and more in him increasing, he became so froward and imperious, that nothing she could say or do, could now so please or content him, but that he stil thought some one or other, although he wist not who, to bee therein partakers with him; so fearful was the jealous man of his owne conceits. Yet could he not chuse but loue those perfections, wherat he could not enough wonder, although hee found no contentment therein, tormenting himselfe, and her whom he so dearly loued, with his own passionat distrust. Vntil at length, the fair lady grieved to see her self thus without cause to be suspected, and wearied with the insolent pride of her peeuish husband, together with his imperious commands, determined secretly to depart from him, & so to return again into her own country. Which her purpose she discovered to one of her Eunuchs, to whom she had also deliuered certain letters to be by him conueied to such of her friends, as whose helpe she was to vse in her intended flight: which letters the false eunuch opened, and for the more manifesting of the matter, deliuered them vnto the Bassa his master. Who therewith enraged, and calling her vnto him, forthwith in his fury, with a dagger stabd her to the heart and slew her: so together with the death of his Loue, hauing cured his tormenting jealousies. The liuely counterfeits of these two notable personages thus vnworthily slain, the one by the imperious command of

E his Soueraign, and the other by the cruel hand of her husband, thou maist in the pages following behold, as they are by Boiardinus expressed.

Jonnes Bassa  
Jealous of his  
fair wife Manto.

The faire Lady  
Manto cruelly  
slain by her Jealous husband.



*Rejice Sultani titulos, Nilotica Memphis  
Quos confert : erit hic invidiosus honos.  
Regna Tomombeo, Campson, cum rege reliquit :  
Virtutis Selymus dicit id esse tua.*

Reject the Sultans titles which proud Memphis doth thee show :  
From such great honors oftentimes doth greatest dangers grow.  
That Campson with great Tomombey lost both their state and fame,  
Vnto thy valor *Selymus* doth yet ascribe the same.



*Formam si species, nihil est formosius iste,  
Pectoris et casti gratia rara fuit.  
Sed dum disimuli vixit male juncta marito,  
Infelix misera morte perempta jacet.*

RIC. KNOLLEVS.

If feature braue thou dost respect, thou canst none fairer see,  
Nor in whose chaste and constant brest could greater graces lie.  
But whilst mismatcht, she liv'd to mourn, intral'd to jealous brain,  
Vnhappy she, with cruel hand was by her husband slain.

But leauing this great Bassa with fair *Manto* vnto their rest ; his course thus run, to return again to *Selymus*, who now come into Syria, was by letters from the Himbracor Bassa or Master of his horse (whom he had left vpon the frontiers of his Kingdom, to attend the motions of the Persians) aduertised, That the Persian preparations which had raised such a hot rumor of wars in the beginning of Winter, was grown cold in the heat of summer ; and that hee had seen in all the time of his abode in those quarters, none but certaine stragling Companies, who made shew as if some greater power had beegne comming, which had many times made sudden roads into the Countrey, with whom he had sundry times prosperously encountered :  
and

and it was generally reported by such prisoners as hee had taken, and by his owne espials also. That *Hyfmael* troubled with the Hyrcanians and Tartars, had conuered the greatest part of his forces against those nations: so that winter drawing fast on, and deep snows already fallen upon mount Taurus, he could not though he would that yeare look after Asia the lesse, or Syria. There were that reported, That the Tartars which dwell betwixt the two riuers Tanais and Volga, were by *Selymus* his procurement and money set a work to keep *Hyfmael* busied, by invading the Iberians & Albanians which were vnder his protection: which thing he wrought by means of *Mahomet* his father in law, the Bosphoran King, who being of the same language and nation, by rewards easily induced the needy captains of the Tartars his friends and Confederates, to take up arms against their neighbors.

Many marvelled that *Hyfmael* the Persian king neglected so fair an opportunity, whereby he might (as most men thought) haue thrust *Selymus* quite out of Asia and Siria, whilst he was thus busied in Egypt; yea and easily haue destroyed him, shut up with all his power, especially at such time as the Egyptian Sultans *Campson* and *Tomombeius* made so great resistance. But they which could better judge of the matter, saw that *Hyfmael* was not of so great power and strength abroad as at home: for his army for most part consisted of gentlemen, or such as were by custom bound to serue him in his defensue wars, voluntary men, and such as serued without pay. These, as they were the most valiant horsemen of the East, so did they with singular valor worthily defend the kingdom of Persia, and also as occasion required, make War with their neer neighbors: but if any longer expedition were to be taken in hand, that they could by no means away withall, accounting it a grievous thing to depart from their Wiues; vnto whom they are so addicted, that oftentimes they carry them with them into the wars: and being a wanton & fine kind of people, are not able without wages to draw after them, according to their accustomed manner, so many carriages and horses as might serue both for their necessary and wanton vses. With which difficulty the great King *Vjun Cassanes*, *Hyfmaels* Grandfather by the mother, was much troubled in his wars against *Mahomet* the great. But was now much harder for *Hyfmael* to do, for that he hauing obtained his grandfathers kingdom by the meere good wil of the people, easing them forthwith of their heauy impositions, did alwaies think the loue of his subjects (which is easily gotten by bounty and justice) the surest riches of his kingdom; and that to commaund only ouer the bodies and goods of his people, their hearts altogether alienated and lost by most heauy and grievous exactions, seemed not the part of a gracious and natural prince, but of an outrageous and momentary tyrant. Whereas *Selymus* on the contrary part, who had by force, mischief, and most detestable practises, kept up into his fathers seat, had after the manner of the *Orhoman* kings, reposed his greatest & most assured strength, in a ferule and mercenary kind of men, whom he might for pay, as his owne Creatures at his pleasure draw far from home, and as hee best liked lead them from place to place, and country to country, for the enlarging of his empire, and eternising of his name: and therefore according to the quality of his people, deemed true and ready power to consist only in mony, and the severity of his own command: whereby he had learned with most happy success, in a short time to obscure all the victories of the former *Orhoman* kings, with the greatness of his own.

1518. All the winter following, *Selymus* staid with his army in Syria, spending his time in visiting the ports and cities of that prouince, and setting things in order for the better assurance thereof. But vpon the approach of the spring, when he certainly vnderstood that by the procurement of Pope *Leo* the tenth, the Christian Princes were entered into consultation to make war vpon him, and that supplications with great solemnity were made for that purpose, and honourable Embassadours sent into all prouinces to stir up the greatest kings of Christendome against him; he (leaving *Gazelles* his Lieutenant in Syria) by great iournies returned to Constantinople: from thence as at hand to behold the deuices & motions of the Christian princes his enemies. In the mean time, fearing no alteration to arise in the prouinces of Syria and Egypt, so far as much as he well saw, that *Cayerbeius* and *Gazelles* his Lieutenants, being at M deadlly hatred betwixt themselves, as well for old grudges, as for the late treason of *Cayerbeius* (the greatest cause of the ruine of the Mamalukes Kingdome) would neuer agree together against him, but rather with a certaine emulation strue betwixt themselves with diligence, faithfulness, and moderation, who should deserue best in well gouerning the prouinces by him committed

A committed to their charge; as indeed they did during the short time of his reign.

*Selymus* being arrived at Constantinople, and purposing from thenceforth to turne all his forces vpon the Christians, caused wonderfull preparation to be made for his wars; but especially at sea: whereby it was thought that he would haue either attempted the strong Island of the Rhodes (a great moat in his eye) or els some part of Italy. But whilst he was hatching this mischief, or some other of no lesse importance, and in the mean time delighted himself with visiting the cities of Græcia and Thrace, and solaced himselfe in the pleasant country about Hadrianople, he was suddenly attached with the hand of God, and stricken in the reins of his back with a canker: which melancholy and deuouring malady contemning all cure, did by little and little so eat and corrupt his body, as that he, before so much honoured, became now

B loathsome and odious both to himselfe and others. As he lay thus languishing, his incurable disease still increasing, leaning his head in the lap of *Pyrrhus* the Bassa, whom of all others hee most loued, said, O *Pyrrhus*, I see I must shortly die without remedie. Whereupon the great Bassa tooke occasion to discourse with him of many matters: and amongst others, that it would please him to give order for the well bestowing of the great wealth taken from the Persian merchants in diuers places of his empire: persuading him to bestow the same vpon some notable Hospitall for reliefe of the poore. To whom *Selymus* replied, Wouldst thou *Pyrrhus*, that I should bestow other mens goods, wrongfully taken from them, vpon works of charity and deuotion, for mine owne vaine glory and praise? assuredly I will neuer do it: nay, rather see they be againe restored vnto the right owners. Which C was forthwith done accordingly: to the great shame of many Christians, who minding nothing lesse than restitution, but making *ex rapina holocaustum*, do out of a world of euill gotten goods cull out some small fragments, to build some poore Hospital, or mend some blind way; a poore testimony of their hot charity.

*Selymus* lying thus sicke to death, and rotting about the ground in his tent, as he was vpon the way going to Hadrianople, sent before *Pyrrhus* and *Achmetes*, two of his greatest Bassas, to provide for the solemnising of the great feast, which the Turks call *Bairam* (and as it were their Easter) purposing to come after himselfe at leisure, as his weake body would giue him leaue: and kept with him onely *Ferhates*, the third of his greatest Bassas and priuy Counsellors. But such was the fury of his foule disease, continually attainting him with intollerable D paines, that shortly after the departure of the other two Bassas, he breathed out his cruell ghost, in the month of September, in the yeare 1520: neere vnto the city Chiurlu, in the selfe same place where he had sometime most vnaturally assailed his aged father *Bajazet*, with purpose to haue slaine him, had not the fortune of the old Emperour in a great battell preuailed both against his force and the treason of his owne people. Thus intending the mischief he could not performe, cut off by a lothsome and vntimely death, he to the great ioy of all Christendome ended his dayes, when he had liued six and forty yeares, and thereof reigned eight: which time of his reigne was nothing els but a most horrible and dreadfull time of bloudshed. His dead body was afterwards solemnly by his son *Solyman* buried in a new temple at Constantinople, which he to the imitation of his father and grandfather, had for that purpose E before built. Vpon his tombe is ingrauen in the Greeke, Turkish, and Sclauonian Tongues, this short Epitaph.

*Hic maximus adsum Selymus, qui orbem domui.  
Non bella relinquo sed pergo inquirere,  
Non vllame fortuna potuit enserere:  
Licet ossa jacent, animus quatit.*

In English thus:

Lo here I lie, great *Selymus*, which held the World in feare:  
The World I leaue, but not the wars, which I seeke, though not here:  
No fortunes force, or victors hand, could take from me the spoiles:  
And though my bones lie buried here, my ghost seeks bloody broiles.

He

1519.

*Selymus purposed to invade the Christians, and strike in the reins of his back with a canker.*

1520.

The death of *Selymus*.

The iust judgement of God.

Phl. on Tur. hist. tom. 1. l. 1.

*Selymus before  
his death com-  
mends the edu-  
cation of his son  
Selyman unto  
Pyrrhus Bassa.*

He used commonly to say, That nothing was sweeter than to reign without fear or suspition of his kindred. A little before his death, he commended his son *Selyman* to *Pyrrhus Bassa*, strictly charging him, that after his death he should leave the Persian, and turn his forces altogether vpon the Christians. And the more to insence him to the effusion of bloud, he left him the liuely counterfeite of himselfe hanging at his bed side, with sundry bloody precepts breathing forth his cruel and vnmercifull disposition.



### Tabulæ Epigraphæ.

*Soldanus Selymus Othomanus, Rex Regum, Dominus omnium Dominorum, Princeps omnium Principum, Filius & Nepos Dei. S.S.S.*

*Ad dextram, Versus Græca Lingua adscribit  
in hunc sensum,*

*Tutus ut imperij Princeps sibi sceptrum capeffat,  
Anxia ne dubio corda pavore premat;  
Ne putet esse nefas cognatum haurire cruorem:  
Et nece fraterna, constabilire domum.  
Iura, Fides, Pietas, regni dum nemo superfit,  
Amulu, haud turbent religione animùm.  
Hæc ratio est, quæ sola queat regale tueri:  
Nomen, & expertante finis esse metus.*

*Ad sinistram Lingua Sclavonica,*

*Te semel adversus peccantem, misis haberi  
Næ studios, pœna vindicet utus eris.  
Protinus ense rescindendum, putrescere si quid  
Incipiet, clemens rex male sceptragerit.  
Ad veniam facilis, peccanti porigit ansum  
Quasi sustentans, ad nova damna ruat.*

*Ad Calcem Tabulæ Lingua Turcica,*

*Qui non ipse sua Princeps hastilia dextra,  
Amen in adversum Marte favente jacet.  
Sed refugit sevis caput obiectare periculis  
Dum gravia impavido, praelia corde subis:  
Iste sciat Vanis belli sese artibus uti:  
Et votis nunquam fata favere suis.  
Nulla sibi speret, suscepti commoda belli,  
Hostiles acies quisquis adire timet.*

*The*



### The Inscription of the Table.

*Sultan Selymus Othoman, King of Kings, Lord of Lords,  
Prince of all Princes; the Sonne and Ne-  
phew of God.*

*On the right hand of the Table were written Greek  
Verses to this sence:*

*The Prince that safely seeks to reign, and hold his state in quiet rest,  
Must neuer suffer troubled care to harbor in his princely brest:  
Nor think it sin to spil the bloud of his most neer and dearest kin,  
Not of his brother, so thereby assured safety he may win,  
Law, Faith, Devotion, and such like, to break them all he must not spare;  
Nor conscience make of any thing, to rid him from aspiring care.  
This is the way and only mean that may protect a princes state,  
And set him safe without all fear, whilst none may liqe whom he doth hate.*

*The bloody and  
tyrannical pre-  
cepts left by Se-  
lymus unto his  
son Selyman,  
which he after-  
ward assuredly  
kept, as is to be  
seen in his left  
following.*

*On the left hand of the Table was written in the  
Sclavonian Tongue;*

*Of him that seeks to work thy wo, deserue not to be counted kind;  
But take him for thy mortal foe, and plague him with reuenging mind:  
The rotten lym is cut away, for fear of doing further harm:  
The gentle Prince doth bear small sway, if no abuse can make him warm.  
Forbearance makes men more offend, and to presume of further grace;  
It doth but strength to Rebels lend, to thrust their Soueraign out of place.*

*At the lower end of the same Table was written  
in Turkish Verse;*

*What Prince in person dareth not in open field to meet his foe,  
And there with vnappalled heart his deadly darts himself to throw;  
But hides his head for fear of harm, and shuns the danger of the field,  
When martial minds with courage bold withstand their foes with spear & shield:  
Let him wel know, how that in vain he beareth arms but for a show,  
And that the honor of the field wil neuer such a coward know.  
Ne let him hope to gain the spoil by any wars he takes in hand,  
That feareth with couragious mind his enemies forces to withstand.*

*FINIS.*

Christian Princes of the same time with Sely- mus the first,	Emperours { Maximilian the first,		1494. 25
	of Germany { Charles the fifth,		1509. 39
	Kings {	Of England { Henry the eighth,	1509. 38
		Lewis the twelfth,	1497. 17
		Of France { Francis the first,	1514. 38
		Of Scotland { James the fourth,	1489. 25
		James the fifth,	1513. 22
	Bishops of Rome {	Julius the II,	1503. 9
		Leo the X,	1513. 8



Phil. Ionicer.  
Hist. Turc. l. 1.

*Imperij Solyman patrij moderatur habenas,  
Regnaque Christianum cladibus usque metis.  
Antiquam capit ille Rhodon, Nexumque Parumque  
Tyrrheni infestat Littora curuamaris.  
Pannonios multo populatur milite fines,  
Et cingit muros clara Vienna suos.  
Incluta Sigethi dum mania concutit armis,  
Cogitur, hinc Stygiam nudus adire domum.*

His fathers Empire *Solyman* doth rule with mighty power,  
And Christian kingdomes ceaseth not with slaughter to deuour.  
The antiant Rhodes, with Naxos Isle, and Paros he did take:  
And on the coasts of Italy did wofull hauocke make.  
Faure Hungary with armies great he often did annoy,  
And with a world of men had thought Vienna to destroy.  
But whilest to Sigeth he layd siege, in hope the same to haue,  
Cut off by death in his great pride, went naked to his graue.



## THE LIFE OF SOLYMAN, THE FOVRTH AND MOST MAGNIFI- CENT EMPEROVR OF THE TURKS.



He death of *Selymus* was with all carefulnesse concealed by *Ferhates* the onely Bassa then present, for feare lest the Ianizaries and souldiers of the court getting knowledge thereof, should after their wonted manner in the time of the vacancy of the Empire, spoile the Merchants and strangers in places where they lay in garrison, and especially in the imperiall city: and not so contented, after their accustomed insolency prescribe vnto the greatest Bassaes at their pleasure. For preuenting whereof, *Ferhates* dispatched a trusty messenger with letters in post to *Solyman* the only son of *Selymus*, then lying at Magnesia, certifying him of the death of his father, and that he should deferre well of his peaceable subjects by hastening his comming to Constantinople, whilest all

things were yet in good order, in time to repress with his presence the feared disordered proceedings of his men of war.

- D** *Solyman* hauing to his great content perused the Bassaes letters, as one desirous enough of the empire, yet considering the cruell disposition of his father (who vpon a mere jealous conceit of his aspiring mind, and for certain words by him let fall in dislike of his fathers extream dealing, had practised most vnnaturally to haue taken away him by poison: which danger he escaped only by the carefulnesse of his mother, who misdoubting the worst, caused the poisoned rich shirt sent to him from his father, to be first worne by one of his chamber, whereof he in short time after died) and also that the letters were signed only by *Ferhates*, and the newes not seconded by any of the other Bassaes: fearing some hidden and secret plot of his father tending to his destruction, durst not aduenture to remoue from his charge, but returned the messenger as one to whom he gaue little or no credit. Ten daies thus spent, and the death of *Selymus* nothing as yet suspected; *Ferhates* vnderstanding by his messenger the warinesse of *Solyman*, and that he expected more assured aduertisement, sent presently vnto the other great Bassa's *Pyrrhus* and *Mustapha* at Hadrianople, that they should without delay repaire vnto the court: vnto whom at their comming he declared the death of the Emperour. Which after they had seene to be true, they by another secret and speedy messenger aduertified *Solyman* again therof, confirming these letters with all their hands and seals: whereby *Solyman* now assured of his fathers death, presently put himselfe vpon the way, and by long and painfull journeyes in few days came to Scutarium, called in antient time Chrisopolis, ouer against Constantinople. Where he was met with the Aga or captain of the Ianizaries, and by him transported in a gally ouer that streit passage to Constantinople, where at his landing the Ianizaries by the appointment of their captain were ready to receiue him, knowing as yet nothing of the death of *Selymus*, untill that *Solyman* being now in the midst of them, the captaine with a loud voice said vnto them, Behold your Emperour. Whereupon they all with great acclamation cried out, Long liue the great Emperour *Solyman*: which consent of the men of war, is vnto the Turkish Emperours the greatest assurance of their estate. And so with much triumph he was by them brought

*Solyman hardly  
persuaded that  
his father was  
dead.*

brought into the roiall pallace, and placed in his fathers seat in the yeare 1520: in which yere also Charles the fifth was chosen Emperour of Germany. The Ianizaries disappointed by the Bassaes of the spoile of the Merchants, especially Christians and Iewes, received of the bounty of *Solyman* a great largious; and in the beginning of his reigne had their accustomed wages somewhat augmented also, to their wonderfull contentment.

*Solyman* was about twenty eight yeres old when he began to reigne, and was at the first supposed to haue bin of a milde and peaceable disposition: so that the Princes to whom the name of *Selymus* was before dreadfull, were now in hope that a quiet Lambewas come in place of a raging Lyon. But in short time they found themselves in their expectation far deceived; and especially the Christian Princes bordering vpon him, vnto whom he became a far more dangerous enemy than was his father before him; conuerting his forces most part of his long H reigne vpon them, which *Selymus* had almost altogether imploied against the Kings of Persia, and Egypt, the greatest Princes of the Mahometan superstition.

Gazelles gouernor of Syria rebelling against *Solyman*.

The first that felt his heauy hand was *Gazelles* Gouvernor of Syria: who presently vpon the death of *Selymus*, thinking himselfe now discharged of the oath of obedience which he had giuen to *Selymus*, but not to his successors; and earnestly desiring to restore againe the kingdom of the Mamalukes lately ouerthrowne, gathered together the remainder of the dispersed Mamalukes, which speedily resorted vnto him out of all parts of Asia and Africke: and alluring with rewards the leaders of the wilde Arabians, with great numbers of the countrey people of Syria, discontented with the Turkish gouernment, entred into open rebellion, and by force of armes draue the Turks garrisons out of Byrrha, Tripolis, and diuers other cities I of Syria, taking them into his owne possession. And the better to effect that he had taken in hand, he sent Embassadors to Cairo, vnto *Cayserbeius*, who had of *Selymus* receiued the gouernment of Egypt, the vnworthy reward of his horrible treason; perswading him by many meanes to take reuenge of the injury and wrong before done to the Mamalukes, and by killing of the Turks garrison to make himselfe Sultan of Egypt, and restore againe the kingdom of the Mamalukes, offering him therein the vttermoost of his deuoiure and seruice. But *Cayserbeius* either not trusting *Gazelles* his old enemy, or ashamed by new treason to augment his former dishonor, or els (which was most like) misdoubting his owne strength in performance of so great an enterprise: after he had attentiuely heard what the Embassadors had to say, caused them presently in his own sight to be put to death as traitors, and with all speed certified *Solyman* thereof: who without delay sent *Ferhates* Bassa with a strong army into Syria. Which thing *Gazelles* hearing, and hauing in his power most of the cities of Syria, retired himself with all his army into the strong city of Damasco; whither at length, *Ferhates* the great Bassa by long march came also. *Gazelles* (resolved to try the fortune of the field, and so either by speedy victory or honourable death to end the matter, rather than to suffer himselfe to be shut vp within the walls of the city) vpon the coming of the Bassa, valiantly issued forth with all his power, and gaue him battell; which for the space of six houres was most cruelly fought, and many slaine on both sides. At length *Gazelles* being oppressed with the multitude of his enemies (being eight times more in number) and hardly assailed on either side, was inforced to fight in a ring, and there performing all the parts of a worthy Generall and valiant soldier, honorably died together with his Mamalukes in the midst of his enemies, leauing vnto them a bloody victory. *Gazelles* thus slaine, the city of Damasco with all the countrey of Syria without any more ado yielded againe vnto the Turks obedience, which the Bassa tooke in so good part, that he would not suffer his soldiers to enter into the city, then richly stored with commodities of all sorts, brought thither by Merchants out of diuers parts of the World.

*Gazelles* slaine.

Syria thus pacified, the Bassa went to Caire in Egypt, and there commended *Cayserbeius* for his fidelity, confirmed him in his gouernment, and enuying against the cruelty of *Selymus* (so to please the Egyptians) wished them to hope for all happiness vnder the peaceable gouernment of the new Sultan *Solyman*. And so when he had set all things in order in both the prouinces of Syria and Egypt, returned againe to *Solyman*.

The yeare next following, *Solyman* by the counsell of *Pyrrhus* Bassa his old tutor (a mortall enemy vnto the Christians) and by the persuation of the Ianizaries, resolved to besiege the strong city of Belgrade, otherwise called Taurunum, scitua vpon the borders of Hungary, where the riuer Savus falleth into Danubius. Which city his great grandfather *Mahomet* (lyt-  
named

A named the Great, and before him the warlike *Amurath*) had with all their power, long time before to their great losse and dishonor, vainly attempted. Wherein vntill that time were referred the ensignes, then taken from the Turks, to their no smal grieue, with other trophies of the glorious victories of the worthy captaine *Huniades*, and the great King *Matthias Corvinus* his son. Wherefore *Solyman* sending his army before, was come as far as Sophia, a city in Seruia (the place where the Turks great lieutenant in Europe is alwaies resident) before that the Hungarians were aware of his coming: for they liuing at ease all the time that *Vladislav* reigned, and sleeping securely vnder the young King *Lodouicus* his sonne, a man of no experience; who contenting himselfe with the title of a King, suffered himselfe to be so pilled & poled by his nobility and great clergy men (inuerting all the wealth of the land to their owne priuie B gaine) that he was not able to raise any sufficient power to go against his puissant enemy; especially his nobility, in whose hands rested the wealth of his kingdom, promising him much, but performing indeed nothing. *Huniades* with his hardy souldiers, the scourge and terrour of the Turks, was dead long before; so was also *Matthias* that fortunat warriour: after whom succeeded others giuen to all pleasure and ease; to whose example the people fashioning themselves, forgot their wonted valour, and gaue themselves ouer to sensuality and voluptuous pleasure: so that *Solyman* without let, presented his army before the city of Belgrade, and with battery and vndermining in short time became Lord thereof, hauing lost few of his people in that siege. How much the losse of that strong city concerned the Christian common-wealth, the manifold and lamentable miseries which afterwards ensued by the opening of that gap, C not vnto the kingdom of Hungary onely, but to all that side of Christendome, did, and yet doth, most manifestly declare. It was won by the Turks the nine and twentieth day of August, in the yeare 1521.

Belgrade won by *Solyman*.

After the taking of the strong city of Belgrade, *Solyman* returning to Constantinople, brake vp his army and there lay still almost all the yeare following. During which time he caused great preparation to be made at Calipolis and other his ports, for rigging vp of a great fleet: which caused the Italians, Vanetians, and them of the Rhodes, to looke about them, as men carefull of their estates, fearing that those forces would ere long be imploied against some or all of them.

1522

About the same time *Philippus Villerius* a man of great wifedome and courage, then following the French court, was in his absence by the knights of the Rhodes chosen Great Master of that honourable company: who embarking himselfe at Marcelles, after a long and dangerous journey (being not without the knowledge of *Solyman* hardly laied for at sea by *Cortug Ogli*, a famous pyrat of the Turks, whose two brethren the Knights of the Rhodes had but a little before surprised and slaine, and then held the third in prison) arriued in safety at the Rhodes, where he was with great joy and triumph receiued.

*Philippus Villerius* chosen Great Master of the Rhodes.

The great Bassa, by whose graue aduice *Solyman* was contented in all his weighty affairs to be directed, consulted with the other Bassaes, of diuers great exploits, which was first to be taken in hand, for the honour of their Emperour and enlarging of his Empire, were of diuers opinions concerning the besieging of the Rhodes. *Pyrrhus* the Bassa of greatest account, dissuaded the taking in hand of that action, as too full of difficulty and danger: producing for proofe thereof the example of the great Emperour *Mahomet*, *Solyman*s great grandfather; by whom it was vnfortunatly attempted, and in fine shamefully abandoned. But *Mustapha* next in place and reputation to *Pyrrhus*, extolling the power and fortune of *Solyman*, said, That the greatnesse of their Emperour was not to be concluded within the attempts of his predecessor; as well appeared by the late taking of Belgrade; from whence first *Amurath*, and after him, *Mahomet*, two of the most warlike Princes of the Turks, had with great dishonour been repul- sed: and should no doubt with like good fortune preuaile against the Rhodes also, being able (if need were) to bring more men before it than were stones in the wals thereof. Which he so confidently affirmed, with extenuating the power of the Rhodians, that he seemed to make F no doubt of the good successe of that war: presumptuously affirming, that vpon the first landing of *Solyman*s great army, they of the Rhodes would without delay yeeld themselves and their city into his hands.

Amongst others of great experience, whose opinions *Solyman* was desirous to haue, before he

he would take so great a matter in hand, was the famous pyrat *Cortug Ogli*, a man of a mischievous and cruell nature, but of great experience in sea matters. Who presented to *Solyman* by *Muſtapha* and *Ferhates*, two of the greatest Bassaes, going before him, after due reuerence done, and commanded to deliuer his opinion, spake vnto *Solyman* as followeth :

*Cortug Ogli*  
pyrat perma-  
neth with *Solyman*  
to besiege the  
Rhodes.

The greatnes of your deserts (most mighty and puissant Emperour) maketh me (being by you so com-  
manded) at this time frankly to speak what I think may be for the glory and honour both of your Maie-  
stie and Empire. I daily hear the pittifull lamentation of the miserable people of *Mytilene*, *Enbæa*,  
*Peloponessus*, *Achaia*, *Caria*, *Lycia*, and all along the sea coast of *Syria* and *Egypt*, bewailing the  
spoil of their Countries, the ranſacking of their Cities, the taking away of their cattell and people, with  
other infinit and incredible calamities which they daily suffer of the crossed *Rhodian* pyrats, no man with-  
standing them. Many a time haue these wretched people holden vpon their hands to me for help, most in-  
stantly requesting me to be a mean for them vnto your Imperiall Majesty, whereby they might be prote-  
cted from the injury, rapine, and slaughter of these cruell Routers. Wherefore in their behalf I beseech your  
sacred Majesty, by the most reuerend name of the holy Prophet *Mahomet*, & by your own most heroicall  
disposition, to deliuer your afflicted subiects from these their most cruell enemies, and at length to set them  
free from the fury, captiuitie, and fear of these Pyrats, more grieuous vnto them than death it self: And  
consider with your self, That this insolencie and injury tendeth not so much to the hurt of your poor sub-  
iects and oppressed people in priuat, as to the dishonour and disgrace of your Imperiall name and dignity;  
which if any other Christian King or Prince should offer, your Majesty I know would not suffer vnrouten-  
ged: And will you then suffer these Robbers, Cut-throats, base people gathered out of all the corners of  
Christendome, to wast your Countries, spoile your Cities, murder your People, and trouble all your seas?  
For who can passe by sea to *Tripolis*, *Damasco*, *Alexandria*, *Caire*, *Chalcide*, *Lesbos*, *Chios*, nay, vnto  
this your Imperiall City of *Constantinople*, without most certain and manifest danger of these Routers?  
What haue we becardenery Spring these many years, but that the *Rhodians* had taken some one or other  
of your Ports, led away your people into most miserable captiuitie, and carried away with them the rich  
spoiles of your countries? And that which is of all other things most dishonourable, this they doe vnder  
your nose, and in your sight, in the midst and heart of your Empire. Pardon me I beseech you most might-  
ty Emperour, if I too plainly speake what I thinke: For what former I say, I say it to no other end, but that  
you should now at length do that which should many yeares ago haue bene done. We your most loyal sub-  
iects may not, nor ought not, for the increase of our *Mahometan* Religion, and for the enlarging of your  
Empire and Honour, to refuse to aduenture our goods, our bodies, our liues, to all hazard and danger with-  
out exception. If you likewise be carried with loue of glory and renoune, or ransied with desire of neuer-  
dying Fame; in what wars can you more easily game the same, or better employ vs your seruants, than in  
vanquishing and subduing the *Rhodes*, the reputed bulwarks of Christendome, which onely keepeth vs  
from their countries? But some will perhaps say, your ancestors haue in former times unfortunately at-  
tempted that city: so did they also *Belgrade* in *Hungary*; yet hath your happy fortune to your immortal  
fame brought the same vnder your subiection, being farre more strongly fortified than in times past: and  
doe you then despaire of the *Rhodes*? Cast off such vaine and needlesse misdoubt. The *Turkish* Empire  
hath alwaies growne by aduentures and honourable attempts: Therefore make hast to besiege it both  
by sea and land. If your subiects mourning vnder the heavy burthen of the Christian captiuitie, built it  
with their owne hands for the Christians; cannot they now at liberty, desirous of reuenge, and fitted  
with opportunity, with like hands destroy the same? if it please you to vouchsafe but to looke into the  
matter (most dread Soueraigne) you shall see that there is a diuine occasion by the procurement of our  
great Prophet *Mahomet*, presented vnto your most sacred Majesty, now that the Christians of the  
West are at discord and mortall warre amongst themselves. Your Majesty is not ignorant, that in ma-  
naging of warres, the opportunity of the time is especially to be followed; and that when occasion sermeth,  
all remission and delay is to be carefully avoided: the changes of times are most tickle, and if you suffer  
your good hap now to passe ouer, you shall perhaps in vaine afterwards pursue the same when it is fled and  
gone.

*Solyman* by nature an ambitious yong prince, prickt forward thus also by the persuasions of  
*Cortug Ogli* and others, seeking their further credit and preferment by fitting his ambitious  
humor: but most of all by the instigation of the Bassa *Muſtapha*, resolved to go in person him-  
selfe

A selfe against the *Rhodes*. And first to make some prooue of what spirit and courage *Villerius*  
the new chosen Great Master was of, in whose sufficiency the greatest part of the defence of  
the city was supposed to consist: to him by way of a little cold friendship, he sent a messen-  
ger with this short letter thus directed:

*Solyman* by the grace of God, King of Kings, Lord of Lords, greatest Empe-  
rour of *Constantinople* and *Trapezond*, most mighty King of *Persia*, *Arabia*,  
*Syria*, and *Egypt*; Lord of *Asia* and *Europe*; Prince of *Mecha* and *Aleppo*; Ru-  
ler of *Ierusalem*; and Master of the Vniuersall Sea: to the Reuerend Father,  
*Philippus Villerius Lilladamus*, Great Master of the *Rhodes*, and Legat of *Asia*,  
greeting:

I am glad of thy kingdome and new promotion, which I wish thou maieſt long and happily enjoy, for  
that I hope thou wilt in honour and fidelity exceed all them which before thee ruled in the *Rhodes*: from  
whom as my ancestors haue withdrauene their hand, so I after their example joyne with thee in amity and  
friendship. Ioy thou therefore, my friend, and in my behalfe rejoyce of my victory and triumph also: for  
this last Summer passing ouer *Danubius* with ensignes displayed, I there expected the *Hungarian* King,  
who I thought would haue giuen me battell; I tooke from him by strong hand *Belgrade*, the strongest city of  
his kingdome, with other strong holds thereabouts: and hauing with fire and sword destroyed much people,  
and carried away many more into captiuitie, as a triumphant conqueror, breaking vpon mine army, am return-  
ed to my imperiall city of *Constantinople*, from whence farewell.

The Great Master hauing read these Letters, and well considered of the same, perceiued  
forthwith *Solymans* meaning; and that peace was offered him in words and shew, but warre in  
deed and meaning. Which because he was ready by force to repulse, he rewarded the *Turks*  
messenger, and sent backe with him another of his owne, a priuat person. For the *Rhodians* did  
feldome vouchsafe to send any honourable Embassadors to the *Turkish* Emperours (with  
whom they for most part liued in hostility) either the *Turks* to them. By this messenger he  
answered *Solymans* Letters with other of like vaine, as followeth:

D *Philippus Villerius Lilladamus*, Great Master of the *Rhodes*, to the *Turke*.

I right well vnderstand your letters which your messenger brought vnto me. The friendship you write  
of is as pleasing to me as displeasing to *Cortug Ogli* your seruant, who went about to haue intercepted  
me vpon the sudden, as I came out of *France*: but failing of his purpose, stealing by night into the *Rhodian*  
Sea, he attempted to haue robbed certaine Merchants ships bound from *Ioppe* to *Venice*: but sending my  
fleet out of my haue, I staied his fury, constrained the pyrat to fly, and for hast to leaue behind him the  
prises he had before taken from the Merchants of *Crete*. Farewell, from the *Rhodes*.

By this answer *Solyman* perceiued, that he was well met withall in his owne fineness, and  
E that he should not so easily carry the *Rhodes*, as he had before done *Belgrade*. Yet being fully  
in himselfe resolved to try his fortune therein, he called vnto him certaine of the chiefe com-  
manders of his wars, to whom he opened the whole determination in this sort:

Although I doubt not, worthy chieftaines, but that you are of the same mind now that you haue bene  
alwaies of, in the invading of other Nations; yet I haue thought it good in matters sending to the com-  
mon glory, and good of vs all, to vse your generall aduice and counsell. Since the time that my father left  
this World, we haue made warre with diuers Nations and people. The *Syrians* by nature vnconstant, and of his purpose  
prone to rebellion, we haue by force reduced to their former obedience. The *Sophi*, that mighty King, ne-  
phew vnto the great King *Vslun-Cassanes*, by his daughter the sister of King *Iacup*, in heart and deed  
F our mortall enemy, not contented with the Kingdome of *Abyria*, *Media*, *Armenia* the greater, *Persia*,  
and *Mesopotamia*, we haue with our forces shut vp within the compasse of his owne dominions. The last  
yeare running through *Hungary*, both on this side and beyond *Danubius*, we tooke *Belgrade* the strongest  
fortresse in that Kingdome: And whatsoever else we attempted, we subdued. Yet for all that (to speake  
plainly

plainly of my selfe) my minde greater in conceit than my Empire, and the blood of Othoman, findeth no contentment in these victories. For whatsoeuer you haue yet done, although it be great, yet I deeme it all but little in regard of your worth: my desire carryeth me further. This haue I alwaies aboue all things most earnestly desired, to set upon the Rhodes, and utterly to root out all the strength and forces, yea, the very name of those Rhodian souldiers. And haue not you also nolesse than my selfe desired the same? How often haue I heard you crying out; The Rhodes, The Rhodes? I haue expected the time that being discharged of other warres, I might here employ my whole strength and power. That we so long desired is now come: there was neuer greater opportunity of good successe offered, a great part of the wals of the city of the Rhodes now lying euen with the ground, which cannot in short time be repaired, especially in their want of coynce. Beside this, the garrison in the castle is but small, and their aid from France far off, which will either come too late when the city is lost, or that which I rather beleue, neuer. For neither will the French King (being at mortall warres with the Germane Emperour, and Lord of Italy) suffer his storehouses to be disurnished, or his Ports bared of the necessary defence of his shipping. Neither do you beleue that the Spaniards (distressed at home with famine, war, and ciuill dissention) will easily come hither out of Sicilia and Campania with supplies of men and vittuals. But you may perhaps thinke, that great danger is to be feared from the Venetian fleet, and the Isle of Crete, which I assure you is not so: for I know (although I will not now manifest the same) how I haue prevented that mischise. Wherefore courageous souldiers (borne to the subduing of all Christendome, much more of the Rhodes) with cheerefull hearts follow me your Soueraigne against these your most perfidious and cruel enemies. How long I pray you will you suffer that shame and disgrace to sticke upon the Othoman Family, and generally upon all the name of the Turks, which these Rhodians cast upon us the last time they were besieged? Which was not so much done by their valour, as by the vnforgotten counsell of my great grandfather Mahomet, calling home Melitthes Palæologus his Generall in that war, for one vnlucky assault. But admit that their valour gained them victory, will you alwaies suffer these pyratieall excursions upon our Maine and Islands? The ransacking of cities and countries? The carrying away of your castell and richest substance? The captivity and slaughter of your wines and children? The slavery of your neere friends and kinsmen. So helpe me great Mahomet it shall not so be: I vow in despite of Christ and Iohn, in short time to set up mine ensignes with the Moone in the middle of the market place of Rhodes. Neither do I seeke any thing vnto my selfe, more than the honour of the enterprise, the profit I giue vnto my fellow souldiers, their coine, plate, jewels (which is reported to be great) their riches and wealth is all yours to carry home with you vnto your wines and children. Wherefore let vs now with all our forces and courage set forward to the besieging of the Rhodes.

Solymans purpose thus made knowne, and the same with one accord of all his captains well liked of: Pyrrhus the eldest Bassa and of greatest authority, who at the first dissuaded the war, standing up in the middle of the rest, said:

I cannot but much admire the great wisdom and rare vertues of our young Emperour, who so wisely and aduisedly hath declared all the deep counsels of a worthy chieftaine in taking the war in hand. Blessed be Mahomet, thrice and foure times blessed is this Empire, blessed is our estate, and blessed are we with such a Prince, which carrieth with him in his wars not only men and habiliments of war, but most deepe wisdom and policy. Which wholesome manner of proceeding, if we had alwaies before our eyes, and would follow, we should in short time bring vnder our subiection not the Rhodes only, but all the kingdoms of the Christians. Yet beside that which our Emperour hath most carefully and considerately denised, mine age and experience would exhort you by gifts, promises, rewards, and all other means whatsoeuer, to corrupt if it were possible the chiefe and principall citizens of the Rhodes, thereby to enter into their most secret deuises and counsels: which how it may be wrought, I will in few words giue you to vnderstand. I as a man indifferent, desirous of peace and quietnesse, will by messengers, and letters induce the great Master to send some honourable Embassage to our dread Soueraigne, which if I can once bring him vnto, then let me alone with the rest.

Solyman maketh preparation against the Rhodes.

This counsell of the old Fox pleased all the hearers well, but aboue others the emperor himselfe, who gaue him in charge with all diligence and speed, to proue what he could do: the other captains he commanded to prepare the greatest forces they could, both for land and sea seruice.

A seruice. Which preparation was so great both at Constantinople and other places, that it could not long be kept so secret, but that news thereof was brought to the Rhodes the fourth day of February: which newes dayly increasing, and still confirmed by more certaine reports, Villerius the Great Master for more certaine intelligence, sent a Christian of Epidaurus, who could perfectly speake the Turkish language, as a spy to Constantinople; who by secret letters from thence gaue him knowledge that the Turks were preparing a great fleet, and raising a mighty army, aduertising him also of a wonderfull proportion of artillery prepared for battery: but against whom was not commonly known, some deeming it to be for the inuasion of Italy, some for the Rhodes, others supposing it to be for Cyprus or Coreya: which diuersity of conjectures, made many (whose conceits auerted from themselves the fortune of that war) to be more careless & secure. But whilest every man was of opinion, that it was made against any man rather than himselfe, certaine aduertisement was given to the Rhodians, from diuers places by letters from their friends and confederates, That the Turks did with extraordinary diligence keepe streit watch and ward in all their ports thereabouts along the sea coast, otherwise than they were before accustomed: which seemed to prognosticate some farther matter than the defence of their frontiers. Villerius careful of his charge, as the mark whereat the enemy aimed, provided with all possible diligence great store of vittuals, armor, weapons, shot, powder, and whatsoeuer else necessary for the defence of the city.

Villerius prepares to make resistance against the Turks.

The new wals of the City, and Anorgne fortresse, by Basilus enginier to the Emperour Charles the fifth (a worke begun in the time of Fabritius Caracalla the late Grand Master, but not yet finished) was now with all diligent labour set vpon, every man putting his helping hand vnto so necessary a worke. Whilest these things were with so great endeavor and labor a doing, a messenger came from Constantinople, (sent from the old Bassa Pyrrhus) a sharpe witted and cunning fellow, who with much filed speech in most ample manner doing his message, by the way, painted forth the great towardnesse and courteous nature of the Turkish Emperour Solyman, with the great commendation of Pyrrhus Bassa his Master: deliuering from both of them Letters vnto the Great Master of this purport.

Solyman by the grace of God, King of Kings, Lord of Lords, &c. To the reuerend father Philippus Villerius Lilladamus, Great Master of the Rhodes, and Legat of Asia, greeting.

I am certainly informed that my Letters are deliuered vnto thee, which for that thou vnderstoodest them aright, I cannot expresse how much it pleased me. Trust to it, that I am not contented with the victory I got at Belgrade; I hope for another: way I assure my selfe thereof, which I will not hide from thee whom I am alwaies mindfull of. Farewell from Constantinople.

Pyrrhus, great Counsellour to the mighty Emperour Solyman, to Philippus Villerius Lilladamus, Great Master of the Rhodes and Legat of Asia, greeting.

Your Letters, greater in meaning than charaſter, I haue deliuered vnto our most mighty Emperour: but the bearer thereof I would not suffer to come to his presence, lest he should be too much offended with so base a messenger. Vnto whom from henceforth send men of worth, commendable for their yeares and discretion, with whom his Majesty may (if he so please) conferre and conclude of matters concerning the common good: which thing if you shall do, it shall neither repent you of the doing thereof, nor me of my counsell. The messenger I send bringeth Letters vnto you also from our great Emperour; to whose diuine excellency how you are to answer, you are already admonished. Farewell from Constantinople.

These letters being openly read, drew the minds of the Rhodians diuersly. Such as altogether wished for peace, measuring others after their owne plaine meaning and integrity, commended the counsell of Pyrrhus, saying, That he being an old man of great experience, was not so desirous of our quiet, as of the quiet of his prince and country: and therefore wished by wisdom to order that which the yong prince fought for by war, fearing the vncertainty of mans fragility, the common chance of war, the violence of fortune, which haue oftentimes in a moment

ment with a handfull of men ouerthrowne most mighty Kings with their strong armies. The G  
persuasion of these men took such effect, that one of the Knights of the Order called *Admund*  
*March*, a Spaniard, a noble gentleman of great courage, and very eloquent, skilfull also in the  
Turkish tongue, and then Muster-master, was appointed to haue bene sent Embassadour vnto  
the Turkish Emperour. Many there were of a contrary opinion, which suspecting fraud and  
deceit, said it were good to beware of the enemies counsell; asking, to what end this Emba-  
sage were? For should we proclaime war (say they) against the most mighty tyrant, not yet our  
professed enemy, who writeth all peace, Or should we inuear for peace, no war as yet proclai-  
med; that he which as yet is afraid himselfe, may now vnderstand that he is of vs feared? Be-  
sides that, with what security, with what face can our Embassadors go vnrequested of the Tur-  
kish Emperour, without his safe conduct through those countries which we daily burne and  
spoil? But they shall shew *Pyrrhus* the great Bassas letters forsooth, his protection, his cre-  
dit and authority shall defend them from all injury and wrong; as though the seruant should  
prescribe lawes to his master, and such a seruant as is most like vnto his master (that is) cruell,  
false of faith, a hater of all Christians, but especially of vs Rhodians: whom the mercilesse ty-  
rant hauing in his power, with his navy and army in readines, shall with cruell torture inforce  
to discouer vnto him our prouision, the secrets of our city and Order. This opinion of the wi-  
ser sort, was greatly confirmed by the two much curiosity of the messenger which was sent,  
who with all diligence enquired of the state and situation of the city, of the number and  
strength of the Order. Wherefore in conclusion he was sent backe againe accompanied but  
with one priuat soldier to carry the Great masters letters vnto the Turkish tyrant; the tenour  
whereof was thus:

*Philippus Villerius* Great Master of the Rhodes, vnto the

Turke, greeting;

*Villerius his  
answer to Soly-  
mans letters.*

That you are mindfull of me grieueth me nothing; and I am also mindfull of you. I on repeat your  
glory in Hungary, wherewith not being contented you hope for another: nay, you promise and assure your  
selfe thereof, before you haue attempted the war. Beware you *Achilles* of your selfe; mens expectations  
neuer deceiue them more than in warres. Farewell, from the Rhodes.

The other lettes written to *Pyrrhus*, were to this effect.

*Philippus Villerius* *Liladamus* Great Master of the Rhodes, to  
*Pyrrhus* the Bassa.

*Villerius his an-  
swer to Pyrrhus  
the Bassa his  
letters.*

I haue aduisedly considered by letters with the behaviour and disposition of thy messenger. As I con-  
temne not thy counsell, so I will not follow the same, whilst my men of war do spoile the countries and ports  
of thy lord and master, which I beare withall, by reason of the injuries they haue sustained of the Turkish  
pirats. But I will call them home, and will send Embassadors vnto thy great lord: so that thou before send  
me safe conduct vnder thy masters great scale, for their safe coming and returne. Farewell, from the  
Rhodes.

*Villerius ad-  
uertised of the  
coming of the  
Turke.*

But these letters were neuer deliuered to the great Turke, or the Bassa: for as soone as the  
Turkish messenger was come ouer into the maine, he presently tooke horse, which was there  
in readinesse for him, and posted towards Constantinople with as much speed as he could, lea-  
uing the Christian messenger his companion behind him; who returning backe againe to the  
Rhodes, and telling what he had heard and seene, gaue them all great occasion to dispaire of  
peace: whereupon *Villerius* sent into Crete to hire certaine companies of Cretensian archers.  
In the meane time aduertisement was given vnto the Great master by letters from the Island  
of Naxos, That the Turks were ready to put their fleet to sea with the first appearance of the  
new Moone: which thing they most superstitiously obserue in the beginning of all their great  
actions. The same newes was brought also by certaine merchants of the Island of Pathmos,  
who came to the Rhodes with a great ship, laded with corne from *Euboea*, vnder the colour  
of the sale thereof, they (by the commandement of the Turks, to whom they were tribute-  
ries)

*Aries*) diligently noted all that was done in the city, shortly to be besieged. The great master  
with no lesse diligence, sent diuers of his small gallies amongst the Islands and alongst the  
maine, to learne what might be of the enemies doings. *Ioannes Lupus* one of the knights of the  
order, and captaine of one of these gallies, meeting with a great ship of the Turks laded with  
corne, tooke her and brought her home to Rhodes. But *Alphonso* captaine of another of the  
gallies, lying in harbor in one of the Islands, and suffering his men to straggle too far into the  
land, was set vpon by a Turkish pirat and taken.

About the same time the Turks by often fires made vpon the maine in the night season,  
gaue signe vnto the Rhodians, that they were desirous to haue some parly with them, as their  
manner was. Whereupon one *Mencian* a French-man, one of the Knights, by commandement  
of the rest of the Order, was sent with a gally well appointed to the maine to see what the mat-  
ter might be; and with him was joyned *Iacobus Xaycus* a pay-master for the gallies, that he  
might of the inhabitants of the place, and his friends there dwelling, diligently enquire of all  
things concerning the intended war: for this *Xaycus*, besides that he was a skilfull seaman and  
one that knew the coast well, had also good experience in ciuill affaires, and was wonderfull-  
ly beloued and made of by the Turkish Merchants whose language he had perfectly learned.  
Drawing neere the shoare, he found the Turkish Merchants making merry vpon the maine,  
with their carpets, cotten-wooll, and such like merchandise about them as they vsed to ex-  
change with the Rhodian Merchants for woollen cloathes: vnto these Merchants he gaue due  
salutations, gaging their faith for their safety, and they likewise to him. But being requested  
to come ashore to make merry vntill one of his familiar and old acquaintance might be sent  
for, who as they said was not far off, he answered, he could not so doe, except they would first  
deliuer a pledge for him a shipboord. The perfidious Turks laughing as it were at his need-  
lesse feare, willingly sent their merchandise, and a pledge aboard the gallies. *Xaycus* then go-  
ing ashore, and embracing the Turkish Merchants which met him vpon a signe giuen, was  
forthwith beset on euery side and taken prisoner, and by post horses conueied with all speed to  
Constantinople; where he was with the most exquisite torments that could be deuised for any  
man to endure, enforced to confesse whatsoeuer his cruell enemies could desire. After *Xaycus*  
was by treachery thus lost, then began their proudient wisedome to be highly commended,  
which were the occasion, that the decree made for sending Embassadors vnto the Turks, was

againe reuoked. The hostage giuen for *Xaycus*, being brought to the Rhodes and examined, was  
found to be a simple country fellow whom the Turks had of purpose well apparelled to de-  
ceiue the Rhodians: who frankly and plainly according to his simple knowledge, answered  
to all things that were of him demanded, as that the Turks were making great preparation for  
sea, vpon the coasts of Caria and Lycia, and had taken vp many soldiers in the countries there-  
abouts to send into the frontiers of his dominions towards Syria, for defence of the same a-  
gainst the Persians. All which was true: for *Solyman* to put the Rhodians out of all suspicion  
of inuasion (whom he knew carefully to obserue his doings) sent the souldiers whom he had  
leuiued in the countries neere to the Rhodes, far away against the Persian, as if he had meant  
nothing against the Rhodes, and so vpon the sudden to set vpon them with his army brought  
out of Europe, before they were aware. But this his deuice serued to small purpose; for the  
great Master perceiuing by many circumstances, but especially by that late calamity of *Xay-  
cus*, that the Rhodes was the place the Turkish Tyrant longed for; and fearing that delay  
might bring further danger, caused a cessation from all other businesse to be proclaimed, vn-  
till all things necessary for defence of the city were accomplished: watch and ward was kept  
in euery street, the great artillery planted vpon the wals and bulwarks, companies appointed  
for the defence of euery place, the publike armory of all warlike prouision was open, all the  
streets were full of men carrying weapons, some to one place, some to another. At which time  
a generall muster was taken by the chiefe men of the Order, where were found about five  
thousand men able to beare armes, among whom were six hundred Knights of the Order, and  
five hundred souldiers of Crete; the rest were for the most part mariners, able bodies, who in  
the time of the siege did great seruice, encouraged by their sea captaines: the Island people  
which repaired into the city, serued to little other purpose but to dig and carry earth vnto the  
rampiers: and the citizens (except it were some few of the better sort) were for the most part  
weake and of small courage, not able to indure any labor or paines, and yet hardly to be kept in  
order

*The carefulnes  
of the Grand  
master.*

order and government; great speakers, but small doers, greater in shew than in deed. The Great Matter having carefully provided and ordered all things needfull for defence of the city, and fearing nothing more than the faint heart of the citizens, caused them all to be called together; for encouragement of whom, he spake vnto them as followeth:

Valerius his  
oration vnto  
the Rhodians.

Valiant Gentlemen and worthy Citizens, wee heare that the Turke our mortall enemy is comming against vs, with a huge army raised of diuers Nations: from whose naturall cruelty and wonted perjury except we defend our selues by force, one and the selfsame danger is like to befall me, my knights, and you all. For we haue with common consent and hand grievously spoiled him both by sea and land, and you are by booties taken by strong hand out of his dominions, enriched: and in this day we keepe his people in ruinous seruitude, and he ours, but he injuriously, and we most justly: For his ancestors (weary of the darknesses and canes of the mountaine Caucasus, their naturall dwelling) without right, sale, or cause, invaded only with concupiscence, ambition, and the hatred of our most sacred religion, haue driven the Christians out of Syria: and afterwards oppressed the Grecians in Grecia; where not contented to haue destroyed the people, with one simple kinde of death (as barbarisme is ener cruell and mercilesse) they haue with most exquisite and horrible torments, butchered many thousands of that Religion. All whom, this wicked world you (whose mischief exceedeth his yeares) an euill neighbor to all men, not contented with the ruin of the minions of Arabia, Syria, Egypt, the greatest part of Asia, and of many other places, seeketh in rannny, murder, spoile, perjury, and hatred against Christ and Christians, far to extell: and forceth himselfe to the uttermost of his power, to take from vs our Islands, and to subdue the Christian Countreys, that so at length being Lord of all, and commander of the World, he may as his pleasure dasheth the Christian Cities, kill the Christians, and utterly root out the Christian names; which he so much hateth. For the repulsing of which intollerable injury, we haue especially chosen this Island of Rhodes for our dwelling place, because the same seemed more commodious than any other for the annoyng of this barbarous Nation. We haue done what in vs lay, holpen by you: we know by proofe your great valour and fidelity, which we now haue not in any distrust. Wherefore I will not use many words to persuade you to continue in your fidelity and loyalty, neither long circumstance to encourage you to play the consistence worthy minds are not with words either encouraged or dismayed. But concerning my selfe and my Knights of the Order, I will speake a few words. I with them, with whom (as I hope) the Christian Princes and other my Knights of the West will in good time joyne their forces, are most ready and prest to defend your selues, your children, your wines, your goods, the monuments of your ancestors and sacred Temples, dedicated to the service of our God. Which opinion that it may remaine firme and fixt in your minds, if nothing else, my faithfulness in your warres, my body not yet altogether spent, but able enough to endure paines and travell, the Nobility of these worthy Knights of the Order, their loyalty towards you, and their hatred towards your enemies were sufficient to confirme: but beside this, the strength of this city, which this noble Order hath with infinite charges so notably fortified with ditch, walls, towers and bulwarkes, against all the force and fury of Artillery, is such, as that no city may worthily be compared, much lesse preferred before the same. It is wonderfully stored with all kinde of weapons and warlike provision: we haue laid up plenty of wine, flesh, and corne, in vnto, so that neither will weather nor wormes can attaine the same: of wood and wholesome water not to be taken from vs, things necessary for men besieged, we haue plenty, and able men ynow for the defence of the City. All which things promise vnto vs assured victory, and such end of the warre as wee wish for. Beside this, Necessity, which giueth courage euen vnto cowards, will enforce vs to fight. Yet standeth on our side true Religion, Faith, Conscience, Denotion, Constancy, the loue of our Country, the loue of our Liberty, the loue of our Parents, Wines, Children, and whatsoever else we hold deare: Whereas they bring with them the proud command of their captaines, Infidelity, Impiety, Vnconstancy, a wicked desire of your bondage, of your blood, and the blood of your parents, wines, and children. Out of doubt (beloued citizens) our good God will not suffer so many good vertues to be overcome by their foule vices. Wherefore if you in minds quiet and secure, and trouble not your selues with forboding feare of your enemies; onely continue in the fidelity and loyalty which you haue alwayes kept inuolate and unspotted toward this sacred and honorable fellowship, in most dangerous warres, and hardest chances of fortune: and if need shall so require, with courageous hand shew your valour against your enemies, and make it knowne vnto the Spaniards, French, Italians, Hungarians, and English, That the Rhodians are of power to daunt the Turkish pride, and to avert their fleets and armies from Italy, which they haue so many yeares threatened with fire

and sword: and with no doubt his ships with all speed hasten and come, if (that which my mind abhorreth to speak) they should here prevail. Neither will his ambitious youth, in courage, falsehood and cruelty exceeding Hannibal, imitate him in that, that hauing overthrowne the Romans in the great battell at Cannas, knew not to use his victory; but he will presently with more than Cæsars celerity, bring forth the treasures his father got in Egypt, and with great fleets and huge armies invade Apulia, Calabria, and Sicilia: from whence he will forthwith break into France; and afterwards into Spain and other Christian countries, raging through them with all cruelty. But I am carried away further than I purposed, & than need is: for your fidelitie and most worthy Citizens to endure the siege, and repulse the Enemy, is such as needeth not my perswasion; and of greater resolution than that it can be shaken with the dangers incident to men besieged: yet the greatest and most forcible miseries of all, which is hunger and thirst, I assure you, you shall neuer feele. Which pinching calamities for all that, some people (in faithfulness, courage, and valor nothing comparable to you) haue neuertheless most constantly endured. For they of Petelinum, besieged by the Carthaginians, for want of vittual thrust their parents and children out of the city; the longer to hold out the siege, and tined themselves with hides and leather sod or broiled, and leanes of trees, and many other brutish things, by the space of sixteen moneths; and could not be overcome, untill they wanted strength longer to stand vpon the walls, and to hold their weapons in their hands. They of Ostium, besieged by Hannibal, held out vntill a prou Mouse was sold for much money. You must of necessity keep watch and ward in your stations; if your houses chance to be beaten down with the enemies artillery, you must haue patience; for why, they shall be repaired again, and it is not a matter of such importance, that we should therefore yield vnto our enemies, in whose curtesie and fidelitie no assurance is to bee reposed. For besides that he is by nature cruell and vnsatishfull, he can by no means be gentle and faithfull towards vs, which haue him so much harm, who only (as himselfe saith) haue oftentimes to his griefe, interrupted the course of the victories of him the conqueror both of sea and land: whom hee hath so many times assailed by open force, with all his strength, wit, craft, deceit and policy: yet alwayes hitherto in vain, almighty God still protecting vs, whom above all things (most dear Citizens) I wish you to serue and call upon; for except he keep and defend the city, the watchmen do but watch in vain.

This cheerful speech wonderfully incouraged the hearers, especially the vulgar sort, easily carried away with pleasing words. But whilst they in their jollity dream of nothing but of triumph and victory; the wiser sort possessed with care, ceased not to do what in them lay, to procure, that the good commonly forewithed, might in fine come to effect. Amongst others, Clement Bishop of the Greeks, a man both for his place and deuout manner of liuing, had in great reputation amongst them, laboured earnestly by dayly exhortations, to persuaade the Greeks his countrymen, in that great and common danger with heart and hand to joyne with the Latines in defence of the city: for although the government was altogether in the great Master and his Knights, which were Latines, yet the people both of the Island and City were for most part Greekes, who liked not altogether so well of the Latine government, but that they did many times repine therat; howbeit the matter was at that time so ordered by the good perswasion of the Bishop, and good government of the great Master, that they all agreed as one man to spend their liues in defence of the City; and were so far from feare of the coming of the barbarous Enemy, that many of the Vulgar people (in whom appeareth commonly more heat than wit) wished rather for his coming than otherwise. But looke what they had fondly wished, proued afterward to their costs ouer true: for within a few nights after, the Turks by fire made in the night time vpon the main, gaue sign of parly vnto the Rhodians. Whereupon a Gally well appointed with a long boat, was presently sent forth to see what the matter was: which drawing neer vnto the shore, was hailed by a Turke, accompanied with a troupe of horsemen, desiring the captain of the Gally to send some on shore, with whom they might more conueniently parley. Which thing the Captain refusing, What, said the Turk, art thou afraid of Xayem fortune. To whom the Captain in threatening manner answered again, Xayem, whom you haue contrary to your faith and oath taken, troubleth me not; neither am I afraid of you, whom I trust not; but if you haue any thing to say, let me heare it, or els get you farther off, otherwise I will speake to you by the mouth of a canon. Then one of the Turks comming to the waters side, laid down letters vpon a stone, saying, That in them was contained that they had in charge. Which said, he presently set spurs to his horse and departed.

red with the rest of his company. The Captain sending out his long boat for these Letters, G found them directed in this sort:

**Solyman by the grace of God, King of Kings, Lord of Lords,**

most mighty Emperor of Constantinople and Trapezond, &c. Unto the renowned Father Philippus Villerius Lilladamus, Great Master of the Rhodes: To his Knights, and all his people in general.

Solyman by threatening letters unto the Rhodians.

**T**he compassion I haue of my distressed subjects, and the great injury you do me, hath moued me to wrath: wherefore I command you without delay to yield vnto me the Island and city of the Rhodes willingly and charitably granting you leave safely to depart with all your riches, or to tarry, if you so please, vnder my obedience, your liberty and religion in no part infringed with any tribute or imposition. If you be wise, prefer friendship and peace before bloody war: for vnto them which are by force subdued, are reserved all extremities which the miserable vanquished use to suffer of the angry Conqueror: from which neither your own force, nor forreign aid, nor huge walls, which I will utterly overthrow, shall be able to defend you: Fare you well. All which shall assuredly be performed, if you shall make choice rather of my friendship, than of my force. Wherein you shall neither be deceived nor circumvented: I take to witnesse God the Creator of heauen and earth, the four Writers of the Evangelicall history, the four score thousand Prophets descended from heauen, and amongst them our highest Prophet Mahomet, the everend ghost of my Father and Groundfather, and this my sacred and Imperial head. From our palace at Constantinople.

When these letters were openly read in the counsel chamber at Rhodes, some were, of opinion, that it was good to answer the Turkish tyrant roundly, thereby to let him know that they feared not his threats. Others thought it now wisdom, with hard words to prouoke so great an enemy to further displeasure. Thus whilst every man would haue framed an answer according to their own disposition, in conclusion it was agreed vpon to giue him no answer at all.

The same day these letters came to the Rhodes, which was the 14 of Iune, one of the Turks great commanders at sea with 30 gallies, the fore-runners of the Turkish fleet, arrived at the Island of Chos, famous in ancient time for the birth of Hippocrates the great Physitian, & the wonderful picture of Venus left there vnperfect by Apelles, which for the excellencie thereof neuer man durst afterward take in hand to perfect: which fruitful and pleasant Island was then at the arrival of the Turks, part of the dominion of the Rhodes. The Admirall of this Fleet here landing his Turks, began to burn the corn which was then almost ripe, with the country villages round about. With which injury Prejanus Governor of the Isle (a man of great courage and valor) moued, with a chosen company of footmen, and certain troupes of horse, suddenly set vpon the Turks, in diuers places dispersed abroad far into the countrey, with such a terrible cry of the country people, and instruments of war, that the Turks being therewith amazed, ran away as if they had bin mad, and were many of them slain without resistance. And had not the gallies lien neer the shore, to receiue them that were able to fly thither, there had not one of them which landed escaped the hands of the Island people. The Turks hauing receiued this losse, left the Island and put to sea again.

The Rhodians for fear of the Turks, destroy their suburbs and places of pleasure without the city.

The Rhodians for the most part now assured and out of doubt of the Turks comming, by the persuation of Gabriel Pomerolus Vice-Master, and other men of great experience, plucked down the suburbs of the City, and layd them euen with the ground: their pleasant orchards also and gardens neer to the city they utterly destroyed; the great Master for examples sake beginning first with his own, being a place of great delicacie lying vnder the wals neer to the French bulwark, and taking into the city all such things as they thought needful for the induring of the siege, they utterly destroyed all the rest, were it neuer so pleasant or commodious, within a mile of the towne, leauing all that place as euen and as bare as they could possibly make it, to the intent that the enemy at his comming should find nothing neer the city, whereof to make vie. But whilst the pleasure and delights of the suburbs are thus defacing, another more

The fear of the country people.

**A** more heauy and wofull sight presented vnto the eies of the citifens, filled the city with greater mourning and pensiuenes than did the comming of the enemy. The miserable multitude of the poor country people, some bringing wood, others corn, cattel, fowls, and other necessities that they had out of the country, into the city (for so the great Master had commanded) after whom followed great numbers of women & children weeping, with dishevelled haire, scratching their faces & tearing themselves after the maner of the country, wringing their hands, and casting vp their eies to heauen, beseeching God with heauy countenance and floods of tears, to defend the noble city of the Rhodes, and themselves from the fury of their enemies. Which multitude of country people, with their prouision, being packt vp into narrow rooms in the houses of the citifens, and their cattel staruing for want of fodder, afterwards corrupted the air, whereof ensued rotten agues and the flux, during the time of the siege: but after the city was giuen vp, such a plague and mortalitie followed, as destroyed great numbers of the Turks and poor Christians, who knowing not whether to go, chose rather there to dy, than to forsake their native country.

The General of the Turkish fleet which landed in the Island of Chos, and was of purpose sent by Solyman, to prouoke the Rhodians to battell at sea, before hee with his whole power came to besiege the Island; came daily with twenty gallies halfe those narrow seas ouer, between Lycia and the Rhodes, leauing the rest of his fleet riding at anchor at the promontory called Gnidium (not far from the City of Rhodes) ready to aid him as need should require. This manner of brauery he vsed many daies together, hoping thereby to allure the Rhodians out of their haven to giue him battell: knowing, that if he should therein obtain the victory, it were at that time little lesse than the taking of the city, or if he could by cruel fight but weaken the forces of the Rhodians, he should therein do his master good seruice, and greatly further his victory, by diminishing the number of the Defendants. When hee had many dayes without intermission in this proud maner come half seas ouer, and sometimes passing farther, came and lay at the mouth of the haven, as it were daring them to fight: the Rhodians not wont to be so braued at their own doors, moued with the intolerable insolency of this proud Turk, by their continual importunitie caused the great Master to call a councill, to consider whether they should fight with this fleet of the Turks or not. The Counsellors by appointment of the great Master assembled; the Chancellor, a man of great authoritie and spirit, famous for his noble acts both at home and abroad, and chiefe of them which were of opinion this fleet of the Turks was to be fought with, said;

So great disgrace was not longer to be suffered, but presently reuenged. For (said he) the huge Fleet of the Turks, I do not say at whose force and sight, but at whose very name many men do tremble & quake (which for all that is vnto vs no great nouelty, for every year we hear of the like) is as a head to be joined vnto these pyratieall gallies, as members; and then will it be most expedient (which will be an easie thing for vs to do, hauing the better both for strength of shipping, and number and valor of men) to giue that great head such a blow and wound, by cutting off these limbs, that it shall euer after stagger, and faint for want of strength: or else there is no other fleet at all prepared against vs to follow this, and then this discomfort we shall be in quiet. Which thing in my opinion (though others which fear their own shadows and the falling of heauen say otherwise) is most like to be true: for the great Turk is not so sottish to come hither the fittest time of the year being so far spent, in the later end of Iune, to besiege this city, and such a city as he knoweth to be most strong, wanting nothing that is needfull, and thoroughly manned with valiant soldiers, from whence his ancestors haue bin with losse and shame repulld: when as the remainder of the Summer will be spent before he can incamp himself, and place his batteries. And Winter time you know is vnfit for every siege, especially in this Island, wherein they can find no haven or harbor to rest in. Wherefore on Gods name let vs set vpon our proud enemies, and let vs not for a few threatening words sent vnto vs from a fearful youth, vpon a finenes and policie left we should follow the tail of his fleet bound for some other place, sit still like cowards within our walls, with our hands in our bosomes, as men which for feare and dread durst not shew their heads. Which our cowardise and want of courage we (forsooth) call Fabius his policy. But I would to God we were like Fabius: but I fear we shall proue more like Antiochus, the Bitholians, the Vitellians, all whose courage consisted in words, vainly hoping to gain the victory by sitting still and wishing well. But Gods help is not to be gotten with womens prayers and supplications, or these faint

saime-hearted policies, which towards call admised counsell. But victory is gained by aduentering and en-  
passing our selues to danger and perill.

With these and such like speeches he so moued the multitude, who commonly conceiue most courage vpon the greatest vncertainties, that they desired to fight, saying, That they would wash away that foul disgrace with the bloud and slaughter of their enemies, for why, they wanted not weapons, courage, or hands (as they said) to do it withall.

For all this, the grauer sort of the Counsell (without whose consent the Master might in such cases do nothing) thought it not good in so dangerous a time to aduventure any great part of their forces, which they should afterwards want for defence of the city. The Turkish General deceiued of his expectation, and perceiuing that the Rhodians would not be drawn forth to batle at sea, withdrew his fleet twelue miles off, vnto a place called Villanova, where casting anchor and landing his men, he burnt the Corn all thereabout, which was now almost ripe, but forsaken of the people as a thing desperat: as for the people themselves, they were all fled into the city of Rhodes, or els into strong castles in other places of the Island.

At the same time certain troups of horsemen sent out to skirmish with the Turks that were burning the corn, were by a messenger sent from the great Master commanded to retire. For the prouident General fought by all means to reserue his soldiers for greater dangers, which he iustly feared in the expected siege; during which time he shewed himself a most politique captain & braue soldier: he many times by day eat his meat with his soldiers, as one of them, and most part of the night kept watch himself, walking vp and down, & resting himself when he was weary, vpon some stone or piece of timber, or other homely seat as it chanced. In time of assault he was alwaies more forward and aduenterous than the graue Counsellors wished, fearing neither shot nor enemy, yet did hee more commend discreet counsell, grounded vpon reason, than prosperous actions commended but by their euents. And which was most wonderful, amongst so many cares, in midst of such diuers and dangerous chances, hee carried alwaies such a grace and maiesty in his cheerful countenance, as made him to be of the soldiers both reuerenced & loued. At the time he could spare from the necessary affairs of his weighty charge, from assaults, and the natural refreshing of his body, he bestowed in prayer & leu-  
ing of God; he oftentimes spent the greatest part of the night in the church alone praying, his head, piece, gorget, and gantlets lying by him: so that it was often said, That his deuot  
prayers and carefulnes would make the city inuincible.

The 26 of Iune early in the morning, news was brought into the city from the watchtower standing vpon S. Stephens hill almost a mile from the city, That a most huge fleet was descried at sea, making thitherwards all alongst the coast of Lycia. This bad news much troubled the city, although it was not of most men vnexpected: all places were filled with tumult & hurly-  
burly; euery man measured the greatnes of the danger by his own fear, and such a pittifull cry was in euery place as is vsual in cities presently to be besieged. Herupon publick prayers were made throughout the city, and euery man with great deuotion besought the God of heauen, That as it was his pleasure, that the Rhodians should at that time be the Champions of the Christian religion, so he would giue them strength and victory against their enemies, and to turn the calamities of War vpon the enemies of his Name. Their deuotion ended, the gates of the city were shut vp, and people from all places ran vnto the walls, great flocks of women, children, and aged men, not able to stand without a staffe, going forth of their houses to gaze vpon the dreadful fleet (wherein was about two hundred sailes, as is reported) filled the streets and tops of the high towers and houses. The foremost of the fleet was the Admiral of Calli-  
polis, to whom Solyman had committed the charge of all his Navy, and to assaile the City by sea. The Rear-Admirall was Cara Mahometes an arch pyrat, who was afterwards slaine with a great shot out of the city. The Vice-Admirall in the middle of the fleet with a great Squadron of Gallies, hauing a faire Westernly winde, strook sail directly before the mouth of the haue (which was on both sides defended with two strong towers well furnished with store of great artillery) and began to row toward the city: wherupon an alarm was raised, the trumpets sounded, and many hastied into the bulwark which defended the left side of the haue, which the enemy seemed to direct his course vnto, and was indeed more subiect vnto danger than

The worthy commendation of the Great Master.

The Turkish fleet descried at sea, troubleth the Rhodians.

The order of the Turkish fleet.

A than the other. But the Turk seeing himself in danger to be sunk with shot from the bulwark, was glad to get himself farther off vnto the rest of the fleet: the Rhodians from the wals with loud outcries scornfully deriding him for his foolish attempt. This great fleet in exceeding brauery & triumph passing by the city in sight of the Rhodians (standing vpon the wals with ensignes displayed) did not more terrifie them, than they were themselves terrified to behold the strength of the city, and cheerfulness of the defendants. But passing on, they came vnto the promontory which the inhabitants call Bo, about three miles distant from the city Eastward: which smal haue being not able to receiue so great a fleet, many of the gallies were enforced to ride it out at sea, where they were by shot out of the city oftentimes indangered, and enforced to get them further off. Whilst the enemy was there landing his great ordnance, & other instruments of war prepared for the siege, chusing a place for his camp, transporting his land-soldiers from the main into the Island, viewing the strength and situation of the city, and in what place he might with most ease assault the same: the Rhodians in the mean time were not idle, but sunk diuers deep sounds in many places of the city neer to the wals, to discover the enemies mines, and fortified their bulwarks with greater rampiers; in which work euery man put in his helping hand without respect of age or calling. The grand Master about that time sent Lodouicus Andagius one of the Knights of the Order, into Spain to Charles the Emperour, & Claudius Ducenillus another of the Order also, to Rome to the Cardinals, & Italian knights of the Order; and from thence into France vnto the French King with letters, crauing the aid of these Christian princes for relief of the city, by sea and land besieged. But all in vaine, for they caried away with the endles grudge of one against another, or respecting only their own estates, returned the Embassadors with good words, but no relief.

C At this time Preiaues gouernor of Chios (of whom we haue before spoken) a man comparable with any of the captains of that age, an excellent soldier both by sea and land, valiant, and thereto fortunat, of an inuincible courage, brought vp in the wars from his childhood, when he had by the space of two or three daies hid himselfe in the rocks at sea, for fear of the Turkes great fleet, came by night in a final pinnace to the Rhodes, hauing deceiued the Turkes watch: at whose comming the Rhodians wonderfully reioyced; for the soldiers reposed greater confidence in no man than in him; and if any great exploit were to be don, him the Master trusted aboute any other: he alwaies in arms during the siege encouraged the souldiers, searched the  
D watch, surueyed the bulwarks, repaired the breaches, and such labors as others accounted extreme miseries, he cheerfully indured, as if they had bin but his pleasures and recreations. At the same time also Gabriel Martinigius of Brixia, a most skilful enginier, came to the Rhodes out of Creta; by whose industry, 55 mines which the Turks did with infinit labor and charge make (by reason of the springing of the water, and hardness of the rocks) during the siege, were all by countermines disappointed and defeated.

The city of Rhodes is situated on a plaine ground, on euery side to be besieged, onely Northward it is defended with a goodly haue, from whence it lieth all Westward. Betwixt it and the hills round about it, lieth a stony plain ground, not very broad, but of greater length; these hills are full of springs, and orchards planted with oliues, fig trees, Vines, and such other  
E fruits as such dry & sandy grounds will bear. But what by nature wanted, was by the hand and industry of man supplied; for it was compassed about with a most strong double wal & deep trenches, threatening the enemy with thirteen stately towers, and sure against all assaults, with 5 mighty bulwarks, with diuers goodly fair gates: & that which was the greatest defence of all, within the city was alwaies kept a most exact and streit form of War-like Discipline. The defence of the whole city was thus proportioned: From the French Tower (which with the greatest height thereof seemed to mate the sky) stood the Frenchmen, with the French Lillies in their Ensignes, vnder their Commander Ioannes Abbinus, a noble Knight of the Order. From thence to Saint Georges Gate lay the stout Germanes with the Eagle in their Ensignes. In the third station were placed the French Avernois, with the Spaniards, for that the ditches in that place were neither so deep nor broad as elsewhere. In the first place lay the English garrison, ouer whom the grand Master himselfe commanded. After them succeeded they of Narbona; and last of all the Italians, in valor not inferior to any of the rest, vnder the leading of Petrus Balinus and Gregorius Morgutus. In euery of these stations were diuers valliant Knights of the Order, whose names (worthy of eternall memory) for brauery wa  
Ddd 3 passe

The great Master by embassadors craves aid of the Christian Princes.

The commendation of I. Jones.

The description of the Rhodes.

passie ouer, all men of themselves sufficient to haue taken vpon them, the whole charge.

The enimie was not as busie without the city in placing his battery, but traitorous minds were as busie within, to haue betrayed the same. A Turkish woman, slave to one of the rich citizens, had conspired with certain other her complices, at such time as the Turks should assault the town, at one instant to set on fire the houses wherein they dwelt, in diuers parts of the city, that the defendants drawn from the walls to quench the fire, the Turks in the mean time might the more easily enter. But this treason was in good time revealed, and the offenders worthily executed.

The painfull  
of the Turkish  
pioners.

The Turks had not as yet placed their battery, when as they took a certaine hill whereon stood a church dedicated to *Cosmus* and *Damianus*, directly ouer against the English station. From thence (as it seemed, rather for exercising of their soldiers, than for any great harm they could do so far off) they began with small battering pieces to shoot into the city, & afterward they began to dig mines, and to cast vp trenches: for the performing of which kinde of worke, and for the filling vp of the towne ditches, they had brought with them twenty thousand pioners, men better acquainted with country labor and keeping of castel, than with wars, which being enforced vnto their labor day and night, sometime with stripes, and sometime with death, did with incredible celerity bring that to passe, which was before thought impossible. They cutwaies through the hard stony rocks, raising the plains as high as mountaines, with earth brought two miles off, and laying the mountains euen with the plains, and yet they did neuer work in safety, but were miserably rent in sunder by the great ordnance out of the town: and that which most of all troubled them, the Rhodians falling out vpon those ouer-laboured people, hauing neither courage nor skil to defend themselves, but trusting only to their heels flew great numbers of them, and not of them only, but of others also appointed for their defence, whom the Rhodians, taking courage of their fear, fiercely pursued and slew downright. And when many others issuing out of the camp in great companies, thought to haue relieved their fellows, the great ordnance before of purpose placed to most advantage, so thundered from the walls among the thickest of them, that the ground lay covered with the bodies and weapons of the dead Turks. With which manner of fight, after the Rhodians had twice or thrice troubled the enemy, the Turks for more safety wrought most vpon their mounts by night, keeping most strong watch for defence of their pioners, which for more assurance they doubled in the day time, and bent their Artillery against the places which the Rhodians used to fallie out at: which did not so much keep them in, as the feare of weakening themselves by often sallies; knowing that one man was vnto them more losse, than vnto the enemy an hundred. Among others which in the beginning of this great siege forced the vttermost of their deuices to the destruction of the Turks, were certain mariners, who hauing the Turkish Language perfectly, with leaue of the grand Master (disguising themselves in the habit of Turks) departed by night out of the haven in a small boat, loaded with apples, plums, peares, mellons, grapes, and such other fruits as the time of the year afforded; and in the darknes came along the coast, vnto that part of the Island wherunto the passageway was out of the maine. There as if they had bin Turks come from the main, they landed their commodities, which the Turkish soldiers bought greedily. When they had thus sould their fruits, and in selling thereof diligently noted the speech and talk of the soldiers and were now ready to depart, certain Turks which greatly disliked the hard beginning of this siege, seeing themselves if they did but stir in danger to be set off with shot out of the Towne, earnestly requested the mariners to take them into the main, which to do, at the first the mariners dissembling, refused as a thing dangerous, and besides that, their boat was too little to receive so many, as would willingly haue gon with them. Yet with much ado they suffered themselves to be interested to take in seven or eight, such a number as they could well master: who in hope of passing ouer into the main, were (contrary to their expectation) brought prisoners to the Rhodes, where they were by *Frences* brought vp to the top of the highest tower of *S. Johns* church, from whence they might see all about the country, and well descry all the manner of the Turks camp, which they simply discovered vnto the captain, and whatsoever els they were demanded, and among other things confessed, that the soldiers were greatly discontented with the siege, hauing in the beginning thereof lost so many men, and that they were ready to rise in mutinie against their Capitaines, and would hardly by them be commanded out of their trenches and cabins, saying, That all they

The Turks de-  
ceived by cer-  
tain Christian  
mariners.

A they did was but lost labor, and that they should find it another piece of work to win the Rhodes, than they had at Belgrade: wherefore if they were wise they should in time depart, before they had receiued further harm both from the enemy, and for want of necessities, where-with the soldiers began already to be pinched. All which was then supposed to haue bin spoken by the captiues to please him in whose power they now were: yet it appeared afterward to be all true; for *Pyrrhus* Bassa considering the troubled state of the Camp, and the generall discontentment of the soldiers, whom he was gladder at that time to please than to punish, writ vnto *Solyman* at Constantinople, That if he would the siege should goe forward, hee should without delay come in person himself to the Camp; for that the souldiers without regard of shame, were ready to rise in mutiny, and to abandon the siege, refusing to be commanded by their captains.

B In the mean time whilst *Solyman* prepareth himself to set forward, the Turkish Capitaines vnderstood by certain Fugitiues (wherof in all wars some are to be found) that the high steeple of *S. Johns* church serued them of the town for a watch-tower: for which cause, and for despite of the crosse standing vpon the top thereof, they labored nothing more, than with continual shot to beat down that Tower; which whilst they were doing with great diligence, *Solyman* himself came into the camp the 28 of August in the afternoon, where finding in his Army all the signes of cowardise and fear, that could be spoken of or deuised, and nothing done according to the command of such as he had appointed for that charge, but all things out of order, he took more grieffe to see that great disorder, than he did pleasure & good hope of two hundred thousand soldiers that were then in his army. Yet, for all that he was inwardly chafed with the heat of youth and indignation, both against his owne people and the Rhodians, he moderated himself betwixt his own rage and the offence of his soldiers; and calling them together, caused them to be disarmed, not leauing among them so much as a sword, and compassing them in with fifteen thousand harquebusiers whom he had brought with him well appointed, hee kept into his royal seat, there set on high for that purpose, where sitting down, hee paused a good while without any word speaking, as if he had considered with himselfe, whether he should only punish the authors of the mutiny, or else with the punishment of many, to reuenge so foul a sedition, little differing from an open rebellion. But following of himselfe the milder resolution, he thought it sufficient to correct the multitude and common sort of soldiers with sharp and bitter words: and after generall silence made, brake out into this cholerick speech,

*Solyman comes  
into the Camp.*

Slaves (quoth he) for I cannot find in my heart to call you soldiers. What kind of men are you now become? are ye Turks? men wont to fight and overcome. Verily I see the bodies, countenances, attyre, and habit of my soldiers; but the deeds, speeches, countenances and deuices of cowardly and vile traitors. Alas how hath my opinion deceived me? that Turkish force and courage is gone: the valor and strength both of bodies and minds, wherewith the Arabians, Persians, Syrians, Egyptians, Seruians, Hungarians, Bulgarians, Epirots, Macedonians, and Thracians were subdued, is lost: forgetting your country, your Oath, the command of your captains, your obedience, and all other warlike discipline, you haue against the Majesty of myne Empire refused to fight, like cowards betaken your selues to flight, for vain fear of death & danger, not becoming men of war. If any man should at home but haue named the Rhodes, in your Feasts, amongst your pots, in your assemblies and great meetings, you could then with your tongues brag to put it down, you had much ado to hold your hands: here when I would make proof of your force and courage, it is nothing. But you thought perhaps, that the Rhodians so soon as they saw your ensignes before their gates, would straightway yeeld themselves and their city into your power. Let all men cease so to say or thinke, and beleue me that know the truth, this base and infamous den which you see, is full of most cruel beasts, whose madnes we shall neuer tame without much labor and bloodshed. Yet shall we tame them: for why, nothing is so wild but is length it may be tamed: which vnto I bring to passe, I haue fully resolved and vowed to my selfe, either here to die, or spend my daies. And if euer I do or say otherwise, let this my head, my Fleet, myne army, and empire, be for euer accursed and vnforsaken.

*Solyman cho-  
lerick Oration  
to his soldiers.*

And so without further speech, desiring rather to be accounted of his soldiers gentle than severe, he pardoned them all their former offences, and swore them al again to his obedience.

This

This mutiny so appeased, all things afterward were don with better successe, and greater care G both of the soldiers and commanders. First they planted in diuers places twelve great Bom- bards, wherewith they threw vp stones of hugy weight into the air, which falling down into the city, might break down the houses and whatsoever els they lighted vpon: with the fall of one of these the great Master was like to haue bin slain. Howbeit this procured a deuice of more terror than danger: for with 200 such shot were but ten men slaine. Which thing amongst others *Apella* a traiterous fugitiue declared vnto the Enemy, with whom he had intelligence, as he himself confessed, being taken vpon suspition and examined: for which his treason he was iustly executed.

*Apella a Trai-  
tor.*

*The Turks  
battering.*

The force of the battery was more feared, wherein the Turks had planted forty great pieces of battery, and amongst them twelue Basilisks; so aptly named of the Serpent *Basiliscus*, who H as *Pliny* writeth, killeth man or beast with his sight. With these pieces the Turks battered the wals continually, but lying somewhat far off, did no great harm.

At the same time also *Solyman* caused battery to be laid against the tower of *S. Nicolai*, stand- ing vpon a narrow piece of ground pointing far into the sea, defending the haven vpon the right hand, where sometime stood the great Colossus of the Sunne, accounted the greatest a- mong the seuen wonders of the world. Which Castle was both strongly and sumptuously built at the charges of the dukes of Bourgondy, as appeared by their Arms there ingaruen in marble. This tower was valiantly defended by *Guido* a Frenchman, who had the charge therof with 200 soldiers, among whom were 30 Knights of the Order.

The Turks artillery planted against the tower was by the skilfulnes of the Christian Can- I noniers in short time dismounted with shot from the tower, and many of the Gunners slain; so that they were glad to surcease any more to batter the tower by day, but lying still all the day, they began to batter the same by night, wherin they preuailed no more than they had be- fore don in the day time: for the defendants warily obseruing such places as were likeliest for the enemy to place his battery in, did so aptly place their ordnance against the same, and to so good purpose, that the Turks swore their doings were by some means discovered vnto the E- nemies. So when they had in vain bestowed 500 shot, and made a small breach which they durst not once attempt to enter, they shamefully abandoned that place also.

*The English  
bulwarke  
blown vp.*

All this while *Pyrrhus* was busie in working of mines to vndermine the City; 32 of which K mines the defendants frustrated with countermines; in which kind of work many were lost on both sides. Yet for all the carefulnes of the Christians, the English bulwarke was vndermi- ned by the enemy, & vpon the fourth of September part therof blown vp, with such violence, that vnto them in the city it seemed at the first to be a generall earthquake; and diuers Eng- lish men were therewith overwhelmed. The Turks attempting presently to enter, were by the Grand Master and his followers with great slaughter repulled.

But *Mustapha* the Bassa comming on with fresh supplies, and crying out of the cowardise L of them that retyred, renewed the assault, where for a while was fought a most sharp and cruell fight, the leaders cheerfully encouraging their soldiers, & they likewise doing what was pos- sible for men to do: all mens ears were filled with the thundring of the shot, noise of trumpets and drums, and cries of men. And vnto the Turks it seemed that it rained ouer their heads deadly shot and stones of fire: for the townsmen and women mingled with the souldiers, cast down vpon the Turks fire, stones, timber, and whatsoever els came to hand, so that they vnable longer to endure the courage and force of the Christians, turned their backs and ran away by heaps, not expecting any sign of retreat, every man seeking to saue one: among whom as they fled, the great ordnance shot off from the wals made wonderful slaughter. At this assault of the Turks were slain, as some write, almost 2000, and amongst them the master of the Turkish ordnance, a man whom *Solyman* greatly loued: which victory the Christians gained not with- out some losse; for besides some few others that were slain, fifty Knights of the Order (men worthy of eternal memory) ended their daies also.

*The Turks af-  
faut the Eng-  
lish bulwarke  
abandoned time  
and are againe  
repulled.*

The fift day after (which was the ninth of September) *Solyman* by the persuation of *Mus- M* *pha* the great Bassa, commanded a fresh assault to be giuen to the English bulwarke; which was attempted by the Turks with greater resolution than the first. Seven ensignes of the Turks were broken in by the ruines of the Bulwarke, and had inforced the Defendants, oppressed with

A with number to giue ground, when the graund Master comming in with the ensigne of the Order, garded with a company of most valiant Knights, draue them out againe by force, and made good the place. *Mustapha* seeing his men retyre, courageously restored the battell, by bringing on of new supply, and other captains with threats, strokes, and terror of death infor- ced the soldiers (who had before turned their backs) now again to fight. So that there began a more cruel fight than had before bin from the beginning of the siege: which was vnto the Christians more dangerous, for that they were ouerwhelmed with the multitude of the Tur- kish shot. But in this extremity no man regarded either danger or life, only this they remem- bered, that those were their barbarous enemies, whom they must either victoriously vanquish, or die therfore. With which fury the assault was continued by the space of three hours, vntil B at length *Mustapha* with his Turks discouraged, with the losse of 2000 of their fellows, & of three great noblemen whom *Solyman* especially fauored, and fore bearen by the Spaniards out of their flankers, were inforced to retyre. Few of the Christians, in respect of so many Ene- mies, were slain: yet had the ensigne of the Order been then lost (*Ioachim* *Cluy* the Ensigne- bearer hauing both his eyes (shot out) had not *Emericus Ruiaulx* an Avernois, and one of the Knights of the Order, with incredible courage rescued the same.

After this second assault, falling out so vnluckily vnto the Turks, *Mustapha* the great Bassa began to grow in contempt with *Solyman*: and *Pyrrhus* to keep his credit by doing something, with continual battery of 17 great pieces, did batter the mount neer vnto the Italian bulwarke. At which time also *Cassius* gouernor of Bythinia, another of the Turks great commanders, la- bored by vndermining to haue ouerthrown the French bulwarke: so glad they were to attempt C any thing to content their imperious great lord and master. But the indeuours of *Cassius* was by countermines, through the carefull diligence of *Gabriel Chierus* hauing charge of those works, frustrated: and *Pyrrhus* in the other place after he had by hot assault slain them which were appointed for the defence therof, and gained the mount, and brought a great feare vpon the city, was again with great losse shamefully repulled, and by *Solymans* commandment cau- sed to retyre. At this assault the gouernor of Euboea, *Solymans* Lieutenant Generall, a man of great honor (if any of the Turks slaues are so to be accounted) was slain, for whose death *Soly- man* was exceeding penfue and heavy.

*Mustapha Bas-  
sa falls into dis-  
grace with So-  
lyman.*

*Mustapha* the Bassa finding himself in disgrace with *Solyman* for the two vnfortunat assaults D by him giuen at the English station, determined if it were possible, by a third to recouer his lost credit: and for his better succes therein, agreed with *Achmetes* another great commander, at the same time to assault the Spanish bulwarke. According to this resolution, *Achmetes* ha- uing with a mine suddenly blowne vp a great part of the Wall of the Spanish station, in the thick of the dust and smoke presently entred his men, who by the ruins of the wall recouered the top of the rampiers. *Mustapha* also at the same time hardly charged the English, so that in both places was made a hard and doubtful fight. *Mustapha* desiring nothing more, than with better succes now to redeem his former dishonor, did what he might to encourage the soldi- E ers, calling vpon them by name, and putting them in remembrance of their former victories. The Rhodians on the other side mindfull of their former honor, with the greatnes of the pre- sent danger, valiantly repulled the enemy, and forced him with shame to retyre. In this as- fault many Englishmen were slain, and *Prezanes* also sore hurt, hauing before slain many of the Turks. *Mustapha* beside the losse of his men, had also two of his ensignes taken by *Christophor- us Vanderick* Commendator of the German Knights. *Achmetes* hauing won the top of the walls, had there set vp the Turkish ensignes; but by the valor of the defendants, and by means of certain pieces of ordnance, by *Martiniugus* aptly placed in the houses before the new made breach, and by force of shot out of the flankers on both sides the breach, whereof none fell in- vain, he was again inforced to forsake the wals, and to retyre.

*The English  
bulwarke the  
third time af-  
faut, by Mus-  
tapha.*

*The Turks En-  
signes aduanced  
to the top of  
the wall, were a-  
gain cast down.*

The 23 of September, the Turkish captains hoping by means of a mine which they had made against the Avern bulwarke, to enter and win the City; approaching the wals with mul- F titudes of soldiers, ready to haue entred vpon the blowing vp of the mine: it being met with a countermine out of the city, wrought not such effect as was by them expected: so that ha- uing receiued some harm, standing in a place of great disadvantage, and don nothing, they re- turned again to the camp. Yet all the expert captains probably coniecturing that the Wall might

Another  
breach made  
in the walls.

might bee inwardly shaken by the mine, though it were not by them outwardly perceived; & caused that part of the wal to be most violently battered al the rest of that day and night following, and by the fury of their artillery made a fair & large breach. Al that night was heard in the Turks camp an unwonted clattering of weapons, and of men running to and fro, as had there bin some great matter a doing: which the Rhodians coniectured (as the truth was) to be a sign of some great assault to be shortly given.

Solyman resolving the next day with all his force to assault the new made breach, after hee had by himself in a melancholy mood walked vp & down in his tent a great part of the night, sent for the chief commanders of his army, to whom he declared his mind as followeth.

Your valor and wisdom (worthy Captains) needeth not any exhortation; yet the desperate madnesse of our enemies maketh me to speak unto you these few words: who whilst they yet do, as from the beginning, as men without reason desperately defend their City rent with our artillery, shaken with our mines, their Churches and houses beaten downe about their eares, wearied and worn out with slaughter, labour, and wounds, which must needs befall men so often assaulted; they worthily seem unto our soldiers men of invincible force and courage: which opinion to have removed, much concerneth the happy and wisdome of our assault. Wherefore I would have you with effectual persuasions and bountifull promises to hearken on our men to the winning of this city. Besides this, you shall open unto them my purpose and intent, and that they should not think that they are brought hither to besiege one city, but that in taking this one, they shall upon the matter make a way into all the dominions of the Christians. Here be the kindred, alliances, and friends of all the Kings, Princes, and Potentats of Christendom: here is all our enemies treasure, the spoil wherof promised unto our soldiers, may serve to great purpose to incourage them forward: here is the store of ordnance, armor, and other warlike provision, which shall both furnish us, and in time to come miserably confound the rest of the Christians. We shall besides this enjoy a most goodly and rich city, with a haven of all others most commodious, from whence all things necessary for war may at all times as occasion shall require, by land and sea be supplied: which as they shall be so us things of great importance, so shall we depaule our enemies of far greater. This is their castle, storehouse, treasury, and armory: this is the very receptacle and place of refuge for all such as trouble the Turks by sea: from hence shal we have free scope and passage into Apulia, Calabria, Sicilia, and many other Christian countries. But as for your selves, valiant Captains, when as I consider how that you have within these few months by your valor and wisdom subdued unto my empire the strong city of Belgrade, which my great grandsfather Mahomet that mighty Emperor could not with all his power get; I rest in great hope, that these fierce and obstinate Christians shall not long be able to defend themselves in these their dens and lurking places.

Having ended this speech, the captains every one unto his company made known what the great Emperors wil and pleasure was; and open proclamation made thorow all the campe, by which the spoil of that rich city was all granted unto the soldiers, as a prey and reward for the pains they were to take.

Solyman heauy with sleep and care, lay down vpon a pallet to take his rest: but the great Master (to whom the vnaccustomed stir of the enemy portended some great matter) al that night in arms painfully viewed every part of the city, cherfully encouraging his soldiers to remember, That they did watch for the safety of their Country, their liues and liberty. It fortuned the same night, that a poor Christian seruing a Turk in the camp, calling secretly to the watch vpon the walls, gaue them warning that the Turks prepared the next day to giue a generall assault vnto the city. Which thing when the great Master certainly vnderstood, because hee would haue nothing don rashly or fearfully (as it commonly hapneth in things don vpon the sudden) called together his Knights, and spake vnto them as followeth:

The Great Master  
Exhortation to  
his Knights.

I am glad (sacred Companions and Fellowes in Armes) that the time is come when in one battell, getting vnto your selves great honour, and defending your Countrey, you may be iustly accounted the worthy Defenders and Renemers of the Christian Commonwealth and Name. The people against whom we are to fight tomorrow, assault vs onely as presuming vpon their multitude: But if we measure valour not by number, but by courage and prowesse, undoubtedly a few resolute men will easily overcome a great multitude of cowards. You know your enemy, and the manner of his fight: you are to fight

(most)

A (most worthy Knights) with them whom you haue alwaies vanquished at sea, and in iust battel sometimes overcome by land, at such time as with their whole power they assaulted your walls: omitting in the mean time many hot skirmishes, wherein you dur put them to the worst. Wherefore you and they in the assault tomorrow shall haue such courage, as conquerors and men conquered use to haue. Neither wil they fight because they dare fight; but because the great Tyrant and violent command of their Capitaines enforce them therunto. Wherefore remembering what you are by birth, what opinion the Christian commonwealth hath conceived of you, where you are, and what you haue taken vpon you, take up your arms with iust fury and indignation, and fight against them, following one frantick youth, as if you saw your slanes bearing arms against you. Whereunto you are enforced not only by the indignity of the wrong by them offered, but also by necessity, which of it self is of power to make cowards valiant and hardy. For here wee are in an Island from whence we cannot escape, and in a city whose rent and battered walls do not so much protect and defend vs, as our weapons: wherfore tomorrow we must here either vanquish them, or die therefore: tomorrow shall giue vnto vs either ioyfull victory, or a most honorable death.

As he was yet thus speaking, news of the enemies approach caused him to make an end, and every man hastied with speed to the place of his charge. The enemy comming fast on, with a most horrible cry, as their manner is, fiercely assailed the city in five places, where the English, Spaniards, Italians, Narbonenses, and Avergnons had their stations. To the assault of euery of which places Solyman had appointed ten thousand Turks. Mustapha the Bassa calling vpon the name of his great Prophet Mahomet, and promising vnto the souldiers the rich spoil of the City, fiercely assailed the English station, from whence he had bin three times before shamefully repulsed. Pyrrhus the other great Bassa with like fury assaulted the Italian station. In both places was maintained a cruell and deadly fight; the Turks fighting for the prey, and the Rhodians for their liues and liberty. Neither was there any of what degree or order soeuer, which did not that day fight for defence of the City. The priests and religious men were not then exempted, but fought among other soldiers: women, children, and with them the aged fathers, beyond the strength of their bodies, & courage of their minds, brought weapons vnto the defendants, some stones which they had digged out of the streets, some burning pitch barrels, some hoops with wild-fire, some scalding oil, some boyling pitch, which being cast down vpon the enemies, troubled them so, as nothing was more feared: for vpon whomsoever it fel, it stuck fast, and so scalded their bodies, that they were glad to cast downe their weapons, to tear off their cloaths, wherewith many of them rent off the skin and flesh also. All which things fel so thick vpon the Turks as if it had rained fire and stones: besides the deadly shot, which among such a multitude of enemies neuer fell in vain. The great Master hauing a careful eye ouer euery part of the city, after he had well relieved the Italian station, which was the first hardly distressed by Pyrrhus, left there Antonius Monterollus a Knight of the Order, with such company as hee thought conuenient for the safety of that place; and went himself with the rest vnto the English station, which was then hardly laid to by the Bassa Mustapha. But whilst he was there busied in repulsing the enemy, and had now well relieved the place, a sudden cry ran along the walls, that the Spanish bulwark was already possessed by the enemy: with which heauy news he was not a little troubled; but leauing there Emericus Gombaulus, one of the Knights of the Order, with a chosen company of soldiers for defence of that place, he with his gard hastied to the Spanish station, which he found by a wonderfull chance already taken by the enemy. In the beginning of the assault, certain Turks to shun the danger of the shot, had for fear hidden themselves at the foot of this bulwark, among the stones which had before bin beaten downe with the battery: in the mean time other Turkes of the same regiment, vnder the leading of the valiant Captain Achimetes, hotly charged the Spaniards on the right hand of the bulwark, not meddling with the bulwark it self, as a thing of greatest strength: and the valiant souldiers appointed for the defence of the bulwark, seeing their fellowes and Countrey men distressed fast by them on the right hand, could not endure to stand still as lookers on, but left the Bulwark, and went to the place so hardly assaulted; where whilst they were valiantly encountering the enemy, the cowardly Turkes who had before for fear hid themselves, hearing all still ouer their heads, and thereby ghesing (as the truth was) that the defendants were drawn thence to another place more distressed, to color their fear, & proue

The Turks assault the City in five places at once.

The Rhodians valiantly defend the city.

The Spanish bulwark taken by the Turks.

proue their good fortune, like tall fellows crept out of the holes wherein they had before for fear hid themselves, and secretly crawling vp the battered wall of the Bulwark, got into it before they were discovered: where finding none but a few soldiers (who busied in removing of a great piece to a place more conuenient for annoying the enemy, had laid downe their weapons) they suddenly set vpon them, slew them, ouerthrew the Christian ensigne, and so became masters of that strong fort. The Turks without, seeing that, wonderfully commended the valor of these men, and blaming themselves of cowardise, made a great hast through the middle of the town ditch, to get vp into the bulwark to help their fellows. But in going through the ditch, they were so cut off with shot on both sides out of the flankiers, that few of them could get vp into the desired bulwark: and the Great Master with a crew of valiant soldiers, nothing fearing the armed enemy, now in possession of the bulwark ouer their heads, with great resolution scaled the same. In the mean time *Hugo Caponus* a Spaniard, and *Menotius* a Frenchman, both Knights of the Order, with a company of Cretensian soldiers brake into the bulwark by a gate which the Turks had not as yet boited, and being once got in, they quickly dispatched the Turks, for whom they flew not with the sword, they inforced to mischiefe themselves for hast back again ouer the wals. The bulwark thus again recovered (which had bin two houres in possession of the enemy) & the city deliuered of a wonderful feare; the worthy great Master leauing a sufficient number of soldiers for the keeping of that fort, went with the rest of his company vnto the place where the Spaniards with the rest of the defendants fore charged by *Achimenes*, and now wearied and almost spent, had much ado to hold out: who incouraged with the sight of the grand Master, as if victory had attended vpon him, with great cries and signes of joy, valiantly & with great slaughter repulsed their enemies as if they had bin flesh men. Long it were to recount the deadly fight & hard aduentures which beset at the assault of the other two stations of the Avergnois and Narbonenses: but the Turks were in euery place put to the worst, and lay by heaps slain in the ditches and breaches of the town. *Solyman* from his standing (for that purpose made of high masts) beholding the miserable slaughter of his men, and no hope of gaining the City, caused a retreat to be sounded, a thing welcome both to the Rhodians and Turks. In this terrible assault, which indured by the space of six hours, diuers of the Knights of the Order were slain, especially of the French and Spanish nations, with 150 common soldiers, all men worthy of eternal fame, and of the Turks (as they which write most modestly report) 20000. The yong tyrant was so much offended with the shamefull repulse he had receiued at this last assault, that he fel into a rage against al them which had persuaded him to enter into that action; but especially against the great Bassa *Mustapha*, whom he accused as an vnfaithful counsellor and chief persuader of that vnlucky war: who flattering him in his vain humor, by extolling his forces aboue measure, and falsely extenuating the enemies power, assuring him that vpon the first approach of his army they would yeeld themselves without resistance, had drawn him into that dangerous expedition, like to sort to the great dishonor of himself and all the *Othoman* family: for which doing he adiudged him worthy of death, and in great fury commaunded the executioner without further delay to put him to death in his presence. Which dreadful doom, so suddenly and vpon so light an occasion giuen vpon a man of so great mark and quality, stricke such a terror into the minds of all there present that none of them durst speak a word against the rigor of that sentence, or so much as set a sigh in pitying his case. The executioner now ready to give the fatal stroke, *Pyrhus* the most antient of all the Bassa's, moued with compassion, and presuming of his great fauor with the tyrant, whom he had from his childhood had the charge and government of: step forth, and appealing vnto his mercy, earnestly requested him to spare his life. Wherewith *Solyman* was so filled with wrath and indignation, that for his presumption, and for sending for him to Constantinople to come to that dangerous siege, he commaunded him to be executed also. All the rest of the counsellors seeing the danger of these two great men, fell down at the feet of the summing tyrant, craving pardon, saying, That the enemies ground had already drunk too much of the Turkish blood, and was not to be further moistened with the blood of two such noble personages and worthy Counsellours. *Solyman* moued with this general intercession of his great men, pausing a little vpon the matter, the heat of his fury being something ouer, suffered himself to be intreated, and granted vnto them their liues: To *Pyrhus* for his great age

The Turks  
were again  
recovered.

The Turks  
were  
discouraged.

*Solyman* in  
this comman-  
deth the two  
Bassa's, *Mustapha*  
and *Pyrhus*,  
to be put to  
death.

The Bassa's  
set at the im-  
tercession of the  
other counsell-  
ors.

A age and wisdom, and to *Mustapha* for his wiues sake, who was the tyrants naturall sister some time the wife of *Bostanges*.

All the time of this siege, the Turks great fleet, furnished with men and all manner of warlike prouision, lay before the entrance of the hauen without doing any thing at all: for the Admirall being no man of war, seeing the mouth of the hauen chained, and the castles vpon the entrance full of ordnance, and strongly manned, durst not attempt either to enter the hauen, or besiege the castle: for which his cowardise, and for that he had negligently suffered prouision both of victuall and munition, to be conueied into the city during the time of the siege, to the great reliefe of the besieged, he was by *Solyman* adjudged to die a most cruell death: but by the mediation of *Achimenes*, one of his best men of war, the severity of that sentence was changed into a punishment, vnto any noble mind more grieuous than death it selfe: for he was by *Solyman*s commandement, openly set vpon the poupe of the admirall gally, and there as a slave receiued at the hands of the executioner a hundred stripes with a cudgell, and so with shame was thrust out of his office.

After that *Solyman* had in so many places with all his power so long time in vaine besieged the Rhodes, his haughty courage began to quaike, so that he was vpon point to haue raised his siege and left the Island, yea, the griefe he had conceiued, went so neere him, that he many times fainted and lay speechlesse, as if he had been a dead man. The remembrance of so many vnfortunat assaults, the death of so many worthy captains, the losse of so many valiant souldiers (sufficient to haue subdued a whole kingdome) so much grieued him, that a great while after he thinned the company of men, and would not suffer himselfe to be spoken withall: vntill at length he was againe by *Abraham* his minion, a man in whom he tooke singular pleasure, recomfited, and persuaded to continue the siege; for that Time (as he said) which worketh all things would at length tame the fiercenesse of his enemies, whom the sword could not vpon the sudden subdye. In the meane time *Solyman* for his pleasure, and to shew vnto the Rhodians, that he purposed not to depart, began to build a sumptuous castle vpon the top of the mount *Philemus* in the eie of the city. During which time diuers letters were shot into the city with Turkish arrowes out of the campe, wherein many of *Solyman*s most secret counsels were revealed, and the reuolt of a great man promised, which the Rhodians by many circumstances gathered to haue bene *Mustapha*, who could not easily forget the injury so lately offered vnto him by *Solyman*: needs it must be some of *Solyman*s secret counsell, otherwise he could not haue revealed so great secrets as it were out of the bosome of *Solyman*. But see the chance, at the very same time tidings came vnto *Solyman*, that *Cayerbeius* the Gouernour of *Aegypt* was dead in whose place *Solyman* sent *Mustapha* to *Caire* as Gouernour of *Aegypt*, by that honourable preferment again to please his discontented mind, after which time no more letters came into the city.

Now the Turks began to make faire wars, their terrible battery began to grow calme, and for certaine daies isseemed by the manner of their proceedings, that they purposed rather by long siege than by assault to take the town. Neuertheless the enemies watching day and night in their trenches, vfed all the policy they could, sometimes offering vnto the souldiers vpon the wals great rewards, if they would yeeld vp the city, and sometimes threatening them as fast: and to breed a dislike among the defendants, they would oftentimes say, that *Solyman* desired only to be reuenged vpon the latines, without meaning any harme vnto the Greekes.

It was now the beginning of October, and Winter began to grow fast, great rain, with terrible thunder and lightening, and mighty tempests, heauens threats, then fell so abundantly, that the Turks before wearied in body with labor and wounds, were now also in mind discouraged. And that more increased their feare, the sea was growne so rough, That the Admirall was not able in that open and dangerous sea longer to ride it out with his gallies: but was inforced to slip his anchors, and as he might to run his gallies on ground. In these troubles where with both *Solyman* himselfe and all his army, were at farthest of their wits, and almost quite discouraged, *Achimenes* one of his most valiant and expert captains, came to comfort him and promised if he would continue the siege, in short time to make him an open way into the city: vpon confidence whereof, *Solyman* to encourage his fainting souldiers, now scarce able for cold and lacke of courage to hold their weapons in their hands, caused them to be assembled before his pavillion, where from a high place, he comforted them in this sort:

*Solyman* dis-  
pleased his Ad-  
mirall and pu-  
nished him as  
a slave.

*Solyman* excee-  
dingly grieued  
with the reput-  
and losse recei-  
ued at the siege  
of the Rhodes,  
was vpon point  
to haue left the  
same.

*Achimenes* pro-  
mised to make  
a way for *Soly-  
man* into the  
city.

Solyman comfort  
eth his souldi-  
ers and persua-  
deth them with  
patience to en-  
dure the siege.

I am not ignorant (most valiant souldiers) what great things you indure for mine honour, and the glory of mine Empire. This continuall threatning of the heavens, this immoderate raine, this terrible thunder and lightening, the coldnesse of the weather, the want of necessities, with the manifold miseries of this long siege, doe much perswade me, to give you leave to lay downe armes and to take your rest. But first let us consider if unto men of courage it be not a dishonour, for the tediousnesse of raine and tempest, to leave unto our enemies the victory already in our hands, and shamefully to forsake our trenches, forts, mounts, ouertopping not only the wals of the city, but making the heavens, with such other like workes, made with my infinite charge, and your great travell, all for the taking of this city. Truly this warresher should not have beene taken in hand at all, or being once begun, is to be ended for the honour of the Othoman Empire. Which for so much as it could not be accomplished in Summer, the reputation of mine Empire in common, and the regard of the commodity of every one of you in private, enforseth me to per-  
forme it in Winter. For if we should from hence depart with our army, who doubts but the enemy, not on-  
ly for desire of reuenge, but also strained by necessity, hauing lost all he had of his owne, will prey upon your countries, houses, and goods, and will bring you, your wiues, and children, into a farre more miserable sla-  
uery and bondage, than that wherein he himselfe now is? Wherefore I aduise you to continue the siege, and neuer to depart before you have attained unto the end of your desires. And admit there were no necessity in the matter, yet the honour and fame of the action ought to impose upon you a resolution both of body and  
mind to indure the siege: For the cies and countenances of all nations, especially the Christians, are fixed  
upon you; whom when they shall understand not to be able to indure the field one Winter, they will of right  
call you Summer-birds, which so soone as any storme ariseth, looke after your houses, and places of repose. It  
is reported, that the Grecians for a strumpet besieged Troy ten yeares, and shall not the Turks, vexed and  
oppressed with slaughters, robberies, inuasions both by sea and land, and that more is, with the seruitude of  
two hundred and foureteen yeres, endure one Winters siege? They will say that the terror if your name is  
but vaine, yet the honour and fame hath increased the same (as many other things moe) which not seen, are more fea-  
red in far countries amongst men of small experience: And that now every man may safely enough abide  
your force, which make your inuasions rather upon a fury and brauery than upon any good resolution,  
which in all kinde of war (but especially in besieging of cities) is most necessary: whereof many being by na-  
tural situation and fortification impregnable, time hath with her handmaids, Famine and Thirst, ouer-  
come and vanquished, as it shall do this city of the Rhodes: against which (beloued in armes) there is a se-  
cret mischiefe prepared, which may not in this open audience be published; for it is as necessary that the  
vulgar sort should be ignorant of some things, as to know the same.

Many thought, that this was spoken rather of policy than vpon any good ground: and al-  
though his hot persuation had little moued the cold courage of his despairing souldiers, yet  
the regard of duty in that most loyall nation, with the greedy expectation of so great a secret,  
ouercame all other difficulties; so that they departed (at lewtwise in shew) contented to indure  
whatsoever should befall.

Achimetes win-  
neth the Vaum-  
ures of the  
Auerne bul-  
warke, raiseth  
a strong pent-  
house against  
the wall, and so  
vndermineth  
the same.

Achimetes author of this great expectation, and the only hope of Solymans successe, came of-  
tentimes and assailed the Vaumures of the Auerne station, which although they were not ver-  
ry high, yet were they alwaies valiantly defended by the Rhodians. It fortuned, that this  
warlike captaine dayly attempting the Vaumures, in the end by force obtained the same, and  
so possessed of the place he so much desired, desperately kept it vntill greater helpe came run-  
ning in, who with wonderfull expedition (with matter for that purpose before prepared), clapt  
vp a strong and defensible couering in manner of a penthouse against the towne wall, be-  
twixt the wall and the Vaumure, vnder which they shrouded themselves from the defend-  
ants; which was an easie matter for such a multitude to do, the ditches of the towne in that  
place being now filled vp so high, that the defendants could not out of the flankers scope  
the ditch, nor yet without manifest danger come to cast any thing downe vpon them from  
the top of the wals: for the Turks harquebusers which lying vpon their mounts, higher than  
the battered wals of the city, suffered none to appeare vpon them without danger. So that  
the Rhodians who erst thought themselves at great quiet, were now ouertaken with a sudden  
and an unexpected mischiefe: which at the first filled the city with feare and heavy silence,  
which straitwaies after brake out into pittifull outcries and lamentations. The Turks lur-  
king vnder their penthouse, laboured with mattocks and pickaxes to dig vp the foundation of  
the wall; and Prejanes forward and couragious to do what might be done, threw downe vpon  
the

A the Turks, fire, scalding oyle, burning pitch, wild-fire and such things. But when the miserable  
men which shrunke from the worke for feare of the fire, were againe beaten forward by their  
imperious commanders, and presently slaine if they made any delay, and fresh men still thrust  
on in stead of such as were hurt or slaine: the fatall worke began the seventh day of October,  
went apace forward, with the great and continuall labour of these wretched slaues. A great  
number of the common souldiers whom the Turks call Asapi were imployed in this worke:  
of whom Solyman in this siege of the Rhodes, and other his expeditions, made not much more  
account but as of pioners to worke in mines and to cast vp trenches, and oftentimes with their  
bodies to fill towne ditches to make a way for the Tanizaries to passe ouer vpon: they by the  
constraint of Achimetes vndermined the wall, and as they wrought, shoared vp the same againe  
with timber, whereunto they afterwards set fire, hoping by that means to ouerthrow the wall;  
which falling not out according to their expectation, for that they had not far enough vnder-  
mined it, they assaied with great hooks and strong ropes to haue pulled it downe. But the  
Rhodians with their great ordnance from the Auerne bulwarke, quickly put them from that  
mad worke with great slaughter, and frustrated all their long labor. Achimetes thus disappoint-  
ed of his purpose, stood in great doubt whether he should giue ouer the enterprise, for that  
he saw he laboured in vaine, or else in that dangerous place to expect some better hap, the on-  
ly means to saue him from the tyrants heauy displeasure, who as he knew measured all things  
by the euent. Solyman vnderstanding by Achimetes, that the wall (although it was not ouer-  
thrown as was expected) was yet sore shaken and weakened with vndermining, caused his bat-  
tery to be planted against that part of the wall so vndermined: which so many waies weakened,  
and now sore battered, fell downe dayly more and more. For remedy whereof, the Rhodians  
laboured day and night to raise a new wall, in stead of that which was beaten downe.

At the same time, Solyman perswaded by the generall opinion of all his great captains, that  
the city was that day or neuer to be taken, determining to giue another generall assault, caus-  
ed proclamation to be made thorow his campe: wherein he gaue the spoile of the city vnto  
his souldiers, and the more to encourage them, spake vnto them in few words, as followeth:

Fortune at length, valiant souldiers, hauing notably proued your courage and patience, now offereth vnto  
you the worthy rewards of your labour and paines. The victory and wealth of your enemies which you  
haue so much desired is now in your hands. Now is the time to make an end of this mungrell people, of  
whom more are slain than left alive, and they not men, but the shadows and ghosts of men, feeble and spent  
with hunger, wounds, wants, and labour; who will I know resist you, not because they so dare, but because  
of necessity they so must, enforced thereto with all extremities. Wherefore now reuenge your selues of  
the falshood, cruelty, and villanies of these Christians, and make them a wofull example to all posterity,  
that neuer man hereafter presume to offer injury to a Turke, in whatsoeuer state he be. The way is already  
open into the city, there is a faire breach made whereby thirty horsemen may at once enter: nothing want-  
eth but courage in you to assaile the same.

The souldiers encouraged with this speech of their Emperour, made great shew of cheere-  
fulness, and promised to do their vttermost deuoir, threatning vnto the Christians most hor-  
rible death and miserable captivity.

In the meane time the great hot flying continually through the breach, did beat downe  
many houses in the city; but the countermure new built against the breach standing vpon a  
lower ground, it seldome toucht, to the great good of the Rhodians. The ratling of the falling  
houses, the horrible noise of the enemy, with the thundering of the great artillery, wonder-  
fully terrified the miserable citifens: in every place was heard the lamentation of women and  
children, every thing shewed the heauinesse of the time, and seemed as altogether lost and  
forlorne. The day thus troublesomely spent, the night followed much more troublesome; and  
after the night, the day of assault of all others most dreadfull: for with the dawning thereof,  
the glittering ensignes of the enemy were seene flying in the wind, and the Turks cheerefull  
with the hope of spoile and victory, halted towards the breach with great outcries and songs,  
after their country manner: and there before one of the gates of the city called S. Ambrose  
gate, set downe a great number of their ensignes deckt with garlands, in token of victory. The  
Turks great fleet also at the same time sayling too and fro before the hauen, made shew as if

The miserable  
state of the com-  
mon souldiers of  
the Turks, and  
the small ac-  
count is made  
of them.

The distressed  
state of the  
Rhodians and  
their courage  
and resolution  
therein.

it would have assailed the city on that side: who had seene the city so beset, would have said that it would at one instant have bin besieged both by sea and land; and to most mens judgments, it seemed that the Rhodian state should that day have taken end and bin destroyed. Yet for all these extremities, the Rhodians were nothing discouraged, but looking vpon their weapons as the only remainders of their hopes, not regarding any danger, vpon the alarme given came running out of their houses by heaps vnto the walls, like desperat men opposing their bodies in stead of their battered walls against their enemies in defence of their country. There needed neither exhortation nor command of captaine, euery man was vnto himselfe a persuader to fight valiantly in defence of the city; and one of them propounded vnto another the cruell death, the miserable seruitude, the mocks and taunts they should indure, if they should chance to come into the proud enemies hand: all which was to be auoided either by honorable victory or death. The Turks conducted by *Achimetes*, fiercely assailed the breach, which was by the Rhodians (standing vpon the ruins of their walls) valiantly defended. In the meane time the dismaied matrons and maidens, some in their houses, with heauy hearts expected the wofull destruction of the city and themselves, otherfom in their churches with floods of tears and lamentable cries, poured forth their praiers vnto the Almighty, crauing his helpe in that their hard distresse, and to prote& them against their barbarous enemies. The deadly fight at the breach, was on both sides with great courage and force maintained. The Turks were in good hope forthwith to win the city, if they did but a little more straine themselves: and therefore to terrifie the Rhodians the more, oftentimes in their fighting gaue out most terrible outcries, and the Rhodians accounted the Turks as good as vanquished, for they being so many in number, and in place of such indifferency, had not yet preuailed: beside that, they were greatly encouraged with the greatnesse of the common danger, and the sight one of anothers valor; so that by their inuincible courage the Turks were enforced shamefully to retire. The Rhodians seeing their enemies turne their backs, gaue a great shout in derision of them: the Turks disdaining that they in number many (and now victors, if they should with a little resolution maintain the assault they had begun) should be so derided of a handfull of men as good as already vanquished, with great indignation returned again to the breach, and more furiously assailed the Rhodians than at the first. At which time the city had vndoubtedly bin taken, had not they which defended the end of the wall, yet standing on both sides of the breach, out of their barricadoes with their shot overwhelmed the Turks thronging in at the breach, & others with murthring shot out of the flankers of the new built wall so cut them asunder, that a greater slaughter for the time was hardly in any place seene. *Achimetes* beholding the wonderfull slaughter of his soldiers, and that he fought with great disadvantage and losse, against desperat men, who resolving to die, feared no danger, gaue ouer the assault and againe retired: leauing behind him in the breach and towne ditch, the carcases of fise thousand of his dead Turks, besides many more which afterwards died vpon the hurts there receiued.

The Turks trouble  
the Rhodians  
with continual  
alarmes, and by casting  
up of trenches  
get into the city.

This assault was giuen vnto the towne the last day of Nouember, a day dedicated to *S. Andrew*: after which time the captaine of the Turkish army, although they despaired not of the victory, yet terrified with so great slaughter of their men, resolved with one accord no more to attempt the city with any notable assault, but by sundry great trenches to be made thorow the midst of the ruins of the walls, to get into the city; and with matoks and pickaxes to overthrow the new made wall and another barricado which the defendants had made within the same: and in the meane time whilst this was in doing, to keepe the Rhodians still busied with continuall skirmishes and alarmes. This deuise put in execution by the wonderfull labour of such a multitude of people, serued the enemy to greater purpose than all that he had done before: who daily overthrowing or destroying the new fortifications which the Rhodians made in stead of them which were before overthrowne, and by little and little creeping on further, draue the defendants to that extremity, that they were glad to pull downe many of their houses, therewith to make new fortifications, and to make their city lesse, by casting vp of new trenches: so that in short time they were brought to that point, that they could not well tell which place to fortifie first, the enemy was now so far crept within them: for the ground which the enemy had thus gained within the city, was almost 200 paces in breadth, and 150 paces in length.

*Solyman*, although he did now assure himselfe of the victory, and was by nature cruell and desirous

A desirous of reuenge; yet persuaded by *Achimetes* and *Cassius* (two of his most valiant captaines) that for the enlarging of his empire nothing was better than the same and clemency: commanded *Pyrrhus* the old Bassa to proue if the Rhodians might by parley be drawne to yeeld their city vpon reasonable conditions. Whereupon the Bassa sent one *Hieronimus Monelia*, a Genoway, vnto the walls, who crauing of the defendants safe conduct, said he had something to say tending to the common good of the distressed city. All mens minds were presently filled with expectation of some great matter, and he commanded to speake. Who answered, that he might not deliuer his message openly, but would either by speech in secret, or by letters deliuer the same vnto one *Mathias de Via* his countryman, one of the citifens of the Rhodes. When *Fra. Farnonius*, one of the Knights of the Order, a Frenchman of a cholericke disposition, whose great courage was well seene in all that siege (having as it is reported, with shot out of *Sainte Georges* tower himselfe slain 500 Turks during the time of that siege) being now present, and moued with indignation to heare a motion made of priuat conference with the enemy: bent his piece vpon the messenger, and caused him forthwith to depart without doing his message. Many who in time of the assault feared not any danger, but were altogether become desperat and careles of themselves, after that they had vnderstood that the enemy had offered parley, and that they began to conceiue some hope of life: resorted vnto the Great Master requesting him, that he would provide for the safety of his louing people, whose warlike forces was with many assaults foreweakened, the city beaten down about their eares, and most of them which were left, either wounded or sicke. They had (as they said) now sufficiently proued both their force and fortune: wherefore he should do well, to beware, lest while he were too long in consulting, the enemy should conceiue a further indignation in seeing his offers refused. With these and such speeches they enforced the Great Master to send Embassadors to *Solyman*. The men that were sent, were *Anthonium Groleus* a Frenchman, ensigne bearer for the Order, a man of great reputation for his wisdom and experience, and with him *Robertus Barusius*, a man of great grauity, and skillfull in the Greeke tongue: for whom was receiued as pledges, a kinsman of the great captaine *Achimetes*, and a certaine Epirot which fled out of the city vnto the Turks, because one of the Grecian captaines had stricke him with his open hand; a man of a sharpe wit, and one that could perfectly speake the greeke, Turkish, and Italian tongues, as appeared to his great credit amongst the enemies, being had of them in great regard although he was not knowne whilst he dwelt in the city, that he was any such man. After that came also *Solymans* interpreter, for he himselfe could speake no other language more than his own, accounting it a disgrace, and against the *Othoman* Empire to vse any other language. The Embassadors admitted into *Solymans* presence, told him, that they were sent to know, for what cause he had sent to require parly? Who in a flaming heat, as if he had knowne nothing thereof, said there was no such matter: and commanded them presently to auoid his campe, sent them away with letters to the Great Master and the citifens, to this effect:

Secret parley  
rejected.

The great Master  
at the in-  
stance of his people  
sendeth em-  
bassadors to  
*Solyman*.

If I had not compassion of humane infirmity, which oftentimes tumbleth headlong men ambitious and haughty minds, into most dangerous & vnecessary mischiefs, truly I would not haue diuelled vnto you these letters at this time; but as you haue well deserved, persecute you with death and most miserable seruitude: which how easie a thing were it for me to do, you your selues know. But hauing now sufficiently tried my force, if you be wise make prooffe of my clemency. You haue already satisfied your owne fury, your owne mad humour: and now aduise your selues, lay your hand vpon your heart, and without delay yeeld your selues as I command; your liues I giue, I giue you your wealth, and more than that, your choice to tarry there still, or to depart: Refuse not the grace frankly offered, which was of you to haue been most heartily desired. It shall not alwaies be lawfull for you (as at this present) to make choice of both. From our campe.

*Solymans* letter  
sent to the great  
Master and the  
Rhodians, by  
their embassa-  
dors.

Vpon the returne of the embassadors, the poore of all sorts flockt together to the Great Master his house not far from the breach: where after the multitude of the common people was dismissed, and the chiefe of the burgers sent for, the imperious letter of the Turkish tyrant was openly read before the Knights of the Order, and the better sort of the citifens. Whereunto the Great Master accounting it both honour enough, and sufficient tearme of life honorably todie, answered in this sort.

*The Great Master his opinion concerning that Solyman de manded by his letters.*

You heard (sacred fellows in armes, and valiant citizens of the Rhodes) these imperious and sorrowfull letters: whereunto how we are to answer, requireth no great deliberation: we must as resolute men either yeeld or die; all hope of the victory is gone, except forraine aid come. Wherefore if you will follow my counsell, let us with weapons in our hands, untill the last gaspe and the spending of the last drop of our blood, like valiant men defend our faith and nobility received from our ancestors, and the honour which we haue so long time gotten both at home and abroad: and let it neuer be said, that our honour died but with our selues.

This speech of the Great Master seemed vnto many, heauier than the imperious commandement of the Turkish tyrant: and a great while men stood silent, heauily looking one vpon another, many with changing of their countenance and outward gesture, more than by words expressing what they thought in heart. At length a certaine Greeke Priest, with great compassion of mind (as it seemed) and teares trickling downe his cheekes, brake forth into these words:

*A notable speech of a Greeke Priest, persuading the Great Master to yeeld.*

And I would also hold my peace, if I were a priuat man, and not first of all in so great and troubled assembly brooch mine owne opinion. But forasmuch as the regard of our common preservation, can wring a word out of no mans mouth; and all men know, that now is the time to speake and say what euery man thinketh best, which shall neither alwaies nor long be granted vnto vs; I will not let it now ouerpasse and slip away: Wherefore let vs suppose, that no command of a most mighty Prince besieging vs, were come vnto vs, but that I was reasoning as a priuat man with his neighbour, or one friend with another by the fire side, or in our cups without care, without any great affection to either party, as men indifferent, not liking or hating (as men do oftentimes of Princes affaires which concerne them nothing) and then (as I hope) my speech shall be vnto you neither displeasing nor unprofitable. We Greekes and Latines, with joynt armes, haue now these six moneths withstood our deadly enemies, not only abroad before our walls, but also in the very bowels of our city, without any forreine helpe: which as we haue of long time all vainly looked for, so are we now euery one of vs out of hope thereof. And yet our enemy, either moued with the secret goodnesse of God, or else ignorant of our strength and forces, spent with wounds, slaughter, sickness, and perpetuall labour, doth voluntarily offer that vnto vs, which was of all desired and earnestly sued for. Your publike and priuate treasures, the bodies of your selues, your wives and children, he keepeth innoliated; he taketh from vs only the city, which he hath for most part already broken downe and taken. Worthy Great Master, and you most valiant Knights, I haue knowne prowesse and valour in many battles at sea, but especially in this siege, whereof seeing there is no more use in this our desperate estate, I doe appeale vnto your wisdom and discretion. Since all is now the conquerors, in that he leaueth vnto vs our liues and goods, that is to be accounted gaines, and the yeelding vp of the city and Island no lesse, which the victorious enemy already commandeth: which although it be a heauy matter and grievous vnto the nobility, yet your fortune persuadeth you thereunto. Wherefore if you be to be moued with any compassion, I account it better to yeeld, than to be slaine your selues, or to see your wives and children by law of armes to be led away before your faces into miserable captiuitie and seruitude. If any Christian compassion remaine in your warlike minds, I beseech you seeke not the viter destruction of this innocent people, who (I may with modesty say) hath not euill deserved of you, whom Christ Iesus, whom the enemy himselfe, would haue persecuted. That I say this which I speake vnto you for Christian charity, & for no other cause, let this be a sufficient testimony, that so long as you were able to resist by your own power, or hoped for aid of forrein Princes, I neuer spake word, or once thought of yeelding: but now seeing the fatal ruin of all things about vs, our common estate brought vnto the uttermost extremity, our deadly enemy in the heart of our city, no hope, and that the war cannot longer be protracted; I wish you to yeeld, and for my part had rather make choice of peace than war, and to proue the enemies fauour, than his fury.

Most of them there present, were of the same mind with the Priest. But as nothing can be so reasonably spoken as to content all men, so this speech was not of them all liked: some there were (though not many) which considering the harmes they had done vnto the Turks, and M doubting with what safety they might yeeld themselves, into the power of that faithlesse people, had rather to haue fought it out to the last man, and so to haue left vnto them a bloody victory. Amongst these, one bold spoken fellow slept forth, and in presence of them all dissuaded the yeelding vp of the city, in this sort:

I haue

*A most reuerend speech of a common souldier, dissuading the yeelding vp of the Rhodes.*

A I haue not bene with any thing more vnacquainted, than to deliuer my opinion before Princes, or in such great and publike assemblies, being alwaies more desirous modestly to heare other mens opinions, than impudently to thrust forth mine owne. But now, seeing extreame necessity will not longer suffer me to keepe my wonted course of silence, I will frankly speake my mind, and tell you what in my opinion is to be answered vnto the heauy message and imperious command of the most perfidious tyrant. This cruell enemy hath ouerthrowne our wall, and is entred three hundred foot and more within our city, and as a most troublesome guest lieth and conuerseth with vs as it were under the same rooffe. Such as list not longer to indure such an vnwelcome guest and troublesome neighbour, persuade you because he is troublesome, so giue him all: but (worthy and sacred Knights) I am of far different opinion; neither do I thinke a possession of two hundred and fourscore yeares is so lightly to be deliuered vp, and the ground forsaken: but rather that this troublesome intruder is in like manner to be himselfe troubled, and with deadly skirmishes continually vexed: whom after we had by force of armes and vndanted courage, maugre his head, held out five moneths, at length he brake into our city, not by any valour in himselfe, but holpen by time, which timesth all things: and since his first entrance it is now almost forty daies, in which time for all his haste, he hath scarcely got forward a hundred and thirty paces, hindered by the blockes we haue laied in his way, and will not cease continually to lay, if we be wise men and mindfull of our former valour. Destroy me you heauenly powers, before I see with these eyes these sacred knights to yeeld up this famous city of the Rhodes, the antient Bulwarke of Christian religion, vnto our mercilesse enemies, polluted with the infamous superstition of Mahomet: who besides the vnstiable thirst they haue of our blood, how faithlesse and mischievous they are by nature, if we know not, we need not make example of our selues, but we may take example by the calamity of Constantinople, the late misery of Eubœa, and that which later was of Methone, as also by the Amalukes at Caïre, miserably slaine contrary to the league, contrary to the faith and promise by the Turkish Emperour himselfe before giuen. What, do you not remember how the death of the most noble capitaine at Belgrade was of late procured by the falshood, craft, and deceit of the same faithlesse miscreants? Let vs then, being men of wit and vnderstanding, trust these mad beasts, let vs giue our selues into their power, which haue no regard of right or reason, of religion, or any thing else: whose conuentionnesse and cruelty it is hard to say which is greater, which for these many yerres haue plotted & laboured nothing more, than how by policy or force they may utterly root out the very name of the Rhodians, which they so deadly hate. They keepe vs shut vp and besieged now the sixth moneth, feeling together with vs extreame dangers and endlesse labour, slaine by heapes before our walls and fortresses, and cannot be remoued hence with thunder, lightning, storms, tempests, and all the calamities of Winter, a time which giueth intermission of all warre, both by sea and land; so desirous they are of reuenge, and greedy of our blood: and that not altogether without cause, for we haue also shed theirs, and gladly would still so do if it lay in our power. But seeing it seemeth good vnto God otherwise, and that we are surprised with inuincible necessity, yet let vs whilst we are at liberty, and haue power our selues, by honourable death amongst the Christian ensignes, eschew the torments and reproches which our cruell enemies hope to inflict vpon vs: so shall we enjoy eternall fame and glory, prepared both in heauen and earth for such as honourably die in defence of their Prince and country: which honour it becometh not them to enuy vnto thy most noble name and vertue, worthy Grand Master, which hauing for many yeares enjoyed the commodity and profit of peace, and greatly enriched by bounty of this sacred military Order, refuse now to beare this last burden of war.

At these words an antient Greeke, for his wisdom and discretion of great reputation both with the Greekes and Latines, perceiving his countrymen wrongfully touched, and the desperat holding out of the city vainly persuaded, tooke hold and interrupting this young gallant; in answer of that he had said, spake as followeth:

*The forme of speech notably answered by a Greeke, and the yeelding of the city urged.*

That grieve of minde and desperation can make men rather eloquent than wise, as you haue many times heard before this, so you might this day perceine also, most valiant gentlemen: for aduised modestly neuer falleth into obloquy, neither confoundeth falsehood with truth; it desireth not the slaughter of the citizens, it persuadeth not fury, nor exhorteth men to madnesse: but it is by mature so engraffed in many, that when they cannot by their owne wisdom and policy deliuer themselves from their troubles, they yet seeke to draw others into the fellowship of the same danger: so greedy haue malice and misery alwaies bene of company. But if you (worthy Commander) will giue me leaue to speake, a man amongst his countrymen

not

not of meanest place and authority, which thing both the present calamity and urgent necessity might of you easily obtaine. I would alledge such reasons, and lay downe such matter, as should not only refect the copious and glorious words for this sharpe witted Orator, scrapt together of purpose to flourish out the matter, but also such as might stir your minde to that which is honest, profitable, and necessary; expulsiue hatred, feare, trouble, or despair. This Gentleman, whom we all know, not only to be a vehement Orator, but sometime a man most terrible, whereas for all his great words he is by nature mild, and so mild, that he neuer had the heart to kill, nay, not so much as lightly to wound any one of them whom he calleth barbarous, mad, cruell, whose perfidious dealing he detesteth, whose cruelty he accurseth, whose manner of lining he exclaimeth against, as altogether without law, without reason, without order, without regard: and now in time of truce, and whilst the shewes of arrows, yron bullets, fire and stones doth cease, creeping out of his caue, maketh much adoe, and keepeth a great stir: and not knowing in what danger he is, doth now with glorious words call upon death, whereof he hath hitherto shewed himselfe too much afraid, and all forsooth (as he said) lest he should be enforced to endure the mocking and scornings of the enemy. But this is meere pride, not Christian fortitude or humility. But our enemy neither threateneth nor purposeth any such matter, nothing so perfidious or cruell as he would make him, rubbing up the slaughter at Caire, Embaca, Metehone, and Constantinople, cities taken either by force or warlike policy, and not yeelded by composition, upon faith giuen betwixt the besieger and the besieged: who because he would spare us, will not suffer vs to do that whereby we should undoubtedly perish. But whereof proceedeth this new found clemency? this vntoward fauour toward the people of the Rhodes? I am not of the tyrants priuy counsell, neither euer curiously sought after the reason of another mans bonny, but am glad to receive it when I need it. Yet for all that, I will not dissemble what I thinke in a matter so doubtfull: he is willing (as I suppose) in this siege and conquest of the Rhodes, to shew vnto other nations whom he purposeth to invade, both his power and his patience: lest alwaies satisfying his cruell nature, he should make desolation in places he would raigne ouer, and so for euer alienating the minds of men, be enforced to fight with all men with fire and sword: by which rigour he hath not so much hurt his enemy as himselfe. For this cause (as I suppose) he leaueth vnto vs life and goods, lest whilst he is going about to take them from vs by force, and seeking to keepe them by desperatenesse, we should both fall into great destruction, no lesse lamentable vnto the conqueror than to the vanquished. Besides that, if he should kill all here, truly he might then enter the breaches of the city on the bodies of the dead, no men now left alive to resist him. But Lerma is shut up, Arangia is strongly fortified, Lyndus is by situation impregnable: here he knoweth are weapons, armour, and men; here he must begin a new war, except he will haue the remainder of your warre, the fatal plague of his Empire, to prey still upon his subjects: all which strong places he shall haue without slaughter, without bloodshed (as reason is) if he should let you and vs poore wretches depart in safety with a little trash. Except these worldly considerations haue moued him to mercy and compassion: then out of doubt it is wrong hit by diuine power and the secret fauour of God towards vs, and of our Saviour Christ Iesus crucified. Whereunto if you be men well adused, if religious, if mindfull of the duty of Christians, it becometh not you to impose any obstacle, and with the ruine of your selues to destroy this miserable people, which for this halfe yeares siege, hath scarcely had so much rest as might suffice the necessity of nature, standing for you in battell, enduring both wounds and death for your honour and victory: by whose faithfull labour and diligence you haue bene alwaies helpen both at home and abroad; whether you invaded the Turke by land in Mytilene, Napaetum, Metehone, Patras, or other parts of Peloponnesus; or els by sea thrust him out of the possession of the Ionian or Egeum: whereby it may appeare euen vnto a blind man, how inuoluntary it is, and far from truth, to object vnto vs, that injoying the fruits of peace, we refuse the charges of wars; nay, we neuer refused wars. But now it is come to that point, that if we would neuer so fine make wars, we are not able so to do the floure of our youth being slain: and the small remainder that is left, not only weakened in body with wounds, sickness, watching, and restless labour; but also in mind discouraged, whilst all things fall out prosperously to our enemies, and to vs aduerse: the greatest and best part of our great artillery being broken with continuall use, which if it were whole, we could haue thereof small use or profit, for want of powder, which not only this city now wanteth, but also your strong holds, Lerma, Lyndus, Halicarnassus, Arangia. I was neuer desirous or curious to looke into other mens doings, much lesse into your manner of war: but yet (Great Master) you cannot deny but it is so; who haue caused soldiers to be brought from thence hither openly, and gunpowder secretly: by which policy you haue withstood your sorreine enemy these six months, and deceived the treachery of one or two domesticall traitors. But I gladly admit we haue all these things, I stand upon the truth, I say not what most men say, but I speake

- A I speake to please a few: and suppose we want neither armour nor courage, I would then aske you this, whether they would aduise you to vse them to your defence, or to your destruction? For vnto both it cannot be, no more than at once to be a freeman and a slave. To vse them to your destruction, that were madnesse and senselesse pride, hatefull to God and man; you should therefore vse them to defence: but how shall we defend a city (I do not say as the truth is) already lost and possessed by the enemy, wherein he reigneth, ranneth, and turneth all upside downe; but hauing the wals battered downe, a great breach in the Spanish station, & another not like, but euen now as good as made in the Italian station, how shall we be able to keepe this unfortunate towne, battered and rent at the French, English, and Auergh stations, and the tower of S. Nicolas? Which if it were not so battered and bared of all warlike prouision, but sound and thorowly furnished with munition and victuall, yet necessity enforcing, and reason perswading, you ought to forsake it, for so much as all power of further resistance is taken from you. Doe you see how easily and almost without any trouble the enemy (by meanes of the castle he hath new built upon the mount Philermo, not past two miles distant) can take from you all manner of prouision both by sea and land, and restraine you from going out or in? Truly notable Gentleman, honourable for your martiall prowesse, you see and haue long agoe foreseene these things better than I, altogether ignorant in martiall affaires, altogether busied in the trade of merchandise, and caring for my family: yet suffer me to say the truth. All the powers whereby this kingdome stood, are departed and gone; against the force of our enemies no policy of force remaineth; and to expect armies of angels or soldiers from heauen, and other such like miracles, is in my judgment more and more to prouoke God to anger, although in his anger he be vnto vs mercifull. Wherefore being destitute of all worldly helpe, let vs as we may, prouide for our safety. I beseech thee (worthy Great Master) by these my aged teares, by the naturall pietie ingrafted in thy noble nature, expose not this miserable city to the spoile of the enemy, or old and middle aged men to the sword, our wines and daughters to be rauished, our boyes and youths to the vnnatural filthinesse of our barbarous enemies, and to be corrupted with the mad and grosse opinion of the vngodly Mahometane superstition. I would (noble Knights) you had scene with what teares, with what mourning our heavy families and children crying about their mothers, sent vs hither, and what prayers they made for vs at our departing: I would you knew with what minde and how great hope they expect their safety from your clemency and aduised resolution.

- This speech of the aged Greeke might haue moued a heart of flint: but the Great Master, who in his countenance shewed a greater courage than his present state required, commanding euery man to his charge: after the matter had bin thus most part of the night discoursed, gaue then no other answer, but, That he would be careful of all their well doing. The next morning he sent for Precians, Martingus, and a few other of the greatest judgement and experience, by whom he was fully resolved, that the city in so many places by the enemy laid open and shaken, was not possibly to be long defended: whereupon he caused a common counsell to be called of all the Knights of the Order together with the burgessees of the city: where after long debating, whether they should fight it out to the last man, or yeeld upon such conditions as was to be obtained: it was by generall consent concluded, that the city should be yeelded, and thereupon a decree made which was by the Great Master pronounced. Whilst these things were thus in doing, a truce was taken with the enemy for foure daies, but full of feare and danger. During which time, diuers of the Turkes presuming vpon the truce, came by great companies to behold the wals and rampiers of the city: wherewith Fornonius the Frenchman (of whom mention is made before) being fore moued, in his choler without further command discharged a tyre of great ordnance among the thickest of them, contrary to the truce taken. At which time also the Rhodians receiued into the city secretly by night a ship loaded with wines out of Crete, and in her Alphonsus a Spaniard, chiefe pilot of the Rhodian gallies, and with him 100 voluntary soldiers all Latines, all which went out of Crete without the knowledge of the Venetian Senat: for at that time the Venetians were in league with Solyman. The Turkes justly offended with the breach of the truce, and the taking in of new supplies, which they supposed to haue bin far greater than in truth they were; without command of any captain or ensigne dispaied, in great numbers thrust in thorow the ruines of the breaches into the city as farre as the rampiers and barica does new made, and furiously assailed the defendants: In which conflict many were slaine and wounded on both sides. But after the Turkes had to their cost againe made proofe of the courage of their enemies, as without commandement they

The Great Master resolved that the city was not to be defended, called a common counsell of all his knights, and the burgessees of the city.

A truce taken with the Turkes for foure daies.

barbarous  
fall.

they began that skirmish, so of themselves they brake it off and retired. After the truce was thus broken, the captaine of the Turks fencers, a bloody cruell fellow, hauing taken three Christians prisoners, cut off their hands, eares, and noses, and sent them so dismembred into the city with letters to the Great Master, charging him with the vnjust breach of the truce, barbarously threatening within three or foure daies to make like example of him to all posterity. Amongst others none was more troubled with this sudden and vnexpected breach of the truce, than *Robertus Perusinus*, *Raymundus Marchet*, and *Raymundus Lupus*, three Knights of the Order, men of singular wisdom and grauity, Embassadors at that time in the Turkes campe: whom the barbarous people in their fury had vndoubtedly slaine or put to torture, if they had not feared the like measure to haue been shewed to their hostages in the city. But after that *Nicholas Vergotus*, and *Georgius Sandriticus*, two of the Burgeses of the city, were come into the campe with articles containing the conditions whereupon the Rhodians were contented to deliuer vp the city, all their fury and rage was quickly appeased. *Solyman* for his greater majesty and the more terror of these messengers, beset round about with his great army, and guarded about with his Janizaries in their richest attire and glistering armour, gaue them audience: who admitted to his presence, with great humility offered vnto him in writing the conditions whereupon the Rhodians would yeeld vp vnto him the city. The chiefe points whereof were, That the Churches should remaine vnto the Christians inuiolate: That no children should be taken from their parents: That no Christian should be enforced to forsake his religion and turne Turke: That such Christians as would tarry still in the city, might so doe at liberty, without paying any tribute for the space of five yeares: That all they which would depart might go with bag and baggage, furnished with convenient shipping and prouision as farre as Crete, and to carry with them so much great ordnance as they pleased, and that the Christians should appoint a reasonable day for the time of their departure. All which articles *Solyman* condescended vnto, and solemnly swore faithfully to performe the same. But how they were indeed performed the writers of that age do much vary: it should seem they were neither altogether kept, nor broken; but so performed as pleased the conqueror: certaine it is, that many great outrages were through military insolency committed by the proud Turks vpon the poore Christians, contrary to the mind of *Solyman*. *Iacobus Fontanus* a Ciuilian, and at that time one of the judges of the city (out of whose writings this history is for most part collected) reporteth, that the Turks not expecting the departure of the Christians, brake into the city vpon Christenmas day, by the gate called *Cosquiniun*, polluted the Temples, shamefully abused the Christians, and made hauocke of all things; and that he himselfe falling into their hands, after he had with such mony as he had, redeemed himselfe, hauing not sufficient to content all their greedy desires, was by them hardly intreated and grievously beaten. The Great Master by the counsell of *Achimetes*, putting on such simple attire as best befitted a vanquished man that was to humble himselfe before the conqueror, went out of the city into the campe, attended vpon with a few Knights of the Order: where after he had waited in the raine most part of the day, before *Solymans* tent, at last he had a rich gowne cast vpon him, and so brought into the proud tyrants presence. Where after they had a while at the first, with piercing eyes one earnestly beheld the other; the Great Master humbling himselfe before him, was in token of grace admitted to kisse his hand, and welcomed by *Solyman* in this sort.

*Solyman* him  
treachery into the  
Great Master.

Although (said he) I might worthily and justly infringe the articles I haue prescribed concerning the yeelding of the City, with thy most wicked crossed compiers, the people of the Rhodes, and thee especially such a capitall enemy, from whose deserved punishment, neither faith nor oath ought to stay a most just conqueror: yet I haue determined to be not onely gracious and mercifull vnto thee so great an offender, deserving exemplary punishment, but also liberall and bonnifull: who if thou wilt by welding amend the grievous transgressions of thy former life, I promise vnto thee most honourable entertainment, great preferment, and the highest places in my Empire, in my army in time of warre, and in counsell in time of peace. Not to refuse this mine offer, both thy present estate persuadeth thee, and the Christians (whose quarrell thou tookest vpon thee to defend against me, with better beginning than successe) deserve at thy hands no better: for what should let thee, forsaken of all thy friends, a man as it were betrayed and vanquished, to cast thy selfe into the perpetuall faith and protection of

A of a most mighty and mercifull conqueror, of himselfe offering thee this undeserved grace and favour.

Whereunto the Great Master answered:

Most Mighty and gracious Emperour, your offered fauours before your other worthy captaines, I deserve not; neither is my present estate and desert towards you such, as that I dare or ought to refell the same: yet I will speake freely in the midst of your victorious army, a man vanquished in presence of the conqueror, whose great mercy I neuer despised of, and whose faith I neuer doubted: I had rather now I haue lost my sovereignty, forto with to lose my priuat and unfortunate life; or else for ever hereafter to line in obscurity, than of my people to be accounted a fugitive rather than a vanquished man: For, to be vanquished is but chance of warre, and of so great a conqueror, no shame to him that is conquered: but afterwards to forsake his owne people and to turne to the enemy, I account it shamefull cowardise and treachery.

There salute an-  
swer of the  
Great Master  
to Solyman.

*Solyman* maruelling at the courage and majesty of the hoary old Prince, in his so great extremity, dismissed him, and sent him againe into the city, guarded with his owne guard, vntill he was come into his palace: and vnto euery one of the Knights attending vpon the Great Master, was giuen a rich garment, in token of *Solymans* fauor. Within a few daies after, *Solyman* coming into the city, went to visit the Great Master also: whom he found busie in packing vp his things against his departure. Here when the Great Master falling downe vpon his knees would haue worshipped him, he would in no case suffer him so to do: but with his hand putting aside his vaile of majesty (which manner of reuerence the Turkish Emperours giue onely to God and their Great Prophet *Adahomet*) tooke him vp and saluted him by the name of Father. To whom the Great Master for his wisdom and discretion now to him no lesse admirable, than he was before in time of war for his valour and courage, spake in this sort:

*Solyman* com-  
meth into the  
city vnto the  
Great Master.

If my fortune and successe had bene answerable to my heart and courage, I should here be in this city, rather as a victorious conqueror than a man conquered. But since the fatall Destinies would needs ouerthrow the Rhodians state, I am glad that you are the man before all other, by fortune assigned, of whom I shall receiue both force and grace. And vnto you, amongst many other your rare and worthy praises, this shall not be the least, That you vanquished the Rhodes and shewed mercy. By this means you haue joynd vnto your dreadfull power, the fame of clemency and courtesie: an honour not of the highest to be despised, by which alone we comenest vnto God. Wherefore I doubt not you will keepe the conventions of the late peace inuiolate, which your owne clemency perswaded you to grant, and necessity enforced vs to take. I shall now be an eternall example of the Turkish Emperours clemency and vertue, more than if I had by and by at the first yeelded my selfe: Obstinate wilfulness hath made thy glory and mercy now famous through the whole World, and vnto the Worlds end.

Whereunto *Solyman* by his interpreter answered:

It is to me a great pleasure, that God at length hath put into thy minde to make choise of peace before warre, which I would thou couldest haue liked of from the beginning: then truly thou shouldest at this time haue receiued of my great and mighty Majesty, more good than thou hast indured harme. Which that I haue done vnto thee, not for any hatred, but only for desire of Sovereignty, thou mayst gather by this, That I suffer thee and thine to depart hence at liberty, with all your wealth and substance: for I make no warre, thereby to heape vp wealth and riches; but for honour, fame, immortality, and enlarging of mine Empire. For it is the property of a King royally descended, by strong hand to take from others, and so inuade others; not vpon a greedy and covetous minde, but for the honourable desire of rule and sovereignty: which whilest my neighbour withstandeth, I count it enough by force of armes to remove him.

The notable an-  
swer of So-  
lyman to the  
Great Master.

But the tyrant (as many supposed) spake all this by way of dissimulation, hauing as it was commonly bruted, giuen order for the rigging vp of a great ship, and certaine gallies, for the sudden transporting of the Great Master and the Knights of the Order to Constantinople, which

which report seemeth to haue beene but feigned either of malice, or else by such as least knew *Solyman*'s minde: for if he had so purposed, who should haue let him, hauing them all in his power. *Iouius* in his little treatise *Rerum Turcicarum* dedicated to *Charles* the fifth, reporteth that he himselfe heard *Lisladamus* the Great Master say, That when *Solyman* entered into the Rhodes attended vpon with thirty thousand men, there was not any man heard to speake a word, but that the soldiers went as if they had bin obseruant Friers: and that when he came to aske leaue of *Solyman* that he might depart, he was so courteously vsed of him, that turning himselfe to *Abraham* the Bassa, whom hee aboue all men loued, said, Truly I cannot but grieve to see this vnfortunate old man, driuen out of his owne dwelling, to depart hence so heauily.

The Great Master embarking himselfe with his Knights and such other as was willing to depart, in vessels and gallies prepared for that purpose, departed out of the Island on New-years day at night: and after long and dangerous trauell by sea in that Winter weather, landed at last at Messina in Sicilia, from whence he afterwards sailed into Italy, and so travelled to Rome where he was honorable receiued by *Adrian* the sixt of that name then Bishop there, a Hollander borne, sometime schoolemaster to *Charles* the fifth, and his Vicegerent in Spaine, who if he had been as forward in the short time of the Papacy to haue relieued the Rhodes, as he was to maintaine *Charles* his quarrell against the French King, it is not unlike but that famous city had been relieued, and the Island in possession of the Christians at this day. Thus *Solyman*, whilst the Christian Princes were at discord amongst themselves, to his great glory and no lesse griefe of all good Christians, entered the Rhodes the 52 day of December, a day dedicated vnto the Natiuity of our Sauour Christ, in the year 1522, after it had bin by the Knights of the Order, valiantly kept and defended against the Infidels by the space of 214 years, since the time they by force tooke it from the Infidels in the year 1308: and now being so long holden as was possible, against all the power of the Turks, was yeilded vpon when it had bin six moneths besieged. At this siege *Solyman* lost a great part of his army: for besides them that were slaine at the assaults, which were many, thirty thousand died of the flux.

Whilst *Solyman* thus lay at the siege of the Rhodes, *Ferhates Bassa* Gouverneur of the Marches of the Turkish Empire, along the river of Euphrates, by the commandement of *Solyman* went with a great army against *Alis Beg*, whom the Turks call *Schach, Spar-Ogli*, that is to say, King *Suar* his son, which *P. Iouius* corrupting, calleth him by the name of *Saxanar-Ogli*. This *Alis* after he had betrayed his vncler *Aladules* the mountaine King, vnto *Sinan Bassa*, was by *Solyman* left chiefe Gouverneur of that large and wild country along the borders of Armenia and Capadocia, wanting nothing of the honor of a king but the name only, as is before declared in the life of *Selymus*. *Solyman* jealous of his honour, and fearing lest he should take vpon him the absolute government of that country (which indeed of right belonged vnto him, the children of *Aladules* the late King, being now all dead) and so to make himselfe King, especially if he should joyne in friendship with the Persian King: after the manner of ambitious men, purposed by any means to haue him taken out of the way: and had therefore sent *Ferhates* to case him of that care. The Bassa without making any shew of hostility, marching with his army along the confines of his country, as if it had been but to looke to his charge, when he was come as neere as he could to *Alis*, without mistrust, thought good to assay if he could by policy bring that to passe which he was otherwise with great danger to attempt by force. Wherefore faining himselfe to be extreame sicke, he sent Embassadors to *Alis*, requesting him as a friend to vouchsafe to come vnto him being at the point of death, vnto whom he had many things of importance from the great Emperour to impart, and would if he should die, leaue with him all his charge vntill *Solyman* should otherwise dispose thereof.

*Alis*, who from his youth had alwaies honoured the Turkish Emperours and faithfully served them, mistrusting no harme came to the Bassa, accompanied with his foure sons, whom the faithlesse Bassa without regard of infamy, caused presently to be put to death with their father: and so reducing all that country into the manner of a Province, vnder *Solyman*'s obedience, came to him with twenty thousand men, about the time that the city of the Rhodes was yeilded vpon. This is the faithlesse dealing of the Turks, not with the Christians only, but with them of their owne superstition also: vsing it as no small policy, vnto the extinguish the nobility of all countries subiect to their seruile tyranny.

Solyman

*Solyman* after he had thus subdued the Rhodes, and disposed of the Island as he liked best, returning to Constantinople, brake vp his army, and for the space of three yeeres after followed his pleasure, not doing any thing worthy of remembrance. During which time and many yeeres after, the rich and flourishing countrey of Italy, sometime mistresse of the world, was miserably afflicted & rent in pieces by *Charles* the sixt (then Emperour) and *Francis* the French king, the one enuying vnto the other the glory of the Empire: and he not content therewith, seeking with immoderate ambition to make himselfe lord of all Italy: most of the other Christian princes and states being at the same time either by the one or by the other, drawne into the fellowship of that war, to the great trouble and fore weakening of the Christian commonweale. Whereupon *Solyman* waiving all occasions that might serue for the enlarging of his empire, & annoying of the Christians, thought it now a fit time for him to set his foot into Hungary, whereinto he had already laid open a way by the taking of Belgrade. He knew right well that w<sup>th</sup> then King of Hungary was but yong, altogether vnacquainted with the wars, commanding ouer his headstrong subiects (especially his rich prelates and nobility) no otherwise than pleased themselves, being himselfe rather by them altogether ouerruled: besides that, he was in good hope, that the other Christian Princes neere vnto him, either carried away with regard of their owne estate, would not, or els before vnto himselfe by league fast bound, could not afford vnto him any great aid or succor: the Germanes he knew would make small hast vnto such wars as should yeeld them much danger, and but small pay. As for the Princes of the house of Austria, *Charles* the Emperour, and *Ferdinand* his brother, although they were ioyned

vnto the yong king with the neereft bonds of allyance (*Lewis* hauing married *Mary* their yongest sister, and *Ferdinand*, *Anne*, king *Lewis* his sister) yet was there as he thought small help to be expected from them; *Charles* hauing his hands full in Italy, and *Ferdinand* altogether carefull of himselfe: and that *Sigismund* king of Polonia would for the yong kings sake breake the ancient league he had with the Turkish Emperors, he could hardly be persuaded: as for other Christian Princes farther off, he stood not in any great doubt. Thus hauing with himselfe singled out this yong Prince the Hungarian King, whom he had in his greedy mind already deuoured, he set forward from Constantinople, and was come on his way as far as Sophia in Seruia with a mighty army of two hundred thousand men, before that the Hungarians had any knowledge of his coming (so blind and fencelesse was that state, which now sleeping in security, had long before lost those eies which euer watcht, and neuer spared cost or paines to keep the same in safety) in stead of whom were others come in place, sharp of sight, and too too prouident for that concerned their owne aduancement, but blind as beetles in foreseeing this great and common danger (wherewith they were shortly after all quite ouerwhelmed) vntill it was now brought home vnto their owne dores. The yong king of himselfe but weak, by reason of his youthfull yeeres, and nothing strengthened by them for whom he had most done, and should haue bin his greatest stay, was wonderfully dismayd with the fame of the approach of so mighty an enemy: yet the better to withstand him, he sent Embassadors with all speed to the Christian Princes his neighbors, requesting their aid against the common enemy, but all in vain. In the mean time, after the antient maner of his countrey he gaue out general summons for the assembly of his counsell for the wars: whither his great stipendiarie Prelates (of duty bound to appeare) came with their troupes of euill appointed horsemen, and not halfe full, who also deliuered in lesse sums of money by far, than of right they should haue don, towards the maintenance of the charge of that common war. And the temporall nobilitie, forgetting the warlike discipline of their famous aunccestors, as fresh water fouldiers which had seen the Turkish Emperour in his strength, and but little acquainted with some light skirmishes or smal inuasions, in their vain bravery made light account of the Turks, proudly vaunting, that although they were in number but few, yet they would easily ouerthrow the great numbers of them, if euer they came to handy strokes. But aboue all the rest, one *Paulus Tomoreus*, Archbishop of Colossa, sometimes a Minorit, who had before bin in diuers light skirmishes against the Turks, with great insolency did so confidently brag & boast of the victory he vainly dreamed of, that in his sermons vnto the fouldiers, and in open talke with the nobility (if he could haue done so much as he vaunted of) it should seem that he himselfe had bin enough to haue ouerthrowne the Turks whole army.

But when all the Kings army was assembled, and a generall muster taken, there was hardly found

*Solyman returneth to Constantinople.*

*Solyman upon the discord of the Christian Princes & disordered state of Hungary, taketh occasion to invade that kingdom.*

1526

*Solyman cometh against Lewis king of Hungary.*

*Solyman taketh into the Rhodes on Christmas day, in the year 1522.*

*Solyman sends Ferhates Bassa against Alis Beg the mountaine Prince.*

*Solyman and his four sons are beheaded.*

*The unity of Tomoreus.*

found five and twenty thousand men in all, horse and foot. So that the foolish hardiness of *Tomoreus*, and others so forward to give the Turks battell, was of most wise men disliked. The old souldiers and men of great experience said plainly, That it was meere folly and madnesse with such a handfull of men to give battell vnto the enemy, who would bring eight times so many moe into the field as they were. Wherefore some wished, that the yong king should be withdrawn from the eminent danger: among whom *Stephanus Verbetius*, a noble captain, of all the rest best acquainted with the Turkish wars, gaue counsell, that the person of the yong king should for the safety of the common state, whatsoever should happen, be kept out of danger in the strong castle of Buda. But the vnruely soldiers with open mouth impugned his wholsom counsell, and said plainly, That except the king himselfe did lead them, they would not at all fight. Of which opinion was also the rash prelat *Tomoreus*, perswading them with all speed to give the enemy battell, and that the noble yong king vnder the protection of Almighty God should in person himselfe go & give the signal of battell against his enemies. The king overruld by this vn lucky counsell, vpon a brauery without reason set forward with his army, and came to a place called *Mohatchz* or *Mugace*, which is a little countrey village not farr from *Danubius*, almost in the middle between Buda and *Belgrade*. And now *Balyem* with 20000 horsemen (the forerunners of the Turkish army) was at hand, at which time the commanders and captains of the kings army, entred into counsell, Whether it were better to incamp their army within their waggons alongst the riuer of *Danubius*, and so to expect the coming of *Ioannes Sepsius*, Countie of *Cilia*, and *Vayuod* of *Transilvania* (who was then said to be coming towards the king with his *Transilvanian* horsemen) of all other fittest to haue incoun-  
 L  
 tered the Turks, or else to march on forward, and presently to give them battell. But *Tomoreus*, who now commanded all, knowing that vpon the coming of the *Vayuod*, he was to give place, and himselfe to be commanded (which vnto so proud a man, was no small grieft) for the maintenance of his credit and reputation, and to carry away the glory of the victory he so vainly hoped for, could not abide to heare of any delay; but hasting headlong to his owne destruction, did with such vehemencie impugn the wholsom counsell of others, who would haue expected the coming of the *Vayuod*, that he by his franticke perswasions, drew on the vnad-  
 K  
 uised yong King into most apparent and manifest danger. For *Balyem* diuided his horsemen into foure battells, which by turns skirmished with the Kings army without intermission, and gaue the Hungarians no leasure to rest either day or night, but continually wheeling about, kept them in so strait, that no man could without great danger goe to water his horse at the side of *Danubius*, which was fast by, or once to stir out of the camp, but were enforced to dig pits for water in places where they lay: with which necessity *Tomoreus* was enforced to put the army in order of battell, and there was now no remedy, but he must of necessity fight for the honour of his Prince and countrey. His battell was ranged all in length, and his horsemen not altogether (as it was thought) vnfitly placed here and there among his footmen; lest the Turks (being in number eight to one) should with their multitude compassse them round, and so in-  
 force them to fight as it were in a ring: for now was *Solyman* come also with his huge army. The Hungarian tents defended with a small garrison, were left a little from the army on the right hand, inclosed round about with wagons, one chained to another: neere vnto the which, *Tomoreus*, Generall of this vn lucky battell, had not altogether vndiscreetly placed a troupe of chosen horsemen for the defence of the Kings person against all vncertaine euents of the bat-  
 L  
 tell. But this day (vn lucky to the Hungarian name, but vnto the King himselfe most fatal and vnfortunat) ouerthrew that his purpose, deuised too late for the safety of the kings person: for at the first encounter, the Hungarians, although they had receiued no harme by the Turkish Artillery (being mounted too high, of purpose as it was thought, the gunners being for most part Christians) were easily beaten downe and ouerthrowne, oppressed by the multitude of their enemies, especially *Tomoreus* with the rest of the prelates and nobility, being almost all slaine together, and the Hungarian horsemen also either slaine or put to flight. All things going thus to wrack, a company of Turks assailed the camp, which was hardly defended by the weak garrison. Which thing the troupe of the chosen horsemen appointed for defence of the kings person, beholding, could not be staied, but that they would needs help them which defended the campe. The yong King seeing all his army discomfited, and himselfe forsaken of the horsemen which he was in hope should haue guarded him, betooke himselfe to flight. But

wholsom coun-  
 sel not followed

The battell of  
 Mohatchz.

Tomoreus slain.

A But as he was making shift for himself, thinking to haue passed ouer a fenny ditch, his horse in plunging out, fel backward vpon him into the ditch; where being heauy laden with armor, not able to help himself, he was in the midst of the filthy ditch in the mud most miserably drowned. Some few horsemen escaped out of the battell, the rest were either slaine or taken prisoners. This wofull battell, not sufficiently to be lamented, as the ground of the miseries of that worthy kingdom, was fought the 29 day of October, in the year 1526.

*Solyman* hauing obtained this victory, marched on directly to Buda the regall seat of the Hungarian Kings, which was deliuered to him with the castle, vpon condition that he should not violate any man either in person or goods, and at his departure to leaue the same again to the Hungarians: all which things he according to their request faithfully performed. Being  
 B entred into the castle, he wonderfully commended the same, but lodged not therein, because it is by their antient Law forbidden the Turkish Emperour to lodge within any walled place which is not his own. Wherefore he returned and lodged in his camp alongst the riuer of *Danubius*.

While *Solyman* thus lay at Buda, seuen bloody heads of the Bishops and greatest of the Nobility (slaine in the late battell at *Mohatchz*) were presented to him, all set in order vpon a wooden step: wherat he smiled, to see his courtiers laying their right hands vpon their breasts, and bending their bodies as if they had done them great obeisance, to salute them by name, and in derision to welcom them by the names of valiant Popes. But afterwards, when he had more particularly inquired what euery one of them was, it is reported, that he most of al deter-  
 C  
 ned *Ladislaus Salsanius* the great Bishop of *Strigonium*, for his miserable couetousnesse, that being a man of infinit wealth, refused to spare part thereof vnto his soueraigne, requesting the same at his great need. *Tomoreus* he blamed of inconsiderat rashnes, for that he being a Clergy man, would busie himself so far in matters not belonging to his vocation. On the contrary

part, he commended *Franciscus Perennis* Bishop of *Veradium*, a man honorably descended, for his wise counsell (though it was not followed) for that he had heard it reported that hee as a true prophet, foretelling the common slaughter insuing, had sharply said in the Councell, at such time as *Tomoreus* would needs fight with the Turks, and was not by any means to bee re-  
 D  
 moved from that his fatal opinion, That hee did foresee what that their Frier-like Generall would the next day do; and that he would with so great an enterprize effect no more, but to make one holy day the more in the Christian Calenders, in remembrance of 30000 Hungari-  
 an Martyrs, most miserably slaine of the Turks in an vnequal battell, for defence of the Chri-  
 stian faith and religion: for at that time, they which willingly exposed themselves to death in defence of the Christian faith, were all accounted for Martyrs. *Georgius Sepsius* and others, he called rash fools, that would aduenture with so small strength to incounter so strong an E-  
 nemy. At such time as the counterfeits of King *Lewis* and *Mary* his wife were shewed to him, he honourably said, that he was sorry for the yong King, that it was his hard hap to haue so vnad-  
 uised counsellors in a matter of so great importance, as to persuaade him against all rea-  
 son to fight at so great disadvantage: And that hee came not into Hungary to take his king-  
 dom from him, but only to reuenge the wrongs don vnto him by the Hungarians: and that if  
 E he had escaped the danger of the battell, he would assuredly haue again restored vnto him the Kingdom of Hungary, contenting himself with some small tribute: and that it should haue bin vnto him honor enough to haue saued the nephew of *Sigmund* King of Polonia, his confederat, so strongly allyed with the honorable house of Austria. All which he commanded to be told to *Mary* the Queen, who was for fear fled from Buda to *Possonium*. Which might perhaps all seem to haue bin either dissemblingly spoken, or falsely reported of the equity and courtesie of the barbarous King, if he had not shortly afterwards to the ample declaration of his bounty and liberality, without any desert, given the same kingdom of Hungary to *Ioannes Sepsius*, not born of any Royall blood, and then retaining the minde of a very enemy. After that, he took away three goodly images of brasse of antient workmanship, which were placed  
 F in the entrance into the Kings Palace, by that renowned King *Matthias Coruinus* the great fauourer of rare qualities and vertues. These images represented the forms of *Hercules* with his club, of *Apollo* with his harp, and *Diana* with her bow and quier. All which hee placed in the Tilt-yard at Constantinople, as a trophy of the Hungarian victorie. Neuerthelesse these images were since taken down by the persuation of the Musli, and molten (as contrary

King Lewis  
 drowned in  
 a ditch.

The heads of  
 the slain Chris-  
 tian Bishops  
 and Captains  
 presented to  
 Solyman.

The Bishop of  
 Veradium too  
 true a prophet.

The honorable  
 speech of Soly-  
 man concerning  
 his comming  
 into Hungary.

to their superstition) and great ordnance made of them. He caried also away with him three pieces of Artillery of most excellent and curious work, and certain brasen pillars of chamefered work, which supported the chapters of the gates. He taried at Buda about twenty dayes, in which time to satisfie the cruel nature and greedy desires of his soldiers, he sent out diuers troupes of horsemen into the countries therabouts; by whom all the country betwixt Rab and the riuer of Tibiscus was by that sudden and vnexpected incursion so destroyed, that as it is reported, about an hundred and fifty thousand people of all sorts were either slain or led away into most miserable captiuitie. All which don, he returned again by the same way hee came, to Constantinople.

*Ioannes Sepusius, Vayud of Transylvania, a friend to the Kingdome of Hungary.*

About the same time, *Ioannes Sepusius Vayud* of Transylvania, with a great power came now too late into Hungary to haue aided the King: but glad (as was thought) of his death, as tending to his own advancement, forasmuch as he was now (the King being dead without issue) a man of greatest account among the Nobility of Hungary. Wherefore as one of a deep and reaching wit, and in great hope to obtain the kingdom, he began cunningly to labour diuers Noblemen one by one, and instantly to request them, that at the next parliament they would not betray the honor of their Countrey, in suffering the royall dignity of that ancient kingdom to be transferred vnto a stranger, of such a nation as haply loued them not. For why, the Hungarians ought well to remember what great calamities they had receiued in former times, in chusing forein kings and strangers to rule ouer them, and in following their vnfortunat ensignes against the Turks; which thing the woful misery of times past might notably proue, which either *Sigismundus* of Bohemia, or *Ladislaus* the first of Polonia, by their vnfortunat battels, once at Nicopolis, again at Culumbarium, and last of all at Varna, had brought vnto the Hungarians. But to speak, nay once to remember the harmes receiued by the long cowardise of *Ladislaus*, or this late rashnes of his son King *Lewis*, would make any noble mind to blush and be ashamed: vnder whose gouernment all military discipline, and the glory of Hungary, might wel be thought to be vterly lost. And he said there remained of the nobility of Hungary men honourably descended of most ancient Houses, worthy of the kingdom, who bare noble minds, and were of sufficient conrage, discretion and power, in this time of common heauines, to restore the honor of the Estate, and worthily to defend the Kingdome. Amongst whom (said he) I would not be accounted so base minded, or so heauy headed, (although there be many which for the honor of their houses and wealth may seem to go before me) that I will therefore confesse, that there is any of them for valour, prowesse, or fortune, better than my self, either for conducting an army, or gouernment of a Kingdom. For I shall be a King of courage and valour sufficient, if by your fauourable good will I shall be thought worthy of your consent and suffrages. The Vayud taking this course, by his earnest suit and labor had won the good wils of many, and so much the easier, for that *Stephanus Bator* (a man of greatest nobility among the Hungarians) was a little before gon into Bohemia vnto King *Ferdinand*, who was then greatly busied, by reason of a parliament there summoned, in procuring the fauour of the Nobility and commons of that Realme, against the time of the Parliament; wherein hee was in good hope to be chosen King, as hee was in short time after.

*King Lewis buried.*

At the same time the Hungarians were with great solemnity celebrating the funerall of their late King: whose dead body after the departure of *Solyman* from Buda, was found whole, by the demonstration of one *Cotrisius* a squire of his body, who was present when he was drowned, and so was brought out of the fens of Mohatz, to Alba Regalis, where it was with great pomp buried among the Sepulchres of the other kings of Hungary his predecessors. Which solemne funerall once ended, the generall military Parliament (by the authority and voyce wherof the Kings of Hungary were by their ancient Lawes and Customes to be chosen) was called: in the shunting vp whereof, *John* the Vayud hauing in that common heauines no competitor, nor any of the greatest nobility which durst stand against him, was with the great applause, and a generall consent of all there present, chosen King. Vnto whom forthwith *Petrus Perennius* came and presented the ancient Crown of the Kingdome of Hungary, which was in his keeping, made after an homely fashion of pure gold; with which the lawfull Kings of Hungary vied alwaies to be solemnly crowned. It is reported, that it was the Crowne of *Stephanus* the first King of Hungary, and was by an ancient Custom alwaies kept in the castle

of

A of Vicegrade. And so *John* the Vayud was orderly crowned, and consecrated by the hands of *Paulus* Bishop of Strigonium, lately chose in stead of *Ladislaus Salcanius*, slaine in the battell at Mugace, and by the hands of *Stephanus Brodaricus* Bishop of Vacia, whom he chose for his Secretary. And vnto *Americus Gibacus* he gaue the honour of the Vayud of Transylvania, being but a little before chosen Bishop of Veradium. In his preferment, he was greatly holpen vnto the kingdom by the nobility which followed him out of Transylvania, men of great account both in peace and warre: among whom descended of the Hungarian blood, were chiefe, *Stephanus Verbetius*, *Paulus Antandrus*, *Gregorius Peschemius*, *Nicholauus Glessa*, and *Ianus Docia*. But whilest this new King is in this fort busied in rewarding his friends and strengthening himselfe in his kingdom, he was aduertised that *Ferdinand* his competitor of the Hungarian kingdom was chosen King of Bohemia: who out of the old courtesie betwixt *Maschius Cornutus* and *Fredericus* the Emperours great grandfather, alledged great claime vnto that kingdom, deriued from the time of *Ladislaus*, who was reported to haue bene poisoned at the time of the solemnization of his marriage, through the ambition and malice of *Georgius Pograbicus*, who, affecting the kingdom of Bohemia, shortly after obtained the same. And now it seemed that the time was come, wherein *Ferdinand* made greater with the kingdom of Bohemia, and strengthened with the power of his brother *Charles* the Emperour, not forgetting his right, might vpon good ground lay claime vnto the kingdom of Hungary, vnto him (as he pretended) of right belonging euer since the time of *Albertus* the Emperour. Neither did *Ferdinand* beside the strength of Austria and Bohemia, want the furtherance of diuers of the Princes of Hungary: hauing in his court many of vniuersal spirits, halse fugitiues, desirous of change, which eniued at the Vayuds royall preferment (as if it had bene taken from themselves, more worthy thereof than he) by the rash and tumultuous fauour of the vulgar people. For besides *Bator*, who in most mens judgement might most worthily haue requited and obtained the kingdom, there were others also almost of like nobility and valour, as *Valentinus Turaccus*, *Stephanus Maylatius*, *Ianus Scala*, *Gasper Scredius*, *Balthasar Pamphilus*, and *Ferdinandus Gnariis*; to whom also was joyned *Paulus Bachitius* borne in Seruia, a vallant Gentleman, who being entered into the Mahometan religion to auoid the Turkish slavery, got away vnto the Christians, and hardly escaped from the battell of Mohatch. By the persuation of these noblemen, *Ferdinand* of his own disposition ready enough to claime his right, especially a kingdom, and trusting vnto his strength in Austria, Bohemia, Rhetia, Stria, and Carynthia, marched directly towards Buda. With whose comming, *John* the new King being wonderfully troubled, as a man beset with want of all things, hauing neither sufficient strength whereupon to rest in his new got kingdom, neither any great assurance of the fidelity of his subjects, like enough either for feare, or of their naturall inconstancy, to fall from him, determined not to abide the comming of his enemy to Buda: but exhorting his captaines to follow him, although he were glad to depart and giue place to his euill fortune for a time, with such power as he had brought with him out of Transylvania, and such other as he could otherwise leuy, he passed ouer the riuer to Pestum: and not daring any where therabouts to rest, by long marches passed ouer the riuer Tibiscus, and there incamped at Tocai, which was a strong castle vpon the further side of the riuer. His departure being knowne, *Ferdinand* marching on, obtained Buda without resistance: where he staid a while, and consulted with his captaines, Whether he should pursue his flying enemy, or not. But it was quickly resolved, That the discouraged enemy was to be speedily pursued, before he should gather greater strength, or enter into greater policies. Wherefore *Ferdinand* committed all his army vnto the nobility of Hungary, his friends, whom we haue before named; who marching with all speed possible, came to the riuer Tibiscus: where passing ouer vpon a bridge made of boats which they brought with them in waggons for that purpose, they came with ensignes displayed vnto the castle of Tocai, where the King lay with his army in order of battell. But terrified with the sudden comming of his enemies, and debating with his captaines of the greatnesse of the danger, tooke a course vnto himselfe rather safe than honourable: for his captaines desiring nothing more than to joyne battell, and in manner contemning their enemies, persued him to withdraw himselfe a little out of the battell, and to keepe him out of danger; and if things fell out otherwise than well, to referre himselfe vnto his better fortunes: as for themselves they would most resolutely fight against those traitorous fugitiues, forasmuch as it were great

*John Sepusius the Vayud chosen as crowned King of Hunga.*

*Ferdinand King of Bohemia lay claim to the kingdom of Hungary.*

*King Ferdinand took Buda.*

dishonour for them, being Hungarians, a warlike people by nature, to refuse battell being offered by the enemy. Amongst the chieftains of the Kings army, *Ferdinand Budo* an old captain of great experience and courage was chiefe, to whom the King deliuered his ensigne with his own hands, and he with great skill ordered his battell, for the number of his souldiers: he himselfe stood in the main battell with the Hungarians, placing the Translyuanians in the wings. In *Ferdinands* army, *Paulestinus Turacens* led the maine battell with the Hungarians, vnder *Ferdinands* Ensigne, strengthened on the one side with troups of horsemen out of Styria, and on the other with the horsemen of Austria. But *Paulus Bachitus* (according to the manner of the Turkish wars, wherewith he was well acquainted) with a company of light horsemen lay close in ambush in a conuenient place for that purpose, a good distance off, against the left wing of the enemies army, ready as occasion should serue, to take his most aduantage. It was not greatly needfull for the captaines to vse any persuasions to encourage their souldiers, ready enough of themselves to fight. The great ordnance once discharged, the armies came fast on and joynted battell, where the wings of both battells fought with diuers fortune. The Styrian horsemen were not able to endure the force of the Translyuanians, but were put to the worse. And on the other side, the left wing of *Bodo* his army, consisting for most part of raw and vexpert souldiers, was by the horsemen of Austria overthrowen. At the same time both the main battells (being almost all Hungarians) fought with equall courage, and that so eagerly, as each dome had bin seene a more fierce or cruell battell. But by a fresh charge given by *Ferdinands* horsemen, who had now put to flight the right wing of *Bodo* his battell, all *Bodo* his army fighting most valiantly, was disordered and put to flight: *Bodo* the Generall laboring to restore the battell, and to saue the ensigne to him before by the King deliuered, was by the coming in of *Paulus Bachitus* with his light horsemen, taken. The other captaines seeing all lost, and past hope of recouery, betooke themselves to flight: all the Kings Artillery and Ensignes were taken by the enemy. The King seeing the overthrow of his army, for safegard of his life fled into Polonia. *Ferdinands* captaines following the course of the victory, entred into Translyuania; where the people yeelding themselves at the first, all the whole prouince submitted in selfe vnto the authority of *Ferdinand*. *Bodo* and the rest of the noblemen that were taken prisoners, with the ensignes taken from the enemies, were sent to *Ferdinand*. But when *Bodo* hauing his liberty promised, could not be persuaded to renounce his oath given to King *Iohn*, and to beare armes against him, he was by *Ferdinands* commandement cast into a darke dungeon, where shortly after consumed with sorrow and gricfe, he miserably ended his life.

The battell of  
Tota between  
the armies of  
King Iohn and  
K. Ferdinand.

K. Iohn flies  
into Polonia.

Ferdinand  
crowned K. of  
Hungary at  
Alba Regalis.

Shortly after, *Ferdinand* (the Hungarians generally submitting themselves vnto him) was by their common consent saluted King, and crowned with the same old Crowne wherewith King *Iohn* had bin crowned, which the same *Perenus* (a man of little constancy) brought vnto him; and with him was also crowned *Anne* his wife, the only sister of the late King *Lewis*. All which solempne ceremonies were celebrated at *Alba Regalis*, the vsuall place for the coronation of the Hungarian Kings. *Ferdinand* by rare felicity thus possessed of two kingdomes, whereunto he was not borne, returned into Bohemia, and left his deputies for the gouernment of the kingdom of Hungary: these were *Stephanus Bator*, whom he appointed Viceroy, with whom he joined *Paulus* Bishop of *Strigonium*, who had also revolted from K. *Iohn*; and made *Berchastus* Secretary, and *Alexius Tursonus* a Moravian, Treasurer.

King *Iohn* thus miserably distressed, and thrust out of his kingdom by *Ferdinand*, fled to *Hieronymus Lasius*, a man for his honorable descent and learned vertue, of great fame and reputation amongst the Polonians: who glad of so honourable a ghest, was more carefull of nothing than with all possible kindnesse and curtesie how to comfort him, wrapt vp in so many calamities for the losse of his kingdom: he frankly promised vnto him all his owne wealth (which was not small) for the recouery of his former estate; and that which more was, for the renewing of his former felicitie, the vttermost of his wit and deuce, which in the compassing of all great matters was accounted wonderfull. This bountifull entertainment of this poore King by *Lasius*, was not altogether pleasant to *Sigismund* King of Polonia, although (because he would not offend *Ferdinand*, with whom he was joined in friendship and alliance) hee seemed to most men plainly to forget himself, in shewing so small kindnesse to K. *Iohn*, whose sister *Barbara* he had sometime married: which was the cause that *Lasius* forgat no point of curtesie in entertaining his ghest, and yet *Sigismunds* credit with King *Ferdinand* not toucht. But when

- A when they had spent almost a month in consultation and debating of matters too & fro, *Lasius* accustomed with his deep wit sharply to reason, & aduisedly to determine of most weighty causes, at last rested vpon this one point, That ready help in so hard and desperat a case was only to be hoped for of the Turkish Emperor *Solyman*: being of opinion, that he being a most mighty Prince, and of an honorable disposition answerable to his greatnes, would not reiect the humble prayers of an oppressed and exiled king: especially, if that being by his mercy and power restored, he could be content for so great a benefit to hold his kingdom, as of the bounty of the *Othoman* kings. For *Lasius* saw that *Solyman* (so great and proud an Emperor) was not so desirous of kingdomes (whereof he had so many as could not easily be reckoned, then commanding ouer a great part of the world) as of glory and renown, where with he vnderstood him to be wonderfully delighted about all other Kings of the East, naturally carried away with that windy vanity. This counsell (as in effect it proued) was to King *Iohn* wholesome and reasonable, if a man do but respect the poore estate of a king, so greatly wronged, liuing in exile, but respecting the Christian common weale, it was vndoubtedly most dangerous and lamentable, for one mans particular profit to bring the whole state into most horrible and dreadfull danger: but the sick minds of worldly men, liuing in smal hope of doing well, and at the point of desperation, refuse no worldly remedies, be they neuer so doubtfull or dangerous. And not long after, vpon this resolution with the king, *Lasius* desirous by noble actions to increase the honour of his name, took the matter vpon him, and went as Embassador from the exiled King to *Solyman* to Constantinople. The report was, that *Sigismund* did not only not stay him, but
- B secretly gaue him his safe conduct with letters of credence, wherein he commended him vnto the Bassa's & other great men in *Solymans* court, descended of the Polonian blood, as his faithful and louing subiect, sent thither vpon an extraordinary and speciall embassage. *Lasius* as soon as he was come to Constantinople, with wonderfull dexterity had in short time won the fauor, not of the Bassaes only, but of the other courtiers also; presenting them with such gifts as might for the finenesse and rarenes thereof, rather than for the value (as he thought) be most acceptable and pleasing to their wiues: for amongst that barbarous and corrupted people nothing is better welcome than gifts, whither they proceed of simple good wil, or other respect, is no great difference. Amongst the great Bassa's at that time of greatest power and authority, was *Lusibetus*, or rather *Lutza*, who had married *Solymans* sister; and *Abraham* borne at *Parga*, a base village in *Acarnania*, brought vp in the court from his childhood with *Solyman*: he was then visier or chiefe of the Bassaes, and keeper of the Emperors seale, and was by his office to subscribe all such grants or letters as passed from the Emperor: by which his great place and the speciall fauor he had with *Solyman*, he in magnificence, power, and authority, far exceeded all the rest of the Bassaes, doing whatsoeuer pleased himselfe, and that with such soueraigntie and the good liking of *Solyman*, that it was commonly said, he was the commander of his thoughts. *Lasius* thus insinuated into the court, and oftentimes talking with the Bassa's without an interpreter, for that he could well speake the Sclauonian tongue (the familiar speech of the Turkish courtiers) earnestly solicited the Kings cause, wonderfully commending him: for at his first coming, after he had saluted *Solyman*, and was about to haue declared the cause of his coming, he was after the manner of the Turkish Court referred to the Bassaes: for *Solyman* vled not to admit any Christian to talke with him in his Court. *Lasius* requested of *Solyman*, by the Bassa's, That king *Iohn* wrongfully thrust out of his kingdom by *Ferdinand* Duke of Austria, and the treason of certaine of the Hungarians, might by the Turkish power be againe restored vnto the Kingdom of Hungary, which he would hold by homage of the Turkish Emperor, as of right belonging to him, since the time that *Solyman* with victorious hand reuenging his wrongs and subduing his enemies, had by law of arms (fortune so iudging) gained the same. Promising that King *Iohn*, who for his worthinesse, was by the generall good liking of the Hungarians lawfully chosen to be their King, and so after the ancient manner of that Kingdom crowned, if he were now receined into *Solymans* protection, and by him restored, should neuer forget so great a benefit, but alwaies most faithfully and thankfully to honor the maiesty of *Solyman*, paying him such yerely tribute as it should please him to impose, and to make it knowne to all men, that he was his vassall. Which thing if it would please him to grant, it should be no lesse honour and glory to *Solyman* himselfe, than profitable and comfortable vnto the distressed King. For beside, that heroicall Kings are compared vnto gods,

*Lasius* counsell  
King Iohn to  
traueyl to  
*Solyman*.

*Lasius* goeth  
Embassador for  
K. Iohn to *Solyman*.

*Abraham* Bassa

*Lasius* his request of *Solyman* in the behalf of K. Iohn

rather

rather for giuing than receiuing: it was easie to be seen, how greatly it did concern the profit of the *Othoman* Kings to be neighboured with a weak and tributary King, rather than with *Ferdinand* a Prince of great power, lately chosen King of *Bohemia*, supported by the strength of his brother *Charles* the Emperor, commanding ouer the warlike Nation of the *Germanes*: which was as much difference as was betwixt the maintenance of a continual heauy war vpon his borders, and the safe inioying of a most assured peace. Besides, it concerned the *Turkes* to beware, that such things as they had gotten by the sword, they should also by the sword defend, and not to suffer any one to grow greater than the rest in riches and power. For it might so fall out that *Charles*, grown to be a Prince of mighty power, might draw the rest of the *Christian* princes to join with him in the common cause of the *Christian* religion, & in that quarrel, as the *Christian* Kings of *Europ* had formerly done, with vnited forces to seek to recouer again what they had before lost; whose force it would be hard to withstand. These things being sharply deliuered, and by the *Bassa's* again reported to *Solyman*, who standing at a secret window had before heard them, as they were by *Lascus* to the *Bassa's* declared, it was no great labor to persuade the *Turkish* Emperor, of himself desirous of glory and souerainty, againe to vndertake the *Hungarian* war, and to grant King *John* his request; promising according to the successe of the victory, to giue him that he desired, so that hee would faithfully performe what he had promised, and not shew himself therefore vnthankful.

Solyman granteth Lascus his request.

Ferdinand sendeth an embassador to Solyman.

Solyman answers to Ferdinands embassador.

In the mean time, *Ferdinand* vpon great reason thinking it necessarie by all means possible to confirm his possession of the Kingdom of *Hungary*, and fearing no force but the *Turks*, determined to proue *Solyman's* disposition, and to seek for his friendship; hoping by reasonable means to compasse it, by shewing vnto the barbarous prince (not altogether abhorring from the commendation of justice) his ancient title and claim, and that he was by the ancient laws of the country right heir thereof: thinking that *Solyman*, having obtained so many victories, and ruling ouer so many kingdoms, would now at length giue himself to peace, as a man contented with his glory already gotten. His desire was to be receiued into his friendship, and to join with him in league vpon the same conditions which *Ladislaus* and his son *Lewis* had for certain years before obtained of the *Othoman* Kings, and *Sigismund* King of *Polonia* then also with like quietnes enioyed. Wherefore hauing found out a fit man whom he might send vpon this embassage to *Constantinople* (one *Ioannes Oberdansew* an *Hungarian*) he furnished him accordingly, and gaue him gifts, such as he thought good to bestow vpon the great *Bassa's*. But when *Oberdansew* was come vnto *Constantinople*, he found *Solyman* harder to be intreated than he had before hoped, and the *Bassa's* altogether vnwilling to hear of any league: for although he was courteously receiued of *Solyman*, and most patiently heard, whilst hee both eloquently and discreetly before the great *Bassa's* deliuered his embassage; yet in the shutting vp of all, he receiued nothing but a proud and insolent answer. For *Solyman* said, it was far from the manner of his Auncestors, to receiue them into grace and fauour, which had don injury vnto the *Othoman* name: wherefore that *Ferdinand* had done impudently to inuade another mans kingdom, and to thinke to hold it vnto himselfe; forsomuch as his old title and claim which he stood so much vpon, was altogether extinguished and lost by the Law of Armes, by his late victory against King *Lewis*. For which causes he adiudged him vnworthy of his friendship and fauour; purposing sharply to reuenge the wrong he had receiued, & proclaiming War, to come again into *Hungary* with such a power as should be sufficient to inuade King *Ferdinand* either in *Austria* or *Germany*. Wherefore in stead of friendship and League, he denounced vnto him all the calamities of War: and so commaunded the Embassador with speed to depart from *Constantinople*. But *Oberdansew* when he was come backe again as far as *Vienna*, and had there told the Kings Lieutenants of the threatening words of *Solyman*, and that he would shortly come thither with his army, he was not of any of them beleueed, but repured for a vaine man. Wherefore to shun the hatred of them which mistooke truth for falshood, he made hast to come vnto *Ferdinand*, who was then at *Spire* laboring for voices to further his suit; for that at the next assembly of the States of the Empire, which was then at hand for the coronation of his brother *Charles*, he himself as he well hoped, was to be chosen King of the *Romanes*. The newes brought by *Oberdansew* did not a little trouble King *Ferdinand*, foreseeing as it were what would happen; for that the *Turkish* Tyrant vied not lightly to break such promises, but to performe them to the vttermost. And that more increased

- A increased his care, he knew he should come in euill time to craue help of the *Germanes*, for the defence of his Kingdome in *Hungary*, against so mighty an enemy, especially his brother *Charles* the Emperor being busied in his warres in *Italy*, and he himselfe wanting money, the only meanes to raise an army to withstand the *Turke*. The Spring now come, and all things fresh and green, *Solyman* altering nothing of his former determination, hauing leuied an army of an hundred and fifteen thousand men, set forward from *Hadrianople*, his *Europeian* horsemen going before him, conducd by *Abraham* the great *Bassa*, and *Achomates Michael Oglis*, Generall of the *Acanzj* or voluntary horsemen: and his *Asian* souldiers led by *Recrembeius Bassa* following after him: he himselfe with his *Ianizaries* and souldiers of the court keeping in the middle. And marching on in this fort, came in fifteene dayes to *Belgrade*, where King *John* accompanied with *Lascus* and such of the *Hungarian* nobility as tooke his part, came vnto him, of purpose to make himselfe knowne vnto him which was to protect him; and doing him all the honour he possibly could, to request him to proceed to reuenge his quarrell. *Solyman* with graue and yet friendly countenance, raising himselfe a little from the cushion whereon he sat, gaue him his right hand, protesting, That nothing could happen vnto him better, or that he more desired of God, than to be able to relieue distressed Princes, especially such as were wrongfully oppressed by his enemies: wherefore he willed him to be of good comfort, promising of his bounty frankly to bestow vpon him whatsoeuer he should in that warre win with the sword from the enemy. King *John* obtained this rare fauor of *Solyman* by the earnest mediation of *Abraham* the commanding *Bassa*, whom he had before at *Constantinople* by his Embassador *Lascus* so wooed with gifts and requests, that he thoroughly tooke vpon him the defence of the kings cause: wherein *Lascus* was especially holpen by *Aloysius Grissus* the Duke of *Venice* his sonne, who then followed the *Turks* campe, and was for his fathers sake and the great sufficiencie he held himselfe, had in great reputation amongst the *Turks*; and in such fauor with *Abraham*, who did all in all with *Solyman*, that he could persuade him to any thing he would. For this *Aloysius Grissus*, borne and brought vp in *Constantinople*, and wonderfull eloquent in the *Turkish* tongue, had by the honourable carriage of himselfe, and the great port he kept in his house, so thoroughly possessed *Abraham* (that al commanded) that he would many times bring *Solyman* himselfe over the hauen to *Pera*, to solace himselfe in *Grissus* his pleasant gardens and banquetting houses, which he had there most sumptuously made after the *Italian* manner: whereby to his great profit he obtained to be the chiefe man in receiuing of the *Turks* customes.

1529  
Solyman cometh into Hungary with a great army.

King John cometh to Solyman at Belgrade.

- The fame of *Solyman's* comming direclly from *Belgrade* to *Buda*, so terrified the Citizens of *Buda*, that they almost all forsooke the city and fled vnto other places further off, some to *Strigonium*, some to *Alba Regalis*, some to *Possonium*: so that at his first comming he entred the city (almost desolate) without any resistance: the castle holden by a garrison of *Germanes*, he commaunded to be besieged. The captaine of the castle was one *Thomas Nadassus*, a man of great account among the *Hungarians*, both for the honour of his house, and his qualities answerable to the same, graced with singular learning: he perceiuing his souldiers dismayed with the sight of so great an army, and willing to surrender vp the castle, as becomed a valiant captain, forbade his souldiers to haue any talke with the enemy, commanding the great artillery to be bent and discharged vpon the *Turks*: and seeing his souldiers slack and timorous, reuoued them of cowardise & treason, threatening them with shamefull death if they did not hold out the siege to the vttermost, and shew themselves valiant men both for the honor of their country, and of king *Ferdinand*, whose pay they receiued, and of whose bounty they were to expect rewards & preferments answerable to their deserts. But they misdoubting by the running too and fro of the *Turks*, that the castle was undermined; and smelling, or at leastwise imagining themselves to smell the sent of the gunpowder, which they supposed to be in the mine, and doubting to be presently blown vp, were struck with such a sudden feare, that neither the feare of future punishment, neither the shame of so foule a fact, nor the reuerence of so worthy a captain could stay them, but that they would needs without further delay deliuer vp the castle: which when they could by no means persuade the resolute captain to consent to, but that he stil with stern countenance exclaimed against their cowardise and treason, they layd hands on him, and bound him hand and foot, and so presently concluded with the enemy to yeeld to him the castle, so that they might in safety depart thence with bag and baggage: which their request

Solyman enters Buda without resistance, and besiegeth the Castle.

Solyman contrary to his promise, caused the garrison to be delivered the castle, to be slain.

Austria spoiled by the Turks.

Altenburg taken.

Solyman comes to Vienna.

request *Solyman* granted. But when the garison soldiers (in number about 700) were about to depart with their baggage toward *Posonium*, as was before agreed; and the *Ianizaries* comming into the castle, hauing loosed the captain, were about to let him go also; *Solyman* aduerted the trechery of the garison soldiers, and of the fidelty of the captain; changing his mind, iudged such villanous minded men vnworthy of his mercy, and in detestation of their perfidious dealing with their captain, gaue them all to his *Ianizaries* to be slain: but vnto the captain himself he offered honorable entertainment; which when he refused, *Solyman* cruelly sent him away: holpen therein by the commendation of king *Iohn*, although his sister was married to *Stephanus Maylat* his deadly enemy. Which bloody execution don by the commandement of the bloody tyrant, the *Turkes* said was not only lawfully done, but also to the immortal glory of his name in the execution of justice. Which might peradventure seeme H reasonable, if the perpetual hatred of that barbarous nation against the Christians, gaue not iust occasion to suspect, that it proceeded rather of their ancient malice, than of any regard of justice. For why should the Germans, who had offended to his great good, and therefore obtained his safe conduct, be thought worthy of so cruel death? when as *Solyman* himself in punishing the perjury of another, ran into wilful perjury himself, peruerting the commendation of justice which he so much desired, by his most bloody and vniust sentence.

Buda the chief city of Hungary thus taken by *Solyman*, he resolved forthwith to besiege Vienna the chief city of Austria; in good hope, that by the carriage away of that, the other Cities of lesse strength both of Hungary and Austria would without any resistance yeeld vnto him. Wherefore he sent before, *Achomates* with the voluntary horsemen, who according to the manner of the Turkish wars, running thorow the heart of Hungary, and entering into Austria, with fire and sword, passed by Vienna, miserably burning and destroying the Country before him, euen as far as *Lyntz*. The poor people not knowing where to hide themselves from the fury of their enemies, nor of whom to craue helpe, fled as men and women dismaied, carrying with them their beloued children, the vnfortunat pledges of their loue, and what els they could, as things faued out of the midst of the fire. For whatsoeuer fel into the enemiess hand, was lost without recure: the old men were slain, the young men led away into captiuitie, women rauished before their husbands faces, and afterwards slain with their children, young infants were ript out of their mothers wombs, and others taken from their breasts were cut in pieces, or els thrust vpon sharpe stakes, yeelding vp againe that breath which they had but a little before K. receiued; with many other incredible cruelties which were then by the mercilesse Enemie committed. *Solyman* himselfe shortly after followed these fore-runners, and setting forward with all his army from Buda towards Vienna, by the way took the Castle of *Altenburg*, whether by force or composition is diuersly reported. Of the garison souldiers there placed by King *Ferdinand*, he reserved 300 *Bohemians*, whom he commanded to follow his camp. Hee also assaulted the little city of *Neapolis* seuen times in one day, & was as often repulsed: but being loth to spend any longer time about a town of so small importance, hee forooke that, and held on his way to Vienna, whither he came about the six and twentieth day of September, and incamped in fine places round about the City; with such a world of people, that vnto them which viewed his Camp from the highest tower in Vienna, it seemed that all the ground for the space of eight miles was couered with the multitude of his Tents and people. King *Ferdinand*, who from the time that he had by his Embassadour *Oberdanseu* receiued the hard answer from *Solyman*, alwaies stood in doubt of his comming, and beside his own forces (which were no way great enough to oppose against so mighty an enemie) craued aid of the other Christian Princes his Neighbours, especially of the Princes of the Empire. Who granting him aid against the Common Enemy, appointed *Fredericke* Countie Palatine of the Rhyne and Duke of Bavaria, Generall of their Forces. But whilest the Germans after their manner, slowly set forward, and made lesse hast than the greatnesse of the present danger required; *Solyman* comming in the mean time, had so belayd the City, that it was not possible for the Duke *Frederick* by any means to get into it, but was glad to stay with his Army at *Chremse*, about twelue miles from Vienna. A few dayes before, by good hap, vpon the report of the losse of Buda, twenty thousand souldiers, horsemen and footmen out of diuers countries, were in good time come to Vienna. Amongst these, the chiefe Commanders were *Philip* the Paltzgraue Duke *Fredericks* Nephew (a yong Gentleman of great courage & hope, sent

A sent thither but a little before with a few companies of horsemen and footmen by *Fredericke* his vnkle, who was comming after with a greater power himselfe, but was now shut out of the city by *Solyman*) *Nicholaus* Countie of Salma, the L. *William Rogendorff*, steward of the Kings household, *Ioannes Cazzianer* a noble man of Croatia, and afterwards Gouvernor of Vienna: and next vnto them, *Nicholaus Turrianus*, *Ioannes Hardecus*, *Leonardus Velsius*, *Hector Ramfacke*, men both for their birth and valour of great account amongst the Germans. The city of Vienna as it was of some good strength toward the North, by reason of *Danubius*, so in other places it was at that time neither by art nor nature strong. The ditches, such as they were, were altogether drie, and easie to be passed ouer: the wals of bricke, built round without any flankers, and neither high nor thicke, but after the ancient simple manner of fortification of cities: for before that time neither had king *Ferdinand*, fearing no enemy, neither they of Vienna, who had not of many yeares seen an enemy, had any care to fortifie the city: but as men altogether buried in security, and nothing fearing the comming of so mighty an enemy (although they were therof before admonished by *Oberdanseu*) had not so much as cast vp any rampire or bulwark, more than at the gate of *Carinthia*, whereon they might conueniently place their great ordnance: so that of a 100 great peeces, and 300 others of lesse charge, which might haue wonderfully annoyed the enemy, a great part serued to no vse, for want of conuenient place to mount them vpon. Yet as the sudden comming of the enemy, and the shortnesse of the time gaue leaue, such bulwarkes as they could vpon the sudden, they cast vp, and planted their ordnance thereon. The city was diuided into diuers quarters, and to euery part a strong garison C appointed for the defence thereof; all the gates of the city were mured vp, except such as were of purpose reserved to sallie out at. Now had *Abraham* the great Bassa incamped himselfe vpon a high hill, where stood a ruinous castle, from whence he might ouerlook all the City; yet so, as that he lay out of the danger of gun shot. *Becrambeius*, *Solymans* great commander in Asia, lay at the gate called *Purgatoria*, neer the Church of *S. Alderich*. In the third campe towards the rising of the hills, lay *Michael Ogli*, towards the Church of *S. Vitus*. At the Scottish gate towards *Danubius*, lay the *Asapi*, with diuers companies of the *Ianizaries*: which with shot out of their trenches, suffered no man to appeare vpon the wals in that quarter without most manifest danger, and poured such showers of arrows ouer the wals into the city, as if they had fallen out of the clouds; that hardly could any man stir in the city vnarmed, but hee was D forthwith wounded. *Solyman* himselfe lay neer vnto *S. Markes* Church, compassed about with the *Ianizaries* and other soldiers of the Court, defended also with the bricke wals of the gardens thereabouts. Whilest the Turks were thus incamping themselves, the Christian defendants oftentimes fortunately fallyed out vpon them, and slew many of them. In one of which sallies *Wolfgangus Hagen* a valiant captain, with certain old soldiers of the Spaniards was slain fighting most valiantly at the gates of the castle: and in another skirmish *Christophorus Seitz*, a man of great courage, sallying out of the city with five hundred horsemen, euen vnto the enemies trenches, was intercepted and taken with six others of his company, who were al compelled by the Turks to carry so many breads of their slain fellows vpon poles, and so presented vnto *Solyman*: of whom he inquired many things as well concerning *Ferdinand* himselfe, and E where he was, as concerning the Princes which had the charge of the city, whether they were in hope to defend the same against his mighty power or not. Whereunto *Christophorus* aptly and wisely answered, although not altogether so truly, That King *Ferdinand* lay not farre off at the city of *Lyntz*, expecting the assembling of a great army: and that the Princes of Germany, *Bohemia*, *Moravia*, and of diuers other places were comming to him, with great aid; so that if he would but stay a little vntill his forces were come together, hee should then see whether of them were of greater strength and power: forasmuch as it would not be long before the King would come and giue him battell: as for the Princes in the City, he said hee knew no more of their minds, but that both they and all the soldiers from the highest to the lowest, had solemnly sworne to defend the city, and not to giue it ouer, vnto the last man, F posing their hope not in the wals and fortresses thereof, but in their weapons and valor, being men of great resolution, and not easly to be vanquished or discouraged. With which answer although *Solyman* was a little moued, yet dissembling his present heat, said, he had hitherto made war against diuers nations, and alwaies had the victory, whereof he doubted not now also: but as for him, and the others taken with him, they knew they were in his power to saue

Vienna badly fortified.

Solyman re-  
fused the Chris-  
tian Princes  
without reason.

saue or kill at his pleasure: yet to make them know that he could shew mercy vnto his vanquished enemies, he frankly granted them their liues and liberty: charging them, that after they were again returned into the city, they should in his name with the defendants of themselves to yeeld vp the city, which it was impossible for them long to defend against his mighty power, which neither the strong city of Belgrade, nor the famous city of the Rhodes were able to withstand, and to accept of such reasonable conditions as he should grant vnto them, promising, that amongst other things proceeding of his infinite bounty, he would take order, that they should in safety depart thence with bag and baggage: in which doing, they should well prouide for the safety of themselves and of their goods, by flying to his mercy in time, before the fury of the war was grown to further extremity: all which it would be too late to expect after the victory, when nothing was to be hoped for but cruell death, murder, and miserable destruction. Wherefore it were good for them well to consider of the matter, and not foolishly to refuse that was now frankly offered them of mercy, which they should not afterwards obtaine with any prayers or teares: for why, he was resolutely set down (as he said) not to depart thence before he had taken the city. When he had thus schooled them, he gaue to euery one of them three Hungarian duckats, and so sent them away. They being receiued into the city with great ioy, made relation vnto the Princes and great Captaines, of all the threatening and proud speeches of the Turkish tyrant: which they took in such disdain, that they would not vouchsafe to returne him any answer. Solyman not a little displeased, that his great words were so lightly regarded, by way of derision sent word to the City, That if they wanted helpe, he would send them the 300 Bohemians, whom he took in the castle of Altenburg, to whom an answer was returned by them of the city, that they needed no help from him, wherefore he might dispose of his prisoners as he thought good. By this, Solyman perceived, that Vienna was not to be won with words, nor the defendants to be discouraged with great looks; wherefore he began to vse his force, and with such ordnance as he had brought with him, to batter the walls: which because it was not great, but fitter for seruice in field than for battery, did not much more harme than to beat downe the battlements and such like standings, made of timber and boords in manner of galleries, hanging here and there ouer the wall, for the small shot to play out of, a simple deuise in stead of flankers. His great artillery provided for battery was coming vp the riuer of Danubius, which he daily looked for; but by good hap *Wolfgangus Hader*, a forward Captain, hearing of the Turks coming vp the riuer, went out of Posonium with certain small vessels well appointed, and meeting with the Turks, set vpon them with such courage and resolution that he slew many of them, and sunke diuers of their boats and pinnaces, amongst whom were they which were bringing vp Solyman's great pieces for battery to Vienna: which was there all sunke in the riuer, with the boats that brought it. By this good seruice, Solyman was disappointed of his great artillery, and the city deliuered of a great danger. So *Wolfgangus* hauing made great spoile amongst the Turks, and lost some few men, returned with victory to Posonium. Yet another part of the Turks fleet coming vp to Vienna, at the first coming brake downe all the bridges: for a little about the city, the riuer of Danubius diuiding his channell, maketh diuers Islands, which by sundry bridges are ioyned together, ouer which lieth the way from Austria vnto the city. This fleet so kept the passage, that no man could without danger either by water or by land go in or out of the city. Solyman hauing lost all his pieces for battery, and seeing how little he preuailed with his field pieces, fell to vndermining of the city, hoping by that means to ouerthrow the walls, and to make a way for his men to enter. This worke, as the Turks chiefe hope, was with wonderfull labour and diligence attempted in fifteene sundry places: which was not so secretly done, but that it was by drums laid vpon the ground, by basons filled with water, and sounds made into the earth perceived by the defendants; and so with countermines met withal, that most part of those works were utterly frustrated, and in them 8000 of his Turks either slaine or buried quicke.

Eight thousand  
Turks lost in  
the Mines.

The walls of Vi-  
enna blown vp.

Solyman to buse the defendants, that they should not so perfectly discover his mines, diuided his army into foure parts, appointing them orderly to succeed one after another in giuing alarms in the town, that filling their ears with continuall noise, he might keep them alwaies occupied. In the midst of which hurly burly his mine-works went forward with all speed possible, neither was he in that his expectation deceived: for one of the mines brought to perfection vnderperceived by the defendants, and suddenly blown vp, shooke and ouerthrew a great part

A part of the wall neere vnto the gate which leadeth towards Carinthia, whereat the Turks gaue a great shoue, as if the city had now bin taken, and withal courageously stepping forward, pressed in on all sides, by the ruines of the wall to haue entered the breach, charging the defendants with their small shot and Turkey arrowes as thicke as haile. Who on the contrary part like resolute men stood in the face of the breach, with more assurance than the wall it selfe, receiuing them with deadly shot and push of pike, in such furious manner, that the Turks for all their multitude, vnable longer to maintaine the assault, began to retyre. Which thing Solyman perceiuing, sent in new supplies, and so renewed the assault before giuen ouer, but with no better successe than before: for hauing receiued a great ouerthrow, as men forgetting both duty and martiall discipline, they retired, nor expecting any signe of retreat. At this assault so many of the Turks were slaine, that the ground neere vnto the towne lay couered, and the ditches filled with their dead bodies. Not long after the wall was blowne vp in two places more, ouer against *S. Charles Church*, by which breach being not very great, the Turks seeking to haue entered, made a bloody fight with the Germans which defended that place; which they fought so desperately to haue entered, that without regard they thrust one another vpon the points of their enemies weapons, who glistering in good armour, readily receiued them being for most part naked men, and slew them without number, and so inforced them againe disorderly to retyre, hauing before filled both the breaches with their dead carcases. Three daies after ensued a most cruell fight, when as another part of the wall (neere vnto the gate of Carinthia, and not far from the first breach) was so suddenly ouerthrowne, that the Turks thorow the new made breach seeing the Christians as they stood ready to come to the defence thereof; and likewise the Christians them, now approaching; for eagernes and hast on both sides threw away their pieces and bowes, and came to handy blowes in the middle of the breach; the Turks with their scimiters, and the Germans with their long swords. At which time, as the Christian captaines encouraged their soldiers with cheerefull persuations; so the Turkish commanders enforced forward their Turks both with words and wounds. The assault began so terrible, that it was thought a more fierce and cruell fight was neuer seene from the beginning of the World: which was with great resolution maintained by the Turks, for that many of their most valiant horsemen forsaking their horses, thrust in with their targuets and scimiters, or else with the lances amongst the Lanzaries and other footmen, and there fought most desperately. At last, after this furious fight had endured by the space of three houres, and many of the Turks best captaines and souldiers lay dead vpon the ground by heapes; the Turks seeing no hope to preuaile, gaue ouer the assault, and retyred to their campe.

The Turkes re-  
pulsed from the  
breach.

A most terrible  
assault.

The Turkes be-  
hind them re-  
pulsed.

The Lord William  
Rogendorffe.

Long and tedious it were to recount euery assault giuen during the time of that dreadfull siege, with euery particular accident not vnworthy the remembrance, which for breuity wittingly I passe ouer. Yet amongst the rest, the most valiant leader (though afterward vnfortunate) the Lord *William Rogendorffe* is not to be forgotten, who oftentimes perceiuing many of the Turks stragling disorderly abroad in the country, one day vpon the sudden sallied out vpon them with certain troupes of horsemen, with such violence, that at the first onser he ouerthrew them, and hauing them in chase, did such speedy execution, that of 5300 scarce 140 escaped his hands: after which time his name became terrible vnto the Turks. Solyman was exceedingly grieved with the often and bloody assaults by him in vaine giuen to the city; but purposing now to proue the last and utmost of all his forces, he called to him the chiefe Commanders of his army, whom at the first he sharply reprobued as men of no courage, which being many times as good as possessed of the victory, had most cowardly, contrary to the manner of that victorious nation, turned their backs vpon their enemies, in the breaches already halfe won: wherefore he willed them to plucke vp their hearts, and to make all things ready for a new assault, wherein he expected that they should with courageous forwardnesse and resolution, recompence their late cowardise: for why, he accounted it a great dishonour to forsake the siege begun; wherefore they should resolve the next day as victorious conquerors to take the city, or else there as faint hearted cowards to end their daies. The next day after this heavy charge giuen, which was the fiftieth of October, the great commanders of the Turks army with all their forces assailed the city, thrusting their men into the breaches by heaps, as if they would, if no way else, yet with very multitude (if it had been possible) haue discouraged or ouerborne the Christians: they were come to handy blowes, and the fight was in euery place most terri-

Vienna against  
assaulted.

ble, the Christian defendants still repulsing them with greater courage than they were able to assault them. Besides that, to the great advantage of the defendants, many pieces of their great ordnance skilfully mounted in places most convenient, and continually discharged among the thickest of their enemies as they pressed on, made of them such slaughter, and so cut them off, that being thorowly discouraged they shrunk backe, and could nor by any threats or command of their captaines be thrust forward, chusing rather to be slaine of their owne captaine (as some of them were) than to be rent in sunder with the murdering strokes of the Christians. So that the captaines seeing now no other remedy, gave over the assault and retired, leaving behind them many thousands of their dead Turks in the towne ditches.

The next day after this assault, *Solyman* despairing to win the city, and fearing the coming of King *Ferdinand* and the Countie Palatine with a strong army, as it had been to him reported, considering also that Winter was now coming fast on, determined to raise his siege, and to colour the dishonour thereof, he sent certaine of the chiefe prisoners which he had taken, richly apparelled, with their purses full of money, into the city, to tell the captaines, that he came not with purpose either to besiege or take the city, but to revenge the wrongs done unto him by his enemy King *Ferdinand*, and to have fought a battell with him for the Kingdome of Hungary: whom so far as he could not draw unto Vienna, he would remove thence to seeke for him, as his capitall enemy; wherefore they should doe well to yeeld themselves; which if they would, he promised not to enter their city, but to receive both the citizens and soldiers into his protection, reserving unto them their lides and goods, with perpetuall freedom. Which his offer the defendants scornfully refused, as proceeding of meer desperation. The next night following, *Solyman* with more than barbarous cruelty caused all the prisoners in his army to be slaine; which pittifull outcries was of the soldiers heard into the city, not knowing what the matter should be, untill that the next day after the departure of the enemy, they found the dead bodies of men, women, and children in all places of the campe wallowed in their owne blood, a most lamentable spectacle to behold. *Solyman* purposing to forsake the siege, caused *Abraham* the great Bassa to shew himselfe in order of battell, as if he would have given a fresh assault: in the meane time he himselfe rose vpon the sudden with the rest of his army, and returned towards Buda in such hast, that he neither put any garrison into such places as he had taken, neither demanded of them any tribute. After whom the Bassa followed, keeping himselfe a daies journey behind him: and so in five daies he arrived with all his army at Buda, 32 Germane miles from Vienna.

This liege was given over by *Solyman* about the sixteenth of October, wherein he is reported to have lost eighty thousand men, amongst whom was his great Lieutenant of Asia, with many other of his forward Captains and best soldiers. Of the defendants few or none of name were lost; but of the country people it is supposed that there was about sixty thousand slaine and carried away into captiuitie: all the country about Vienna was miserably spoiled, all their trees and vines being by the Turks cut downe to the ground. *Solyman* according to his promise restored Buda to King *John*; who by solemne writing acknowledged himselfe his vassal, and to hold the Kingdome of Hungary of him as his Lord and Soueraine. Vnto him *Solyman* joynted *Aloysius Grittius* as his Legat, to help him to provide for such things as should be needfull for the defence of that Kingdome.

It hapned one day whilest *Solyman* lay at Buda, and had given King *John* with diuers of the nobility of Hungary access to his pavilion, that he fell earnestly in hand with King *John*, to pardon *Paulus* Bishop of Strigonium, and *Petrus Peremus* (who had taken part with King *Ferdinand*) and to receive them into his fauor again: which men King *John* in no case liked of, because that they as traitors vnto their Prince and country, forgetting their faith and oath, had performed the like duty to *Ferdinand*, as they had but a little before done vnto him at the time of his coronation: wherein he shewed himselfe vnwilling to be intreated, said, That their mutable minds fraught with infidelity, would neuer containe themselves within the bounds of loyalty, but find occasion to commit some fouler treason than they had before. Whereunto *Solyman* straining his voice a little, as one somewhat moued, most honourably replied, Can any thing (said he) happen vnto thee in this life better or more honourable, than if by thy kindnesse thine enemies shall be of all men accounted ingratefull, that is to say, men noted with eternall infamy: when as in thy selfe the commendation of a good and courteous Prince shall for ever remaine? And so not long

A long after, fearing the cold of Winter then approaching, dangerous for his beasts for carriage, especially his camels, bred and brought vp in the hot countries of Asia, he set forward to Belgrade, and so traouelling through Thracia, returned to Constantinople.

All this while that *Solyman* thus raged in Hungary and Austria, *Charles* the Emperour lately reconciled to *Clement* the seuenth of that name, then Bishop of Rome, with a strong army besieged Florence, by his lieutenant *Daulus*, (who might haue done much against the Turkes, if he had been so well imploied) labouring by all means to repress the liberty of the citizens, whereunto they had but a little before aspired, and to bring them againe vnder the subjection of the family of *Medices*, whereof *Clement* was the chiefe. Which thing with much adoe he brought to passe, inuesting *Alexander* the Bishops nephew in the Dukedome of Florence, and afterward giuing him his base daughter in marriage; forgetting his brother *Ferdinand* in the meane time, thrust out of the Kingdome of Hungary by *Solyman*, and the Dukedome of Austria wasted by the Turks, with the city of Vienna in danger to haue bene lost. Which common calamities might well haue moued both the Emperour and the Bishop, to haue had more regard of, than by oppressing the liberty of one free city, to seeke how to serue their own priuie respects.

The yeare following, which was 1530, *Solyman* with great solemnity and triumph, after the Turkish manner, circumcised three of his sonnes, *Musapha*, *Muhamet*, and *Selymus*, at Constantinople.

*Solyman* hardly digesting the dishonour he had before receiued at Vienna, and oftentimes solicited by King *John*, for aid against *Ferdinand*, who with greater stomacke than power ceased not continually to molest him: but most of all prickt forward with the insatiable desire of enlarging his Empire, after the manner of the *Othoman* Kings, accounting his neighbor princes alwaies his enemies, and their dominions the objects of his victories, and spoile for his soldiers; raised such an army, as for the greatnesse thereof might worthily haue bin a terror vnto the World: not so much purposing the protection of King *John*, which he in shew most pretended; neither the siege of Vienna, as was commonly bruted, as the conquering of Austria, Carinthia, Croatia, Styria, and the rest of King *Ferdinand*'s dominions, and so afterwards of all Germany. For the accomplishment whereof, he had in his immoderate desire prestined vnto himselfe the space of three yeares, which the great Monarchs of Rome could not performe in more than so many hundreds. It was commonly reported, That the proud tyrant would many times say, That whatsoever belonged vnto the Empire of Rome, was of right his, inasmuch as he was rightfully possessed both of the Imperiall seat and scepter of *Constantine* the Great, commander of the World, which his great grandfather *Mahomet* had by law of Armes won from *Constantine* the late Christian Emperour, whom he slew at Constantinople. And therefore both in his common talke and writings, as oft as he had occasion to make any mention of *Charles* the Emperour, he would proudly, and as it were in disdainfull terme him by the name of the King of Spaine, but neuer by the name of Emperour.

The discord of the Christian Princes, and the great troubles euen then arising in Germany about matters of Religion, did not a little encourage the barbarous tyrant to take in hand this great expedition. King *Ferdinand* certainly aduertised, that *Solyman* was in person himselfe setting forward with his huge army, sent vnto him three Embassadors; whereof *Leonardus Regarola*, a noble Gentleman well learned, and skilfull in diuers languages, was chiefe, with rich Presents, and reasonable offers to intreat with him for peace. Who meeting him vpon the borders of Scruia, were by him courteously receiued, and patiently heard: yet obtained of him no other answer, but that they should follow his campe, and attend his further pleasure. The report whereof brought a generall feare vpon all Germany, but especially them of Austria, in whose fresh remembrance as yet remained the bleeding wounds of their country, their brethren and friends slaine, their wiues and children led away into captiuitie, their goods and cattell lost, their houses and fields burnt, and thousands of other grieuous calamities which they had endured in the late inuasion of the Turks. *Charles* the Emperour had in very good time a little before, for a while well appeased the dissention then arising in Germany about matters of religion; putting them in hope of a free and generall Counsell to be holden for the deciding of all such matters: and in a great assembly of the States of the empire to be holden at Ratisbon, shewing the greatnesse of the imminent danger, so puissant an enemy threatening vnto them all

The Turks  
repulsed.

Solyman rais-  
eth his siege.

80000 Turkes  
lost at the siege  
of Vienna.

Solyman res-  
tored to King  
John the King-  
dome of Hun-  
gary to King John.

The honorable  
saying of Soly-  
man to King John.

1530  
Solyman cir-  
cumcised his  
three sonnes.

King Ferdinand  
sends Ambassa-  
dors to Solyman

The preparation  
of Charles the  
emperor against  
Solyman.

the calamities of war, with the manifold mischiefs like to ensue, if they should in so vnfit time fall at variance amongst themselves: offering with great resolution, to go in person himselfe with all his old expert soldiers, in defence of the common Christian cause; so much preuailed with the Princes of the Empire, and the Embassadors of the free States, that they highly commended his forwardnesse, and all other matters for that time set apart, agreed all with one content, at a prefixed day to send vnto Vienna such warlike forces as they had in any time before set forth for the defence of the Christian religion, and the majesty of the Empire. Whereupon he wrote vnto *Alphonſus Vaſius* (his lieutenant Generall in Italy, and one of the greatest captains of that age) that he should without delay call together the old captains, and to leuy so many companies of harquebusiers as they possibly could; and with them and the Spaniſh soldiers to repaire forthwith vnto him into Austria. He also enjoyned *Andreas Aunia* his Admirall, that he should with like diligence rig vp a strong fleet of gallies and merchants ships, and to go against the Turks Navy into Grecia. At the same time he sent for his choise horsemen out of Burgundy and the Low-Countries, and many noble Gentlemen and old souldiers out of Spaine: for the guard of his owne person he entertained twelue thousand Germanes, such as had longest serued in his wars in Italy, ouer whom commanded *Maximilian Herberſene* and *Tamissius*, both famous captaines. At the same time *Clement* the seventh then Bishop of Rome, although his coffers were greatly emptied by the late Florentine wars, which had cost him ten hundred thousand ducats; yet to make some shew of his deuotion in so dangerous a time, with the great good will he bare vnto the Emperour; after he had with gricuous exaction extorted from the clergy a great masse of mony (whereunto his rich Cardinals contributed nothing, as if it had bin a thing vtterly vnlawfull for them, in so good a cause to haue abated any jot of their pontificall shew in the court of Rome) sent the young Cardinall *Hippolitus Medices* his nephew, being then about twenty yeares of age, a man indeed fitter for the wars than for the Church, as his Legat vnto the Emperour, accompanied with moe good captaines than clergy men, and his coffers well stuffed with treasure: whose comming to Ratiscbone was vnto the Emperour and the Germanes very welcome; for besides that he was a young Gentleman of very comely personage, and exceeding bountifull, he entertained for those wars (besides the company he brought with him) eight thousand Hungarian horsemen, of all others best acquainted with the Turkish wars.

Strigonium be-  
sieged by King  
John.

King *John* vnderstanding, that the formost of *Solymans* great army were come as far as *Samandria* in Serua, thought it now a fit time to wring from King *Ferdinand* such townes as he yet held in Hungary; wherefore he sent *Aloysius Grittius* (whom *Solyman* had left as a helper for his estate) to besiege *Strigonium*, which is a city of Hungary scituate vpon the side of *Danubius*, about thirty miles from *Buda*, the castle thereof was at that time holden with a strong garrison of King *Ferdinands*: wherunto for all that *Grittius* laied such hard siege both by the riuier and by land, that the defendants doubting how they should be able to hold out, especially if *Solyman* should take that in his way, as it was most like he would; sent for reliefe to *Cassianer*, a warlike captaine then Gouvernor of Vienna, and General of all King *Ferdinands* forces: by whose appointment certaine small frigots were sent downe the riuier of *Danubius*, from *Possonium*, well manned; who suddenly setting vpon the Turks fleet (which so kept the riuier, that nothing could that way possibly be conueied either in or out of the castle) (should by their vnexpected comming open that way. But *Grittius* hauing intelligence thereof by certain Hungarians, which though they serued King *Ferdinand*, made no great account to fly sometime to the one part, sometime to the other, as best fitted their purpose; presently resolved to send his fleet vpon the riuier and by his sudden comming to oppresse his enemies, in like sort as they had thought to haue done him. And the more to encourage his soldiers, he promised great rewards to all such as should performe any extraordinary piece of seruice in that action: and so hauing thorowly furnished all his fleet with good soldiers, but especially with Turkish archers, sent them vp the riuier to seeke their enemies: who fearing no such matter, as men surprisid with the same mischiefe they had prepared for others, were at the first exceedingly dismayed; yet considering that they were reasonably well provided for their cumming (although they yet wanted such helpe as *Cassianer* had appointed to send them) they thought it a great shame to fly, and therefore putting themselves in order of battell, came downe the riuier, and with great courage encountered their enemy. There began a sharpe and cruell fight, many being slaine and

A and wounded on both sides: but at last they of *Possonium* not able longer to endure the deadly shot of their enemies, and especially of the Turkish archers, (who with their arrowes sore gauled both the soldiers and the mariners) they turned their backs and fled: in which fight of sixty frigots which came from *Possonium*, only thirteene escaped, with *Corporall* the Generall, all the rest being either sunke in the fight, or els taken by the enemy, being run ashore and forsaken by the *Possoniumians*, trusting more vnto their legs by land, than their oares by water. Besides this losse of the Frigots, there was slaine of the *Possoniumians* almost fiftie hundred. After this victory, *Grittius* hoping that they in the castle of *Strigonium*, despairing now of reliefe, and fearing the comming of *Solyman*, would not long hold out, left off to batter or vndermine the castle (wherewith he perceiued he little preuailed) purposing by lying still, and keeping them of the castle from all reliefe, to inforce them in time to forsake the place. Thus whilest the diuided Hungarians with their owne hands inconsiderately sought one anothers destruction, with the ruine of their country; *Solyman* the great enemy of all Christians was ready at their backs to deuoure both the one and the other, as in few yeares after he did.

Much about this time the old Spaniſh soldiers in Italy, drawne together by *Vassius*, as the Emperour had before commanded, were come to the Alpes. In this campe, of one sort of men and other, was about 20000, whereof almost the third part was not seruiceable: for the old soldiers enriched with the long wars in Italy, and the spoile of the rich country of *Lumbardy*, wherein they had of late bin billited, brought with them all their old gotten spoiles and substance, not forgetting so much as their women, and whatsoever else serued their pleasure: for carriage whereof they drew after them a great multitude of carriages and vnecessary people, all which serued for no other vse but for the soldiers pleasure, and to consume vnto equals. Which their licentious wantonnesse *Vassius* desiring to reforme, gaue streit commandement through all the campe, That they should leaue behind them all such vnecessary baggage, and appointed what carriages should suffice for euery company. Whereat the souldiers began at the first to murmure, and presently after to rise vp in mutiny: for many of the captaines being rich, and disliking of that long and dangerous expedition, couertly incited the common souldiers to cry out vpon *Vassius* the Generall, for their pay already due. Which thing once put into their heads, and the matter set on foot, quickly grew to that heat, that they all with one voice said flatly, That they would go no foot further before they had receiued their pay. *Vassius*, although he well perceiued that tumult to be raised by some of his enemies, which sought thereby to lighten his credit, was glad for all that for the present to dissemble the matter, & yeelding to the necessity of the time, to content the mutinous soldiers with one months pay, promising them their full contentment, at such time as they should come vnto the Emperour: and so when he had with much ado appeased that tumult, he set forward into Germany.

Admiring among  
the Spaniſh sol-  
diers.

Immediately after the Spaniards followed the Italians, who with such cheerefullnesse offered themselves to that seruice, that euery captain brought with him twice so many in his company as was expected: so that *Vassius* (who before doubtfull of their forwardnesse in so dangerous a war, especially in the aid of the Germans, of whom they had in the late wars receiued great harmes, had by great and earnest persuasions induced diuers of the nobility, and others of the better sort, to enter into that honourable action; in hope that they would draw after them great numbers of their friends and tenants, as indeed they did) was now glad so send backe againe many of the common soldiers, by reason of the multitude; and also to his great discredit, and the offence of many, full sore against his will to displace most part of those forward gentlemen, whom he had but a little before made captains, who to their no small charge had gallantly furnished themselves according to their degrees and places: for the Emperour had then appointed what number of Italians he should bring; and also giuen commandement, That rejecting the rest, he should commit the leading of them only to those old expert captains, of whose valour and discretion he had before had good experience. There were *Martinus Columus*, *Petrus Maria Rubens*, *Philippus Tornielius*, *Ioannes Baptista Cassalius*, *Fabianus Marcellus*, *Pyrrhus Strigianus*, and *Camillus Columus*, being all men of great worth, and approved faith towards the Emperour.

In these Italian companies were fourteen thousand select footmen, beside many other brave men who voluntarily resorted from diuers places to Vienna. After these footmen followed *Ferdinand Gonzaga* with two thousand horsemen, and certaine troups of Grecians and Spaniards.

ards, and with them came many noble gentlemen out of all parts of Italy, who had before bin great commanders, but now serued as priuat gentlemen voluntarily without charge or pay, accounting it a great shame to tarry at home as cowards, and not to be present in that religious war.

The Emperour also about the same time hauing taken view of his horsemen come out of the Low countries most excellently appointed, and shipping his great ordnance, whereof he had bought great store at Nurembergh, departed downe the riuier from Ratisbone to Lynz. The riuier of Danubius neuer carried so many vessels and souldiers since the time of the great Roman Emperours, as it did at that present: and yet besides them which went downe the riuier by shipping, the pleasant banks on both sides were filled with great companies of horsemen and footmen passing all alongt the riuier vnder their colours, with their drums and trumpets sounding, which altogether made the most glorious shew that a man could well behold vpon earth.

1532

Solyman cometh into Hungary.

In the meane while, *Solyman* in six and fifty daies march come to Belgrade, thrust ouer the great riuier Savus by bridges made in diuers places, an infinit number of his horsemen into Hungary; and leauing Danubius on the right hand, turning a little vpon the left, marched directly towards the rich country of Stiria, called in antient time Valeria, and now Stiermarke. By the way as he went he came to the little towne of Gunza, which one *Nicholas Turichitz* (a man of an invincible courage) kept with a small garrison of his owne. This town standeth in a Plaine not far from the city of Sabaria, built square, and but of a small compasse, not very strongly walled, a poore obscure thing, neuer famous till now by the great dishonour that the Turkish Emperour *Solyman* there receiued. *Abraham* the chiefe Bassa (who so absolutely commanded among the Turks, as if *Solyman* had receiued him into the fellowship of his Empire with himselfe) was very desirous to saue this captain *Nicholas*, for that he knew him to be a man of great courage, and was familiarly acquainted with him at such time as he lay Embassador at Constantinople: wherefore he attempted first by gentle persuasions and large offers, and afterwards by most terrible threats, to induce him to yeeld the town to *Solyman*. But finding him so resolutely set downe, that he was neither by faire nor foule means, but only by force to be removed out of the towne: he inclosed the same round about with the huge army of the Turks, and by mines overthrow the wals in three places. Which sudden breach whilst the garrison souldiers most valiantly defended against the furious assault of the Ianizaries on the South side of the towne, the Bassa planting his field pieces vpon the hills on the North side, did from thence grievously annoy the defendants: who fiercely assailed by their enemies before, and beaten with the great ordnance behind, were grievously distressed. Wherewith the worthy gouernor somewhat troubled, though not much discouraged, suddenly of timber and boords raised vp a curtain twelve foot high, at the backs of his soldiers, wherewith they were so covered from the sight of their enemies, that they could not make any certain shot at them; but only at that curtain at all aduentures, nor doing any thing so great harme as before: and with desperate and restlesse labour, in despite of all the Turks great power repaired the breaches, in as strong manner as at the first. In the meane time 200 of the Turks horsemen stragling from the campe, and seeking after booty in the country as farre as Neostat, were by the Hungarian horsemen intercepted, and all slaine or taken; whose heads the Hungarians brought to Vienna, and the more to encourage the souldiers which dayly repaired thither, in token of good lucke set them vp vpon stakes vpon the wals of the city. Then was it certainly knowne of the prisoners, that *Solyman* had in his campe five hundred thousand men, and three hundred field pieces, which were not of greater bignesse but that a camell might well carry one of them, being taken from the carriage: for why, *Solyman* purposing by destroying the country before him, to draw the Emperour vnto battell; had (as they said) brought no greater piece of battery with him. Which report of the prisoners was also confirmed by the Embassador of King *Ferdinand*, whom *Solyman* gaue leaue to depart at Gunza, giving to every one of them a gowne of velvet and a piece of plate, with letters vnto the Emperour and King *Charles* his brother; wherein proudly vsurping the title of many kingdomes, he most insolently wrote himselfe Lord and Soueraigne of almost all countries and nations. But the effect thereof was, That he was come into Hungary, to reuenge the wrongs which they had done vnto King *John* his friend and vassall; and would with fire and sword enter their countries; and by the power of God

Gunza besieged by the Turks.

The huge army of Solyman.

Solyman proud letters vnto the Emperour Charles and King Ferdinand.

- A God and his great Prophet *Mahomet*, the fauourers of just quarrels, giue them battell, if they durst meet him: wherefore if they would as valiant and couragious princes meet him in the field, he would in one battell end that quarrell with them, and in reward of the victory either win or lose the Empire of the World. When *Solyman* had thus a great while lien at the siege of Gunza, and thereto giuen diuers sharpe assaults, being still with great losse and dishonour repulsed, he in the space of foure daies cast vp neere vnto the towne ditch two great mounts of faggots and earth, as if they had bin two great mountains, of such height, that they ouertopped not the wals only, but euen the highest towers in the towne (by which wonderfull worke the greatness of the Turks army might easily be conjectured): on these great mounts he cast vp directly against the face of the towne, and the other at a corner of the same, to flankier along the wall; from whence he did with his shot not only beat them which appeared vpon the wals for the defence thereof, but them also which vpon occasion went too and fro in the streets. These mounts being with incredible celerity brought to perfection, the town ditch filled vp, & many of the defendants either slaine or wounded vpon the wals, the Turks gaue a most furious assault at the place which was before shaken with the mine: against whom the valiant captain as need was in that extreme danger, opposed all the strength he had left. But the Turks still pressing on with their infinit multitude, were got vp to the top of the wals with eight ensignes, from whence they had repulsed the defendants: which being all either wounded or wearied, shrouded themselves vnder the defence of their penthouses, being neither able nor of courage to make further resistance, so that the wals were now abandoned, and the towne there left without defendants: when suddenly such a great clamor was made by the loud outcries and lamentation of the women and children and other fearefull people, that the Turks which had recovered the top of the wals, stricken with a sudden feare, thinking the towne to haue bin full of soldiers, stood as men astonied and dismayed, wherupon the defendants began againe to take courage, and to shew themselves: at whose sight the Turks possessed of a needlesse feare, forsooke the wal, and could not by any persuasions or threats of their captains be brought on againe to the assault. The towne was that day in all mens judgement defended by the mighty power of God, and not by the strength of man. It grieved the proud tyrant above measure that so base a towne should so long hold out against all his power, so that oftentimes in his rage he would threaten to rase it downe to the ground, and not to leaue any signe thereof remaining: which he would vndoubtedly haue in time performed, had not *Abraham* the great Bassa (by whose counsell he was altogether directed) otherwise persuaded him: who waiting a fit time, when his choler was past, told him, that it was not worth his name and greatness, to spend his time and forces vpon so small a towne of no importance, by raising wherof he should neither get honor nor profit: for why, no man would maruell, if he with so puissant an army should take so small a thing, especially by long siege, wherby the strongest places are enforced to yeeld: and when he had so taken it, it would be accounted a greater honor for so little a towne to haue holden out so long, than for him to haue with so great forces in long time constrained it: but if it should otherwise fall out, as the chances of war are vncertaine, that he should by any occasion be constrained to leaue it, he should thereby get no small dishonour: wherefore it were more wisdom to spare his soldiers labor in so small a matter, wherof he was not to expect either honour or profit, and for to reuerse him for his greater designs, and not vainely to spend his forces and time in besieging of so base a village, from whence he might now depart with lesse dishonour than he could afterwards, when he had proued the vtermoost of his forces, and yet in the end glad peradventure to forsake it: wherefore it were more for his honour to raise his siege, and calling the Gouernor of the town vnto him, to giue him the town as it were of bounty, than to spend so many good men as he must needs cast away in the winning of it by force: with these and like reasons the Bassa prevailed so much with *Solyman*, that *Nicholas* the worthy Gouernor of the town was by a herald at arms sent for to come to the great Bassa, *Solyman* disdainig (as it should seem) to speak with him himself. The Gouernor being sent for, though he was grievously wounded, & in small hope of life, yet stoutly refused to come to any parly, except he were first well assured both by safe conduct & good hostages for the safety of his person, and that nothing should be exacted of him, not bestitting his religion & honor: which stout answer caused *Solyman* & the Bassa to think, that his strength was not yet so weakened, but that he was still able to hold out the siege: and thereupon, that he required for his safety was forth:

*Abraham* Bassa persuadeth *Solyman* to let the siege of Gunza.

The Governour  
commits to the  
Bassa.

His answer to  
the Bassa.

forthwith granted, and two men of great account sent for hostages for him into the city with Solyman's safe conduct. Which being received, the Governour went forth, and was by Abraham the great Bassa honourably received into the campe, and commanded to sit downe by him in his tent: where he was of him first by the way of courtesie demanded, whether he had recovered his old infirmity wherewith he was troubled at such time as he was sent Embassador unto Solyman at Constantinople? After that, whether the wounds he had received in the last assault, were dangerous or not? But last of all, and that which most concerned the matter, upon what hope he alone had so long and so obstinately withstood the mighty Sultan Solyman, when as all his neighbours round about him had so willingly submitted themselves: saying further, that he marvelled much why he reposed any confidence in the lingring King Ferdinand. Whereunto the Governour modestly answered, That he was (thanks be to God) well delivered of his old disease, and that his wounds were without danger: but as concerning his holding out, he said, that he for his great wisdom knew, that it was the duty of a good souldier valiantly to withstand his enemies, and not to be troubled for any euill hap, or discouraged with any chance of war: as for himselfe, he said, when mans helpe failed, he had reposed his full trust in God, by whose power he had bene hitherto preferred, which as he well hoped should neuer faile him at his need: and that King Ferdinand was not so far off, but that he would before it were long be there present with a great army: wherefore he did not greatly marvell, that he was not relievied before that time, forasmuch as many lets and occasion might chance which might hinder the Kings purpose, considering that fortune alwaies by nature vnconstant, was in nothing more like unto her selfe in her inconstancy, than in martiall affaires. The Bassa wondering at the invincible courage of the Governour, said, That although the great Emperor Solyman might now at his pleasure utterly destroy the towne, with all that therein was, yet being by nature of a most honourable and milde disposition, and a great louer of valiant and courageous men, had commanded him in his name to giue him that towne, and the liues of all them that were in it, as a reward of his valour shewed in the defence thereof: yet so, that he should sweare obedience vnto him, and receiue some few Turks into the towne, in token that he had yielded the same. The politicke Governour knowing that of 800 valiant souldiers, he had scarcely a third part left, and them also sore weakened with wounds and want of rest, thought it necessary to make his peace in best sort he could: for what could haue hapned vnto him more wishedly, than with his great honour to keepe the towne still, and with the losse of a few pleasing words to diluer himselfe, with so many of his friends, from extreame feare and perill: and so in all his talke shewing no signe of feare, and with great words setting forth the strength of his garrison (which was indeed brought to an extreame weaknesse) said he was ready at the first to haue yielded vp the towne, for the old acquaintance he had with him at Constantinople, but was alwaies letted by the Germans and Spaniards, which were there in garrison, fierce and cruell soldiers, whose hard hearts were (as he said) hardly entreated to suffer him at that time to come out of the city into the campe: wherefore he could promise to be a friend to all such Turks as should passe that way, and to relieue him with such things as his wasted country could afford, and further in token of his submission, to set vpon one of Solyman's residences in the chiefe tower of the city: but as for receiuing any Turks into garrison, in token that he had yielded vp the towne, he was willing so to do, but that he was greatly affraid they should be euill intreated by the Germans and Spaniards, who deadly hated the Turks: whereof it was to be thought, that new wars would eftsone arise. In conclusion he so cunningly vied the matter, that the great Bassa was contented with this small token of submission, that he should receive in at one of gates of the city, one of Solyman's captains with ten Janizaries: which being done accordingly, and they courteously for a while entertained and again dismissed, the great Bassa held himselfe with that simple submission well contented: when as the Governour had neither German nor Spaniard as then in garrison. So when Solyman had with his great army besieged the siege of Gunza by the space of 28 daies, and in that time to his great losse assaulted the same thirteene times, he rose with his army, glad of a little faised submission for the sake of his honor: and leauing Vienna on the right hand, whither most part of the Christian army was assembled, tooke the way on the left hand into Carinthia, and so came to the river Mur, and from thence to the city Gratia. This turning of Solyman's out of the way from Vienna, where he knew his enemies lay, put all feare out of the minds of the Christians, which they had before

Solyman departs  
from the  
siege of Gunza.

A before not without cause conceiued, inso much that he but a little before feared as a Prince of great pride and power, shamefully repulled at the little town of Gunza, and now shunning his enemies at Vienna, began to grow into contempt as if he had bene running away for feare. Which disgrace the Turks sought by diuers excuses to couer, as that the strong city of Neostat lay betwixt him and Vienna, which could neither without much difficulty be taken, nor danger lest enemy behind him: besides that, Winter began to approach, which caused him (as the Turks gaue it out) to content himselfe with the spoile of the rich countries betwixt the riuers of Savus and Dranus, and so in good time to returne againe to Belgrade. But they which seemed to see further into the matter, were of opinion, That Solyman vnderstanding by his espials, and secret aduertisement from his friends, That the Princes of Germany had with one consent joined their forces with the emperors, brought out of Italy, Spain, and the Low countries, which at his setting forth he least feared; and that the Christian army in number great, consisted not of raw souldiers, but for the most part such as had been trained vp in wars, men both for courage and skill nothing inferior to his Janizaries and best men of war, chose rather to take the spoile of the country, as he might with safety, than to aduenture his person and state to the hazard of a most doubtfull and dangerous battell.

Whilest these things were in doing, Michael Oglie by the commandement of Solyman, sent Cason with 15000 of his voluntary horsemen (who in Solyman's expedition against Vienna, had run through the country of Austria as farre as Lyntz) charging him without stay to spoile all the country far and neere which lyeth betwene Danubius and the Alpes, thereby to learne C what he could of the state and strength of the Emperors campe; and by doing all the harmes he could possibly, to leaue a most lamentable remembrance of the Turks being in Austria. Cason was of himselfe forward enough, and desirous of the spoile: but so much the more, for that he was by the former road into that country become both famous and rich: wherefore diuiding his horsemen into three companies not far distant one from another, he suddenly oppressed an infinit multitude of all sorts of people in the fields and country villages as he went; all which he either slew without mercy, or carried away as miserable prisoners. Thousands of men and women tied together in chaires and ropes, were by the cruell Turks enforced to run as fast as their horses; the country villages were all burnt downe to the ground, and in them the poore children of the Christians, whose parents were either slaine or carried away captiues: so that all the country euery way almost for the space of a 150 miles, was covered with D smoke and fire, within three miles of Lyntz, where King Ferdinand then lying, was glad to get himselfe further off to Strabing, where his brother Charles the Emperour lay. This cruell Turke according to his charge, hauing with fire and sword without compassion wrought all the woe he could possible vpon the poore Christians, and now loded with the spoile of the country and multitude of prisoners, began to returne the same way he came, thinking to finde Solyman either at the siege of Gunza, where he left him, or neerer hand at Neostat comming rowards Vienna. But he as is aforesaid, rising with small honour from Gunza, and fearing the power of the Christians, was quite gone another way as far as Gratia, the Metropolitall city of Stiria, standing vpon the riuier of Mura; which turned to the utter destruction of Cason and E all his followers: for as soone as it was perceiued by the burning of the country all about, that the Turks were come neere to Lyntz, the Christian captaines with their companies went out of the campe, some one way some another, as was thought most conuenient for the meeting with of these mischieuous Turks, which neuer rested in one place: wherein they vsed such diligence in taking the passages, that it was not possible they should escape vnought withall. Four companies of Spanish and Italian horsemen vnder the leading of Lewis Cone a valiant captaine, first lighting vpon them in a valley neere vnto Neostat, and desperately charging them, were by the Turks for most part slaine: But Cason perceiuing how he was one euery side laied by the Christians in the vallies betwixt Neostat, Sabaria, and Vesprimium, the night following with more than barbarous cruelty slew foure thousand of the Christians he had before taken prisoners, because he should not be hindered by them in his flight; and diuiding F his army into two parts, about midnight began to set forward, vsing the benefit of the night to haue escaped from his enemies out of these vallies wherein he was inclosed. One part of this army led by Feris taking the way Southward, did with incredible labour cut away thorough the thicke and ouergrown woods (a thing thought altogether impossible), and so with little

Cason sent with  
15000 horsemen  
to spoile Austria

4000 Christians  
captiues murdered  
by Cason.

Cafon difcom-  
fited by the Pala-  
tine, and flaine.

The flauhter  
of the Turkes.

tle or no losse came to *Solyman* into *Styria*. *Cafon* with the other part of the army breaking out of the valley of *Storamberg*, chanced vpon the *Palatine* (Generall of the forces sent from the German Princes) who with ten thousand footmen and two thousand horsemen, and certaine field pieces brake the battell of the Turkes, and flew of them a great number: in which conflict *Cafon* his chiefe ensigne was taken. He fighting most valiantly in the reeward, to giue others time to escape, was himselfe there slaine: whose gallant head-piecc presented afterwards to the Emperour, confirmed the report of his death. They which escaped from the *Palatine*, in their flight fell into the hands of *Lewis*, and the *Marquesse* of *Brandenburg*, by whom they were slaine like beasts. The *Hungarian* horsemen led by *Valentinus Turacus*, lighting vpon them which fled from *Lewis* and the *Marquesse*, had the killing of them for the space of seuen miles; and of all others did vpon them the cruelliest execution, following them hard at the heels with their fresh horses, and fiercely insulting vpon them in their owne language. Those few disperfed Turkes which escaped the fury of the *Hungarians*, fell into the hands of the country people about *Vesprimium* and the lake of *Balaron*, which came out on euery side in hope of spoile, who shewed them small fauour: so that of 8000 which were with *Cafon*, it was thought not one returned to *Solyman*.

The Emperour vnderstanding that *Solyman* was gone as farre as *Gracia* in *Styria*, called his chiefe captains together into the castle of *Lyntz*, to know their opinions, whether it were best to follow the enemy into *Styria* or not. The cities of *Lyntz*, *Gracia*, and *Vienna*, are situate almost in forme of a triangle: but from *Lyntz* to *Gracia* is three good daies journey of bad rough way by horse. Some said it was best to fight with the Turkes in that vneuen mountaine country, where the Turkes chiefe strength consisting in the multitude of his horsemen, should stand him in small stead, but should be enforced to try his battell with his footmen, wherein he was inferiour to the Christians. This counsell although it had in it many difficulties, yet for that it proceeded from the most approved captains, so moued the Emperour, that he presently sent *Apontius* a Spaniard (the most famous capitaine *Antonius Lena* his lieutenant) to take view of that passage: who shortly after returned againe to *Lyntz*, bringing word that all the country as he went was desolate and for feare forsaken of the inhabitants: but concerning the place of the enemies abode, he could learne no certainty. Whereupon it was by generall consent concluded, that they should all goe to *Vienna*, whither all the strength of the Germans was already assembled, there to take a generall view of the army, and to giue the enemy battell if he should againe returne. Some there were of great courage which openly disliked of that going to *Vienna*; saying, that the Emperour should rather in that distresse of the provinces of *Styria* and *Carinthia* pursue his enemy, than turne out of the way to *Vienna*. But others of greater judgement, whose opinion preuailed, said, it was one thing to invade and another thing to defend: so that the Emperour might with honor enough encampe himselfe in the fields of *Vienna*, and from thence to expect and deride the base expedition and vaine brags of his proud enemy, who a far off challenged him into the field, and then like a coward durst not come neere him.

Charles the em-  
perour his power  
at Vienna.

The Emperour comming to *Vienna*, and taking a generall view of the army, found therein two hundred and sixty thousand men, whereof 90000 footmen, and 30000 horsemen were accounted old expert soldiers, and of them many whole companies and bands, of such as had before bin Generals, Captains, Lieutenants, Antients, or other officers and men of marke in other armies, and now were content to serue as priuat men. It was thought that so many worthy captains and valiant souldiers, were neuer before in the memory of man assembled together into one camp: for the Princes and free cities had not sent thither common soldiers, but their chosen and approued men; struing as it were amongst themselves, who should send the best. All the flowre and strength of Germany from the river of *Vistula* to the *Rhene*, and from the Ocean to the *Alpes*, was by the Princes of the Empire and free cities either sent thither, or of themselves voluntarily came thither. A thing neuer before heard of, that all Germany should as it were with one consent, be glad to take vp arms for their common safety, in defence of their honor and liberty; especially against people brought out of the furthest parts of *Asia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*. Beside the great number of Spaniards, Italians, and Burgundians; the *Bohemian* campe lay not farre off, strengthened with them of *Silicia* and *Moravia*. There were also some troupes of *Polonian* horsemen, not sent thither by publike authority, but seruing

as

A as voluntary men: King *Steffmund* winking thereat, who as he was carefull not rashly to breake the league he had made with *Solyman*; so lest he should seeme carelesse of the Christian common cause, by notable dissimulation left place for such of his subjects as would (as if it had been without his knowledge) to shew their valour in the most honourable war.

The Christian army ready to receiue the enemy, lay in a great field neere vnto *Vienna*, in this order: three great squadrons of pikemen, standing one squadron a great way distant from another, were so placed against the enemy with like and equall front, that all the horsemen diuided into two parts, might well be receiued into the great spaces betwixt the three squadrons: for it was not thought conuenient to oppose so small a number of horsemen in open field without the footmen, against almost 300000 of the Turkes horsemen. The right wing of the horsemen was led by the Emperour himselfe, and the left by King *Ferdinand*. Before and behind, and on euery side of the three squadrons of pikes, sauing in those places which were left open for the horsemen, about thirty paces off, were placed twenty thousand nimble harquebusiers ranged in length, and but siue in a ranke; so that whilst the first discharged, the second, and after them the third, and so the rest readily and orderly comming on, might without let deliuer their bullets vpon their enemies: neither was it thought any disadvantage to place them so thin, for that if they found themselves by the enemies oppressed, they might easily retire amongst the pikes, standing fast at hand. Before the harquebusiers was planted the great ordnance, whereof the Emperour had such store, and so well placed, that he could therewith (as with a most sure trench) haue compassed in his whole army. Only the *Hungarians*, men well acquainted with the manner of the Turkish fight, chose to lie in the open field in two great wings, vnder the leading of their two valiant captains *Valentinus* and *Paulus*. Many noble gentlemen beholding this goodly army, wept for joy, conceiuing a most assured hope of victory, if the proud enemy durst with all his forces joyne in battell. But *Solyman*, who by all means fought with his great number of horsemen to keepe the wide and open fields, certainly aduertised both of the Emperours strength and the manner of his lying, got him ouer the river of *Mura*, and at *Marpurge* by bridges which he made on the sudden, passed over the great river *Dranus*. And so he which that Summer held almost all the World in suspense, with the doubtfull expectation of the successe of that war, hauing with all that his huge power where-with he threatned the World, done nothing at all worth the remembrance, but was in euery place either overcome, or els shamefully repulsed; left *Styria*, and returned the same way he came, directly betwixt the rivers of *Sauus* and *Dranus*, to *Belgrade* and so to *Constantinople*; leaving here and there some remembrance of his barbarous cruelty, and still looking behind him if the Emperour were not at his heeles: at such time as a few *Dalmatian* and *Croatian* horsemen did still pursue the taile of his army. It is reported, that he carried away with him 30000 Christians into Captiuitie, besides many thousands of poore country people slaine by the mercilesse Turkes; but especially by *Cafon* and his followers: and so to his eternall infamy was twice in the space of a few yeares driuen out of Germany. The Emperour vnderstanding of *Solymans* departure, determined with all speed to returne into Italy; although King *Ferdinand* his brother most earnestly intreated him before his departure, in so fit a time to imploy those great forces against King *John*, who now as it were forsaken of *Solyman*, might easily with so puissant an army haue bin thrust not only out of *Buda*, but also quite out of the Kingdome of Hungary, wherein he was by *Solyman* as his vassall placed. But the Emperour, for that Winter began now to approach, and the plague was got into the camp, yea, euen into his court, continued in his former purpose of departing into Italy: yet yeelding so far vnto his brothers request, as to leaue behind him all the Italians, who joyned with King *Ferdinand* his owne forces, were thought sufficient for the accomplishment of the Hungarian war.

Over these Italians, one *Fabritius Maramaldus* was by the meanes of *Alphonfus Vidiu* appointed Generall: but no order taken for the payment of their wages, whereby the souldiers might be the more encouraged to take in hand that war, and also kept in obedience. Which thing at the first much offended the minds of the other captains, thinking themselves disgraced by the preferment of *Maramaldus*, a man of no greater account than themselves: but as soon as it was known abroad, the vnder captains & officers of the bands, led with the credit and fauor of their old captains, said plainly, That they would not go into Hungary, except either King *Ferdinand* would in person goe himselfe, or else one of the great Commanders, *Vassimo* must.

or

The order of the  
Christian army.

Solyman retir-  
eth.

The Italians  
led so by  
of King Fer-  
dinand, and  
King Ferdi-  
nand.

Corone be-  
sieged by  
Austria.

to his own dwelling, leaving King *Ferdinand* unto his own forces. The Emperor also breaking up his army at Vienna, and purposing now as before to return into Italy, appointed *Ferdinand Gonzaga* to go foremost with the light horsemen, with whom also he went himselfe. After him followed *Vassius* with the Spaniards: two daies after came the Cardinall, whose traine was of all the greatest: last of all followed the mercenary Germanes: in which order he returned in safety into Italy.

This was the end of those wonderful preparations made by the two great Monarchs *Solyman* and *Charles* the fifth, in the yeare 1532: which held the world in great suspence with the fearfull expectation of some marvellous alteration; and so much the more, for that at the same time appeared a great blazing star by the space of 15 daies. All which for all that, God so appointing, sorted to far lesse harm than was of most men feared.

Austria  
goeth  
against  
the  
Turks.

Now whilst *Charles* the Emperor was thus in arms against *Solyman* in Austria, *Andrea* *Austria* by his appointment, with a fleet of 35 tall ships, and 48 gallies, wherein he had embarked 25000 souldiers well appointed, did in the meane time wonderfully annoy the Turkes in Peloponnesus. With this fleet *Austria* departing from Messina in Sicilia, and passing along the coast of Italy into the Ionian, neer to the Isle of Zacynthus met with *Vincenius Capellius* the Venetian Admiral, with a fleet of sixty gallies set forth by the Venetians in defence of their territory: who offered unto *Austria* all possible kindnes, but excused himself that he could not join with him in that war against the common enemy, by reason of an old league betwixt the Turkes and the Venetians, which *Solyman* had but a little before renewed. So that at that time the Venetians stood as men indifferent betwixt *Charles* the emperor and *Solyman*, offering like kindnes to both, but taking part with neither, yet in readines to fall out with either, if they should by sea or land offer any injury to their State: wherein they bare themselves so indifferent, that it was thought that they at one and the selfe same instant aduertised *Austria*, that *Hymenales* the Turkes Admiral lay with his fleet of 60 gallies euill appointed in the Bay of Ambracia, where he might easily be surpris'd, and gaue likewise warning to him of the coming of *Austria* with a strong fleet, wishing him in time to provide for his better safety, by retyring his fleet into some other place of more assurance, which he presently did: for knowing himself too weak, he departed from Ambracia to the strong haven of Calcide. Which thing with other like wel considered, might giue iust cause to any Christian heart to bewail the state of that time, wherein the Christian Princes being either in mortal wars amongst themselves, or K intangled by *Solyman* with leagus of no assurance, omitted the fairest opportunitie that could haue bin wished for the abating of the Turkes greatnes: for if the Venetians joining their forces with *Austria*, had in time pursued the Turkish Admiral, it was like that not only all *Solyman's* power at sea had bin utterly discomfited, but also most part of *Grecia*, mindful of their ancient empire and liberty, and then ready to haue rebelled, and joined hands with the Christians, might haue bin recovered out of the Turkish thraldom; yea and the Imperial city of Constantinople greatly endangered, few or none being left for the defence thereof, beside yong Ianizaries and effeminate Eunuchs, the heartlesse keepers of the Turkes concubines; *Solyman* himself being then far off in Hungary, and hauing drawne with him the greatest strength of his empire.

Corone be-  
sieged  
by Austria.

*Austria* taking his leaue of the Venetian Admirall, with much honour done at sea on both sides, was shortly after aduertised that the Turkes Admiral was fled to Calcide. Wherefore now out of hope to do any good against him, hee directed his course to Corone, which is a strong city vpon the coast of Peloponnesus, about twelue miles distant from Modon, with purpose to besiege it: which when he had wel viewed, and considered of the strength thereof, hee laid siege thereto both by sea and land, battering it most terribly at one time with 14 great pieces of artillery by land, and 150 by sea, so that a more terrible battery had not been lightly heard of. For all that, the Turkes valiantly stood vpon their defence, and manfully repulsd the Italians, which vnder the leading of the Countie of Sarne assaulted the city by land. The Turkes garrisons lying about in the country of Peloponnesus, did what they might to haue relieved the city: who by the valor of the Countie were discomfited, and *Zadares* their chief leader slain: whose head with others of the slain Turkes were set vpon stakes, to the terror of the defendants.

At

- A At length the Turkes wearied with assaults, and terrified with the thundring shot which neuer ceased, and driuen also from their greatest strength towards sea, by the desperat assault of certain resolute Christians, whom they had now full sore against their wils receiued as it were into their bosomes: fearing also to want victuall and powder, if they should longer hold out without any hope of reliefe, yeelded the City and Castle to *Austria*, vpon condition that they might in safety depart thence with bag and baggage. Corone thus taken, and a strong garrison of Spaniards there placed, and the Christian Grecks which dwelt in the city sworn vnto them, *Austria* put to sea with his fleet, and sayling againe by Zacynthus, came to Patras another ancient city of Peloponnesus, which he easily took and ransacked: for the Turkes distrusting the strength of the City, had strongly intrenched themselves neere vnto the Castle, which place B also, together with the Castle, they in short time yeelded to *Austria*, couenancing, that they, and especially their wiues, might with their garments onely depart in safety into Aetolia: which was by *Austria* so precisely performed, that when three thousand of them passed along through the army of the Christians, ranged on both sides, and some of the souldiers began rudely to handle some of the women, and to take from them some of their jewels, he caused them presently, to the terror of others, to be hanged. *Austria* leaving his army at Patras, with commandment to follow him by land, sailed along the coast of Peloponnesus, vntill he came to the streit of Naupaetum, now called Lepanto, which is the entrance into the gulf of Corinthia, parting Peloponnesus from Aetolia, with a streit somewhat narrower then the streit of Hellespont. Vpon this streit stood two Castles, the one called Rhium, vpon the coast of Peloponnesus, and the other Moliceum in Aetolia, which *Bajazet* had wonderfully fortified, and stored with ordnance for the keeping of that streit. *Austria* threatening all extremity to the Captaine of the Castle on Peloponnesus side, if he did enforce him to plant his battery, so terrified him, that he without delay yeelded vnto him the castle, couenancing only, That he and his souldiers might in safety depart thence: which granted, and the Turkes departed, *Austria* gaue the spoyle of the Castle vnto his souldiers which came with him by sea: whereby he so offended the minds of the other souldiers which came by land from Patras, that they were about to haue forsaken him. The other Castle vpon Aetolia side was not so easily taken, being valiantly defended by a garison of old Ianizaries, appointed for the keeping thereof. Yet in the end by fury of the Ordinance a breach was made, whereby the Christians forcibly entring, slew three hundred of the old garrison souldiers, not taking any one to mercy: the rest fled into a strong tower in the midst of the Castle, where seeing no remedy but that they must needs fall into the hands of their enemies, they desperatly blew vp themselves, and the tower, with a great part of the Castle, with gunpowder, in such sort, that it seemed all the sea coast to haue been shaken with an earthquake, and the gallies which lay a bow shoot off, were almost ouerwhelmed with stones blown out so far off. The great Ordinance taken in this Castle was valued at 70000 duckats; whereof certaine pieces of a wonderfull greatnesse, with Arabian letters written vpon them, were afterwards by *Austria* brought to Genoa, & in remembrance of the victory, mounted vpon the bulwark at the mouth of the haven. All these things thus happily atchieued, *Austria* strongly fortified the city of Corone, storing it both with munition and plenty of victuall, committing the defence thereof to *Mendoza* a valiant Spaniard, with a strong garrison of Spaniards; promising of his owne charge to relieue him whensoever he should need, if the Emperour should defer to do it. The streit of Naupaetum laid open, *Salutaris* with the gallies of Malta scoured all along the gulf of Corinth, doing great harm to the Turkes which dwelt on both sides of the gulf, spoiling and terrifying them euen as far as Corinth. Not long after, Winter now approaching, *Austria* receiuing letters from the Emperour, of *Solyman's* departure out of Hungary, returned with his fleet loaded with the spoyle of the Turkes, to Naples, and so from thence home to Genoa.

- In the beginning of the Spring following (which was the yere 1533) it was rifely reported that the Turkes were coming with a great fleet toward Peloponnesus: and not long after, *Mendoza* Gouvernour of Corone, by letters aduertised *Peter* of Toledo, Vizroy of Naples, That he was both by sea and land hardly besieged by the Turkes; and that he would to the vttermost of his power valiantly defend the city, so long as he had any prouision of victuall: Wherefore he most earnestly requested, That if the Emperour would haue the towne kept, he should in time send him reliefe, whereupon the oppressed Gracians taking heart, were like enough

Hhh 2

to

Corone yeelded  
to Austria by the  
Turks.

Patras taken  
and ransacked  
by Austria.

Austria returned  
into Italy.  
1533.  
The Turkes be-  
siege Corone.

to rebel, and to help to expulse the Turks quite out of Peloponesus. But about all things he forgot not to craue speedy aid of *Auria*, and to put him in mind of the faithfull promise he had made, to relieue him at his need. Vpon this news, *Charles* the Emperor commanded *Auria* his Admiral to rig vp a conuenient fleet for that seruice, promising forthwith to send him twelue Gallies which he had new built in Spain. He also requested the Knights of Malta to aid him with their Gallies against that Common enemy. Wherefore *Auria* hauing with wonderfull celeritie rigged vp thirty tall ships, and as many gallies, came to Naples to take in his souldiers. There the old Garrison of the Spaniards, which for want of pay were aise in mutiny against the great commander and General *Vasim* & the Viceroy, and had sacked the city of Aversa, and don no little harm all about in the country of Campania, were again pacified by a pay giuen vnto them, and presently imbarked for Corone, vnder the command of *Rodericus Maricani* their Generall: at which time also *Frederick* of Toledo the Viceroy of son with a company of braue Gentlemen went aboard, vowing their seruice to the sacred war. The Knights of Malta came thither also with their gallies. Whilst these things were doing, *Auria* to encourage them of Corone, for fear lest they despairing of help, should fall to some hard Composition with the Turks, sent *Christopher Palauicine* (a resolute young Gentleman of an inuincible courage) with a most swift Gally to Corone: who by day light passing shew the middelt of the Turkes fleet, safely recovered the haven, to the great ioy of the besieged Christians: and shortly after, when he had well viewed all things, with the strength and manner of the Enemies lying, and filled the minds of the Defendants with assured hope of speedy rescue, about noon time of the day he suddenly brake out again through the middelt of his enemies, and as it were miraculously escaped in safety, for all that they could doe, although they ceased not to giue him chase so long as they were in any hope to haue ouertaken him. *Auria* departing from Naples, came to Messina, where beeing certainly informed of the Enemies force both by sea and land, with the number of their Gallies, and seeing that the chief hope of relieuing of the City consisted in celerity, stayed not for the Gallies which he expected out of Spain, but held on his course towards Grecia. For it was told him, that the Enemies fleet dayly encreased, by the coming in of the Turkish Pyrats; and that *Assam-Beg* (otherwise called the Moor of Alexandria) an arch Pyrat was still looked for, in whose good directions the Turkish Captains reposed the greatest hope of their victory. When he was come as far as Zacynthus, he was informed by the Venetians, that *Lutzius Bassa* (otherwise called *Lutzius Bassa*) the Turkes great Admiral, and *Solymans* brother in law, with *Solyman* of Acarnania, and the Moore (men for their skil at sea of great fame and reputation) lay before Corone, with eighty gallies manned with diuers companies of the old Ianizaries: so that it was thought a matter of exceeding peril for him to aduenture to relieue the town, except he took the aduantage of some prosperous gale of wind. Wherefore *Auria* to haue yet more certaine knowledge of the enemies fleet, sent before him *Christopher Palauicine* with one Gally, againe to view the manner of the enemies lying: Who passing the promontorie of Acrites, saw all the Turkes great fleet lying in very good order before the City; and so returned to *Auria*, confirming that which the Venetians had before reported; and that the Turkes fleet was greatly encreased, and lay ready as it should seem to giue him battel so soon as he should approach the City. For all that, *Auria* nothing dismayed with the greatnes of the Turkes fleet, made no stay, but stil kept on his course, & with a fair gale of wind passing the promontory Acrites, came directly towards Corone. Two great Gallions, of all the fleet the most warlike ships, came foremost, wherof the one was *Auria's* own, which he had built with a wonderfull charge; and the other was of Sicilia. These two great ships were appointed by *Auria* to turn a little vpon the left hand; and at such time as the Enemy should set forward from the shore, to cast anchor betwixt both the fleets; that as occasion should serue, they might as out of two strong Castles beat the Turkes gallies with their great Ordnance, wherewith they were for that purpose wonderfully stored. Next vnto these great Gallions followed the other warlike ships with full sails: after whom came the gallies in three squadrons, wherof *Saluatus* had the leading of the right wing, which consisted of the Bishop of Romes gallies, & them of Malta. In the left wing and near to the enemy commanded *Antonius Auria*: and in the midst was *Auria* himself. At the first sight of the Christian fleet the Turkes moued not from the shore, but discharged their ordnance at them afar off, and then began to set forward and to draw neerer; especially the

*Auria sent to relieue Corone.*

*The order of Auria's fleet before Corone.*

A the Moor, who with greater courage than the rest assailed the side and rereward of the fleet: for the Christians keeping their course right forth to Corone, & turning nothing to the left hand, as was before appointed, seemed as if they fled; and so much the more, for that the gallies in the right wing, for fear of the Turkes great ordnance, did for a great compasse farther off into the sea, and many of the middle squadron and of the left wing also, had disorderly thrust themselves in among the ships, although they had receiued little or no harme of the enemies great shot.

*The Christians fleet disordered.*

In this confusion of the Christian Navy, the Moor requested *Lutzius* the Admiral not to let slip so fair an occasion, wherein the Christian fleet might easily haue bin ouerthrowne. But whilst *Lutzius* doth slowly and consideratly set forward, *Auria* in the mean time had put his fleet again in order, and with a fair wind was come to Corone. Two of the ships by the way falling one foul on another, staid behind, being not able to keep way with the rest: about which all the Turkes gallies presently flockt, and took the lesser of them, killing all the Spaniards they found therein. Out of this they boorded the greater, and with a bloody fight had woon the forecasse and wast of the ship: when *Auria*, accounting it no smal dishonour to haue his ships so surpris'd at his heels, caused all his gallies to turne againe vpon the enemy to rescue those ships. The Turkes seeing that, & with the Westerly wind by little and little fallen down so far with the ships, that they were come within the danger of the shot of the Towne, began with great stir to forsake the ships, and to betake them to their oars, and so in manner of flight withdrew themselves: whom *Auria* pursued a great way to Modon, thundring in their poulders.

*Auria arriveth at Corone.*

C with his great shot, which he liberally bestowed among them: whilst in the mean time *Antonius Auria* came to rescue the two distressed ships. There the Spaniards which but a little before had hardly maintained their close fights, began now as men reuiued, to shew themselves, & courageously to make resistance: and they which came with *Antonius Auria* to their rescue, entring with wonderfull celerity on euery side, slew and tooke 300 Ianizaries, which with great courage had entred those ships, & were there left by the sudden departure of their fellows. Amongst whom was taken one *Iosaphus* an old captain of 1000 Ianizaries; to whom *Auria* after he was come to Corone, gaue a fair suit of apparel and a chain of gold, and so set him at liberty without any ranfom: therby to prouoke the Turkes to the like kind of curteous dealing toward the Christians. *Assam-Beg* the pyrat, and the other captains of the Turkes fleet,

*The Turkes fleet riseth to Modon.*

D wonderfully blamed *Lutzius* the Admiral, for that hee would not then fight with the Christians, when he was therto earnestly requested, both by the captains and soldiers in general, and had a fair opportunitie of victory offered, at such time as the Christians fleet was disordered. But he excused himself, saying, That it was giuen him in speciall charge by *Solyman* the Emperor, That he should in any case respect the safety of his navy, and not to come vnto the hazard of a battel. The Turkes which besieged the city by land, vpon the approach of the Christian fleet forsook their trenches and fled. At which time *Mendoza* the gouernour salving out, took great store of victuall and warlike prouision, which the Turkes had for haft left behinde them. So *Auria* to his great honor hauing driuen the Turkes from Corone both by sea & land, furnished the city with store of corn, wine, victuall, powder & shot, and committed the defence

*Corone relieved by Auria.*

E therof to *Maricani* & the companies of the mutinous Spaniards which he had brought from Naples. Comforting the Greeks, and exhorting them, patiently for a while to endure those calamities of war, saying, that the Emperor would the next year make war against the Turkes both by sea and land in Peloponesus, and free them from their bondage. And so imbarcking the old garrison of the Spaniards, departed from Corone, and came before Modon, where he lay as it were brauing the Turkes great Admiral, hoping therby to draw him out of that strong harbor to battel. But when he saw that the enemy could by no meanes be allured out of his strength, or assailed as he lay, he departed from thence to Corcyra, and so back againe to Messina in Sicilia.

*Auria returneth before Mendoza beate the Turkes fleet.*

Within a few dayes after, *Assam-Beg* the Moore of Alexandria, and most famous Pyrat, lying in wait for the merchants ships of Venice coming out of Syria with merchandise, by chance met with *Hieronymus Canalis* vpon the coast of Crete: Where in the night time was fought betwixt them a fierce and cruell battell; wherein of the Moores thirteene Gallies, foure were sunke, three taken, and the rest hauing lost most part of their Rowers, fled to Alexandria. In this fight was slaine three hundred Ianizaries which were going to Caire, and a

*The Moore of Alexandria with beate and taken by Canalis the Venetian.*

thousand other Turks. Of all that were taken, there was scarcely one saved but the Moorhimself, who grievously wounded in the face, for safeguard of his life was glad to discover himself: for the Venetians maintaining their state by trade and traffique, do of all others shew least favour to pyrats. When the Moor had made himself known vnto *Canalis*, there was great care taken for the curing of his wounds, and either of them began with notable dissimulation to excuse the matter to other, saying, That they were both deceived by the likenes of their gallies, and mistaking of their friends for enemies: when as for all that, they knew one another tight well. For the Moor said, That he took those Venetian Gallies to haue bin part of *Auria* his fleet: and *Canalis* excused himself, by saying that he mistook him for *Barbarussa*, who a few years before had surprised three of the Venetian gallies. Yet the Venetians doubting how *Solyman* would take the matter, by their embassador sought to excuse what was done, as a thing hapning by error and mischance. Of which excuse *Solyman* accepted, and said moreover, That *Canalis* had done well and soldier-like, to repulfe by force the wrong that was offered him. Three of the Emperors gallies staying behind the rest of the fleet, were neer vnto the promontory of *Palinurus*, vpon the coast of *Apulia*, intercepted and caried away by *Siman*, tyrramed the lew, a notable pyrat of that time also.

The garrison  
soldiers of  
Corone desire of  
their Generall  
to be brought  
to some service.

*Macicus* Com-  
missioner of Co-  
rone gets out  
to see the An-  
drussa.

The Winter following, the Spaniards and Greeks in *Corone* began to want victuals, especially wine and flesh, for the Turks had so blocked vp the city, that nothing was to be had out of the country: wherefore the soldiers requested *Macicus* their gouernor and Generall, to lead them forth to some piece of seruice against the enemy, forso much as they were not to expect any reliefe elswhere before Aprill; wishing rather valiantly to die like men in fight against the Turks, than to languish within those dead walls for want of victuall. But *Macicus* minded full of his charge, fought by reasons to dissuade them from that purpose, shewing them what an offence it were, rashly to depart out of the city committed to their charge, which might be vnto them dangerous, although they should speed neuer so well; and that those waies, which they rather feared than felt, would well enough be overcome by sparing and patience; and therefore told them plainly, that he was resolutely set downe to keep the city for the Emperour, and to endure all hardnes, rather than to incur the infamy, That he had forsaken the City, and betrayed his Garrison. Yet for all this, the matter was so urged by *Didacus Tovarres* and *Hermosilla*, both great Captains, and by the general importunity of the souldiers, that *Macicus* was enforced to yeeld to their desire, and to promise them to go yet protesting withall, That he did it altogether against his will, rather enforced that persuaded vnto that, whereof he had no great hope of success. Amongst other that were so forward in that action, was one *Barbatius* a most valiant Greek, who could perfectly speak the Turks language, and of all others best knew the by-waies and secret passages of the country: he undertooke to bee their guid, and by priuat waies to bring them to the enemies vndiscouered in the dead time of the night, when as they feared no such matter. So *Macicus* commending the custody of the city to *Liscanius* and *Mendesius*, with charge that they should suffer no man to go out of the City after his departure, for fear of giuing any knowledge vnto the enemy, set forward about ten a clock at night toward *Andrussa*, *Barbatius* being his guid, who shunning the common beaten waies, brought them by secret and vnknown paths that night halfe the way to *Andrussa*. But vpon the rising of the Sunne, he brought them into a secret wooddy Vally, where they rested and refreshed themselves all that day, and setting forward again that night, came to *Andrussa* before day. In this town, which was of no great strength, lay one *Coranus* awarlike Captain, with three thousand footmen, wherof the one half was of the *Ianizaries*; and in the suburbs lay *Achomates* with a thousand chosen horsemen, with which garrison the Turks kept all that side of *Peloponessus* in awe. *Macicus* brought by his guid vnto the place where his enemies lay, went directly to the town to haue surprised it: *Hermosilla* in the mean time standing still with certain troupes of Spaniards ouer against the place where the horsemen lay. But this could not be done with so great silence, but that some of the horse-boyes being awak, discovered them by the fire in their matches; who first awaked the negligent watchmen, & afterwards raised an alarm in the suburbs. Whereupon *Hermosilla* courageously set vpon the horsemen, being altogether vnready, and slew many of them before they could arme themselves, and set fire also vpon the stables wherin the Turks horses stood, with the extraordinarie rage wherof many of the Turks perished, with their horses and armor. Great and terrible was the noise

A noise raised vpon the sudden in the suburbs; but especially of the horses, which burnt as they stood fast tied in the stables, or by chance breaking loose, ranne vp and down with their tailes and mains of a light fire: by occasion wherof an alarm was raised in the town, and the Turks got to the walls before the Spaniards could enter. *Macicus* himself laboring to breake in at a postern, was shot in the head with a small shot and slaine: diuers others neer him were there also slaine. The Turks perceiving the small number of their enemies, sallied out vpon them and enforced them to retire to *Hermosilla*, who had already made great spoil among the horsemen; by whose skilfull direction the Spaniards retired in so good order, making many stands, with their harquebusiers all drawn into the reeward, that such of the Turks as were most forward to pursue them, did by their death cause the rest to make lesse hast. *Achomates* with such of his horsemen as had escaped the fire, hastened thither also, bringing with him 200 harquebusiers which he had caused his horsemen for hast to take vp behinde them vpon their horses: but whilst he sought eagerly to be reuenged vpon his enemies, and with too much heat pressed on with the foremost, he was shot into the body with a bullet and slaine. So the horsemen hauing before received a great losse as they lay in their lodgings, accounting it in their good hap that they were not there al slaine, and hauing now lost their captain, ceased any further to pursue their enemies, but returned. The Spaniards and Greeks although they were wearied both with their long march and euill success, retired still as resolute men ready to fight, and so returned to *Corone*. Presently after, the Turkish garrison removed from *Andrussa* to *Megalopolis*, now called *Londarium*. After whose departure the Christian soldiers of *Corone* came thither and buried the dead bodies of their slaine fellows (which til then lay vnburied) and brought back with them the head of *Macicus* their late General, which the Turks had there set vp vpon a long pole, which they honorably buried at *Corone*. Not long after, the plague began to grow hot in *Corone*, so much the more grievous, for that it came accompanied with many other hard difficulties. For which causes, the Spaniards as men at once enforced with many extremities, embarked themselves with all the great Ordnance, and such Greeks as would go with them, in certain ships which came with corn out of *Sicily*, and so departed; leaving the town empty for the Turks to come vnto.

*Macicus* slain

*Corone* forsaken by the Spaniards.

It was commonly reported, that the Spaniards left *Corone* not without secret consent of the Emperour; which was the rather thought to be so, for that they which forsook the place received thereby no disgrace; and the Emperour himself had offered to giue the Town to *Clement* Bishop of *Rome*, the Venetians, and the Knights of *Malta*, who all refused to receive it, as loth to be at so great a charge in keeping a place seruing to no greater purpose, the very cause why the emperour was so willing to part with it. Now *Clement* the great Bishop had by means of *Aloysius Gritius* made a motion of peace, to haue bin concluded for ten years betwixt *Solyman* and the Christian Princes, and therupon the Town to haue again bin deliuered vnto the Turks. Which peace *Solyman* was not altogether vnwilling to grant, being then wholly bent to innade the Persian. *Ferdinand* was also in good hope, that his brother *Charles* the Emperour would for the yeelding vp of that towne, haue couenanted with the Turke some great matter for his benefit in Hungary; which was thought would also easily haue bin granted. But whilst the Emperour drawn diuerly with the consideration of his honor in keeping it, and of his profit in giuing it vp, stood too long in resolving, the town in the meane time was by the Spaniards (their necessities daily increasing) abandoned, and so left vnto the Turks for nothing.

*Solyman* now purposing to turn his forces against the Persians, of whom he had in the frontiers of his dominion received great hurt, especially in *Comagene*, renewed the league he had with the Venetians and some other Christian princes: but of all other his affairs with the Christians, he was most carefull of the interest he had already gotten in Hungary: for it was reported, That King *Iohn* his Vassall, induced by the continual sollicitations of his subjects, was desirous of peace with King *Ferdinand*, vpon condition that he might quietly enjoy the kingdom during his life: and after his decease, it to remaine vnto King *Ferdinand* and his heirs. Wherefore *Solyman*, that nothing should be there done in his absence without his knowledge, sent *Aloysius Gritius* the duke of *Venice* his son (of whom we haue before spoken) a man both for the honor of his house, the good carriage of himselfe, and the speciall commendation of *Abraham* the chief Bassa, in great credit with him; with commission as his lieutenant to be

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*Aloysius Gritius* the duke of *Venice* his son, *Solyman* lieutenant in Hungary to purchase King *Iohn*.

assistant

assistant vnto king John, in such magnificent sort, as that without him the king might conclude nothing in matters of state, concerning either peace or war, with other the Christian princes. With this proud Commission of the grand Seignior *Gritius* entred into Transylvania, then a part of the Hungarian kingdom (much about the same time that *Solymán* set forward from Constantinople against the Persian) attended vpon with seven thousand persons of one sort and other, amongst whom were *Urbanus Batiannus*, and *Ianus Docia*, two famous Hungarian captains with their companies, and many of the Turks Janizaries also. At his first comming, to make his authority the more known, he sent out his proud Commaund vnto the great men and gouernors of the cities of that warlike prouince, charging them forthwith to repair vnto him as great *Solymán's* Deputy, authorised by him to hear and determine all the controuersies and matters of state concerning the Kingdom of Hungary. At that time *Americus Sihachus* H Bishop of Veradium, a man of great nobility and power, withall singularly wel qualified, was Vayuod or gouernor of Transylvania, an honor next vnto the King. Hee vnderstanding that *Gritius* was come into his prouince, and making small hast to welcome him, as one not greatly moued at his comming, or much regarding the commandement of *Solymán*; wonderfully offended *Gritius*; who desired nothing more than at his first entrance to haue confirmed the opinion of his authority in the minds of the vulgar people, by the prest and ready attendance of the Vayuod. But it was reported, that the stout Bishop vpon a Christian zeal detested the friendship of the Turks, and could not wel brooke that they should be too much acquainted in his prouince, for fear lest that fruitful country abounding with men and horses, should by one means or other fall into their hands. *Gritius* was come to Baxovia, when he vnderstood that the Vayuod was comming with a great train, and lay about ten miles off, incamped with diuers gallant troupes of horsemen, in warlike maner appointed: for the Bishops of Hungary being wonderfull rich, were by old custom bound to keep great numbers of horsemen, which as occasion serued, they vsed to bring into the field against the Turks; accounting it great honor, with their religious hands to defend the cause of Religion. But then especially the Nobility of the country wel appointed reforted on euery side, in curesie to honour and countenance their great Bishop and gouernor, at whose commandement they were in so much as the Bishops retinue made shew of a good army. Which thing moued *Gritius* exceedingly, that he should be enforced contrary to his expectation, to parly with the Bishop in the open fields as with an enemy in the sight of all their followers. Herof rose envy, a deadly mischief always repining at another mans honour; when as the one swelling with Turkish pride could abide no equal; and the other jealous of his honor, could by no means indure any superior in such place as he had the soueraignty of. When these two great men had met together in the open field, and there dined more like enemies than friends, without any shew of friendship or good will; *Gritius* inwardly chafing at his bare entertainment, couertly threatened to be reuenged vpon all such as should make so light account of his authority: and immediately as he departed from the banquet, taking his Turkish cap from his head (which was after the Turkish maner made of a high fashion, of rich fables) and opening it with both his hands, said, This Cap will not hold two heads, and therefore it must be fitted to one, and so put it on again; *Ianus Docia*, one of the Hungarian captains his followers (who deadly hated the Vayuod; for that hee long time before, for a malapert speech in a great assembly, gaue him a blow with his fist) took hold of that speech of *Gritius*, as a fit occasion for him to worke his reuenge; and sayd; *Your Honour maketh a fit comparison; neither can this prouince contain two equal Gouernors or Commanders, nor you ever enjoy your power and authority, except you do this day with speedy and manly resolution defend both Solymán's credit and your own. You know not this proud beast Americus, whose pride and insolency if you but say the word, I will quickly pull down: for he hateth Solymán, he regardeth not the King, and of you he maketh no account at all; for why, he aspreeth vnto the maiesty of a King, and saith that the Vayuodship of Transylvania well besemeth a King; for that in this countrey Decebalus the Dacian sometime reigned, whom the warlike Emperour Trajan with all the force of the Roman Empire hardy subdued. No man can more proudly or arrogantly set himself forth than he, neither more craftily or cunningly dissemble to serue his own turn. Indeed he hath for fashion sake presented your Honor with a few simple presents, and given you his hand also, better known for his falshood than his faith; so the intent is that when you are once past his country, he may scow and jeest at your Decrees. Verily he deadly enuies your*

*Americus the Vayuod commeth Gritius.*

*Docia insinuat Gritius against the Vayuod.*

*A your honor and felicity, and grudgeth in his heart that you should set down the laws of peace and warre in Hungary: and whereas he doth manifestly aspire vnto a kingdom, he feareth you above all others, lest you should trouble his desires, abate his credit, and chastise his insolencie. Verily, he that thus malignes your happiness, and opposeth your authority, is not to be suffered, but by good reason to be taken away: thereby at this your first entrance to defend the credit of your Commission, and honor of your name. For nothing is more dangerous than a faithlesse Companion and a secret enemy, especially when you shall leaue him as your back behind you: for when he shall at occasion serue shew forth his hidden malice, he shall so much the more shrewdly and desperately endanger your person.* *Gritius* enraged with this speech more than before, thought it best to make hast, and to vse his authority to the full: hee commended *Docia*, and promised in short time to requite his good will towards him, especially if he would by some notable attempt abate the Bishops pride. It is reported, That *Gritius* gaue him no other charge but to take the Bishop, that so he might after the Turkish manner haue sent him in chains to Constantinople, and bestowed the honor of the Vayuod vpon *Hieronymus Lasus* the Polonian, who in hope of that honorable preferment vnto him promised by King John, had done him great and faithful seruice, as his embassador both to *Solymán*, and to the French king. But when King John perceived that hee could not conueniently without manifest danger place him (being a Polonian, who could scarce speake the Hungarian language) Gouernour ouer such a warlike people, he as it were enforced by necessity, preferred this *Americus* the Bishop of Veradium, a man of them both reuerenced and feared. Which so grieved *Lasus*, (a man of great stomack and experience, and therunto excellently learned) that he would neuer admit any excuse of the Kings, but euer after complained that he was by the King deluded. Nevertheless he kept himself within the bounds of loyalty, and enioied certain lands & towns which the King had giuen him in the borders of Polonia: but estranged from him in minde, he was now become one of *Gritius* his followers, hoping of his better preferment by his means vnto *Solymán*; and for that cause was not so forward to do the King such seruice as he had in times past. Now by the commandement of *Gritius*, a strong company of Turkish horsemen, and certain troupes of Hungarians, were deliuered to *Docia*, who secretly departing that night from Baxovia, came suddenly to the Vayuods camp; hauing a little before by his Hungarian spies learned that he lay in the open fields in his tent, by reason of the great heat, without any Watch or guard, attended on only by his pages and household seruants, as a man without fear; and that all the rest of his retinue lay dispersed in the Countrey Villages round about. All which serued so well for *Docia* his purpose, that the Vayuod ignorant of his death so night at hand (who rather contemned than feared his enemies) was suddenly oppressed by *Docia* his souldiers: so that whilst he was yet lying in his bed, and scarcely wel awaked by his Chamberlains and the poise of the enemy; *Docia* suddenly breaking into his tent, cut off his head as he lay. All they which lay neere, amazed at the suddennes of the matter, fled away for fear, and left their horses and other things for a prey vnto the Turks and other of *Docia* his followers. *Docia* hauing don so great an outrage, returned to *Gritius*, presenting vnto him the Vayuods head, which he brought in his hand by the ear. *Lasus* was then present, but altogether ignorant of the murther, who as a man moued with natural compassion in so sudden and horrible a fact, and forgetting all former grudges (as in like case it oftentimes chanceth) stood as one dismayed, nothing reioicing at the vnworthy death of his enemy. To whom *Gritius* turning himselfe, said, *Lasus*, Dost thou not know this shauen pate? truly it is a great mans head, but of such a one as was very ambitious, rebellious, and proud. To whom *Lasus* replied, Truly though I loued him not, yet I thought it not so whilst it stood vpon his shoulders; disallowing therein the cruelty of the fact. Which thing *Gritius* perceiuing, began to repent him of that was done, and said openly, That although he was worthily slain, yet he could haue wished rather to haue had him taken prisoner. The report of this horrible murther once bruted abroad, the Bishops kinsmen and friends, yea almost all the people of that prouince, rose vp in arms against *Gritius* to reuenge the death of that reuerend Bishop, whom liuing they had both loued & feared. Neuer did any people in reuenge of a common wrong rise in arms with greater desire, more heat, or quicker speed; so that in few days there were assembled together 40000 horse and foot; vnder the leading of *Stephanus Maylas* a valiant Gentleman, who of all other most honored the Bishop, and in that common grief took vpon him as Chiefe, the persecuting of the authours of such inhumane cruelty. *Gritius* perceiuing how grievously the

*The cause why Lasus fell from King John.*

*The Vayuod murdered a his Tent by Docia, and his head presented vnto Gritius.*

*The Transiluanians rise up in arms against Gritius, to reuenge the Vayuods death.*

matter

matter was taken, with the danger he was in, began to doubt with himself what course were best for him to take. To go forward, and to fall into the hands of the furious people, the same was present death; and to return and leave the honour of the deputation he had with so great expectation of all men taken upon him, was unto his aspiring mind no lesse torment than death it self. Thus perplexed, he with all speed got himself with his followers to the strong towne of Mege, in hope to shroud himself vntil the rage of the country people were either of itself appeased (as it oftentimes falleth out in sudden tumults) or els til he should be relieved by King John, or the Turkes Sanzacks which had the charge of the frontiers of the Turkish Empire. The townsmen of Mege seeing *Grissus* accompanied with so many Turkes, shut the gates against him: yet at length by the persuation of the two Hungarian Captains *Doria* and *Bailana*, they gaue him leaue to enter into the base Towne, hauing before retired themselves and all their substance vnto the higher town, which in maner of a strong Castle commanded the lower. Here whilst *Grissus* with all carefulnes fortified the place, and dispatcheth trusty messengers vnto his friends abroad for aid; his enemies with hideous noise and drumming proching the town, at their first coming attempted to haue scaled the Walls and rampiers thereof. Which thing whilst they disorderly did, with greater fury than discretion, they were easily repulsed, and many of them slaine by the Turkes Ianizaries and Harquebusers. After which losse, by the direction of *Maylat* their Generall they withdrew themselves out of the danger of the shot, and incamped on euery side of the town, hoping, as the truth was, that the enemy vnprovided of victual, could not long hold the place, but must of necessity starue with famine, or yeeld it vp. In the mean time *Grissus* resolutely enduring all the calamities of a man besieged, fel sick, and so much the more, for that he could hear nothing of any aid he expected from his friends. For King John glad in his minde of the distresse of the Querleser, or rather competitor of his kingdom; and also knowing that he could not without great discontentment of his subjects oppose himself against such a multitude, risen vpon so iust a cause; yet for fashion sake sent certain troupes of horsemen to his relief: who not altogether ignorant of the Kings minde, made such haile as men that purposed not to come in time to doe him good. As for the Turkes Sanzacks of Belgrade and Samandria, they enuying at his honor, flatly refused to depart from their charge to relieue him, without expresse command from *Solyman* himself: and *Lafus* (before one of *Grissus* his chief followers, but now a beholder of his distresse) when he had a little before departed from him to procure him some reliefe, as hee promised, did now in his extremity forsake him also. The citizens of the vpper town (who a great while had stood looking on from aboue as men indifferent) perceiuing the full resolution of their countrymen to be reuenged, and the difficulties wherewith the Turkes were inclosed, assailed them also from the high town. *Grissus* thus beset on euery side, offered vnto the Transylvanians a great masse of mony to suffer him to passe farther into Hungary: but their furious minds more desirous of reuenge than mony, were not to be moued with any gold. In fine, hee sent rich jewels to the gouernor of Moldavia his friend, to be ready at a certain hour when he purposed to fall out of the town, to receiue him with certaine troupes of horsemen; so if it were possible to saue himself and his children. *Grissus* (whether it were vpon a doubtful hope, or urged by inevitable destiny) falling out of the town at the appointed time, with *Solymans* commission in his hand, and missing of the Moldavian, fell vpon *Francis Schenden* the late Bishops nigh kinsman, and *Maylats* familiar friend; who furiously running in vpon him with tumultuous speech, violently caught from his head his rich cap of Sables, and with his horsemen took him, being weak with sicknes, and making no resistance. His followers, especially the Turkes, inclosed on euery side, were either slain or taken. But *Grissus* himselfe being brought to the Generals Tent, beset round with his armed enemies, and there examined, Why he had commanded the Vayuds to be slain, earnestly protested that he neuer commanded any such thing, and that it was done without his knowledge. Which his answer serued not his turne, all the people crying out against him with one voice, that he should as a sacrifice be offered vnto the Vayuds ghost. Whereupon he was by *Maylat* deliuered again to *Francis Schenden* to be executed, who without delay caused his head to be struck off. The Nobilitie and the Vayuds kinsmen (after the maner of that people) dipped some part of their garments in his blood, the longer to keep in mind the remembrance of the reuenge. This was the shamefull end of *Alloysius Grissus* the Duke of Venice his son, *Solymans* Deputy in Hungary, with whom hee was in

*Grissus besieged.*

*Grissus taken and brought to Maylat.*

*Grissus beheaded.*

A in such credit as neuer was any Christian abounding in wealth and worldly felicity: but climbing too fast vp the euil staied ladder of ambition, suddenly fel and neuer rose more. The executioner stripping his dead body, found about him so many pretious stones and jewels as were valued at forty millions of ducats. And not long after, *Lafus* sent for by the King to *Buda*, was strictly examined vpon torture, concerning *Grissus* his Commission and purposes, and was in great danger of his life: but at last by the intercession of *Sigismund* King of Polonia, he was set at liberty, and so fled out of Hungary vnto *Sigismunds* court in Polonia: after he had long time wearied himself, and aduentured his life in the Hungarian state. *Doria* the author of this tragedy was by the furious people afterwards rent in pieces and so perished.

*The riches found about Grissus.*

The same time that *Grissus* went from Constantinople into Hungary, *Solyman* the Turkish Emperor dreading no danger out of Europ, took in hand two great expeditions both at one time; the one by land into Asia against the Persians, and the other by sea into Africke against the Moors; promising to himself in his inordinat desires, the monarchy of the whole world in short time, if he might subdue these two great Nations, whom he had already in hope deuoured. But forasmuch as all cannot be told at once, which was at one time in diuers places so far distant don, omitting for a while the expedition made in person himself against the Persians, we will first declare what he did by his lieutenants against the Moors. *Hariadenus*, surnamed of the Christians *Barbarossa* (who succeeding his elder brother *Horrucius* in the kingdom of Algiers in Africk, had by many victories so enlarged the kingdom before gotten by his brother, that his name and power was now become terrible both to the Christians & wild Moors, and his fame grown great in the Turkish court) was the chief author and persuer of *Solyman* to inuade Africk. But it shal not (as I think) be far from our purpose, briefly to relate by what means those two Mytilene brethren, basely born, crept out of a smal galliot vnto the majesty of great Kings; that herein they which come afterward may also admire the wonderfull changes and chances of these worldly things, now vp, now downe, as if the life of man were not of much more certainty than a stage play.

*Solyman purposeth to inuade Persia and Africke at once.*

These two brethren *Horrucius* and *Hariadenus*, born at Mytilene in the Island of Lesbos, weary of the poor and base estate they led at home with their father a renegat Grecian; stealing a little galliot, committed themselves & all the hope of their good fortune to sea, where by chance they comforted themselves with *Camales* a most famous pyrat of that time; vnder whom *Horrucius* the elder brother for his forwardnes became a captain: and growing rich by many purchases, and also strong with gallies and slaues which he had at sundry times taken; and at last conforthing himself with *Haidin*, *Sinan* the Jew, *Salce*, and other lesse pyrats (who afterward became men of great fame and account) ouer whom he commanded as an arch pirat, came seeking after purchase as far as Mauritania. At which time *Selymes* King of Iulia Cæsarea, now called Algiers, was in arms against his brother *Mechemetes* competitor of the kingdom; who aided by the Numidians, now commonly called Arabians, put his brother in great doubt of his estate. *Selymes* glad of the coming of *Horrucius* and the other pyrats his followers, with a great masse of mony paid beforehand, induced *Horrucius* and the rest to take vpon them the defence of him and his kingdom against his brother. Which thing *Horrucius* so happily performed (especially by the means of his harquebusers, as then no small terror to the wild Moors and Numidians) that in short time he repulsed that sauage people, and set *Selymes* at peace in his kingdom. *Horrucius* being a man of a sharp wit, and by nature ambitious, noting in the time of his seruice the Kings milde and simple disposition void of all distrust; and that the naked Moors were no soldiers, but a light and vnconstant people, alwayes at variance among themselves, and that the wandring Numidians liuing barely, diuided into many factions, were easily by reward to be won, or by force constrained; suddenly falsified his faith, and villanously slew *Selymes* the King, as hee was bathing himselfe, mistrusting nothing lesse than the falshood of the pyrat: & in the same hurle, murdering such as he thought would withstand his desire, and with bounty and cruelty ouercomming the rest, so wrought the matter, that he was by general consent chosen king of Algiers. Thus of a pyrat become a king, he shortly after by policie surprised *Circello* (a famous city about 60 miles distant from Algiers) by his soldiers sent thither in the habit of Merchants. After that, he by his brother *Hariadenus*, no les valiant than himselfe, troubled all the Mediteranian sea from Algiers with his gallies, & al his neighbors: himself by land with daily incurfions leauing nothing vntoucht, which

*The beginning of Horrucius & Hariadenus, who of base Pyrats aspired to the kingdom of Algiers.*

*Horrucius his success.*

which might by force or policy be had; so that his power daily increased, men of service continually resorting vnto him, as the chiefe man in all those parts. Not thus contented, he to enlarge his kingdome, draue the Spaniards out of Bugea, a city famous both for the great trade thither, and for the Mahometan schoole sometime their kept: at the taking whereof he lost his right hand with a shot, and in stead thereof euer after vied a hand of yron, wherewith he obtained many worthy victories against his enemies: for neere to Algiers he ouerthrew an army of the Spaniards, with *Diego de Vars* their Generall. And shortly after, at such time as *Hugo Moncada* returning out of Italy with the old Spanish souldiers, landed in his country, he enforced him againe to sea; where he with all his expert souldiers either perished by shipwrack, or driuen on shore, were slain or taken prisoners by *Horrucius*, and thrust into his gallies. At last hauing in sundry battels overcome the King of Tremissa, *Charles* the Emperour his confederat, and thrust him out of his kingdome, he stirred vp both the Christians and Numidians against him: so that comming to take *Ora* and *Portus* (two strong holds kept by garrisons of Spaniards sent thither to aid the King of Tremissa) he was by them and the Moors at the first repulsed, and afterwards quite ouerthrowne: where most part of his army being slaine or taken prisoners, he with a few of his friends sought to saue themselves by flight ouer the desert lands; and seeing himselfe hardly pursued by his enemies, scattered many pieces of gold vpon the sands as he fled, thereby to haue staied their hasty pursuit: but they more desirous of him than of his gold, followed so fast, that at last they ouertooke him, and without further delay stricke off his head, which was afterwards sent into Spaine, and carried vpon a lance through all the townes and cities along the sea coast; to the wonderfull rejoycing of the people, vnto whom he had in former time done great harme.

After the death of *Horrucius*, *Hariadenus* inferiour to his brother neither in courage nor martiall prowesse, by the generall consent of the souldiers tooke vpon him the kingdome of Algiers. He, made heire not only of his brothers kingdome, but of his vertues and haughty thoughts, and of the syname also of *Barbaruissa*, began forthwith to aspire vnto the Empire of all that part of Affricke, accounting what he had already gotten, too little and too base to answer his desires. Wherefore he entred into armes, and became a terror both to the Moors and Numidians; holding peace with some, and wars with others, as best serued his purpose: and with his gallies robbed and spoiled the coasts of Spaine, Sardinia, and the Islands *Baleares*, fortune so fauoring him in all his enterprises, that he became both famous & fearful to all his enemies. He slew *Hamet*, a great commander among the Numidians, and chased *Benchades* and *Amida*, two of their greatest Princes, out of the country: and with like fortune at sea, ouercame *Hugo Moncada*, a famous Spaniard, who sore wounded, had much ado to saue himselfe by flight, when he had lost diuers of his gallies. He also in battell at sea ouerthrew *Rodericus Portundus*, Admirall of Spaine: in which fight the Admirall and his son were both slaine, and seuen of his gallies taken: in token of which victory, he sent part of the rich spoile there taken, with the Admirals ensigne, as a present vnto *Solyman*, whereby he became famous in the Turks court; but much more, after he had repulsed *Auria* from *Cercenna*, and taken two great Genoway ships which were comming to *Auria* loaded with men and munition; the losse whereof filled the city of Genoa with much sorrow. All things sorting thus according to his desire, and his name become no lesse terrible in Spaine, Italy, Sicily, and the Islands of the Mediterranean, than it was in the greatest part of Affricke; *Solyman* grieved with the losse of *Corone*, *Patras*, and the castles vpon the streits of *Lepanto*, taken from him by *Auria*, *Himerales* his Admirall being shamefully put to flight: by the counsell of his Bassaes, but especially of *Abraham* the chiefe Bassa, sent Embassadours vnto him to Algiers; offering him the greatest honours of his court, and to make him Admirall of all his fleet, if he would forthwith repaire vnto Constantinople: for why, he was the only man in all mens judgements, who for his yeres and great experience at sea, as well as for his inuincible courage, and glory of his late achieved kingdome, was to be compared with *Auria*, and to be opposed against the Christian fleet. Since a great man in *Solymans* court, was with this embassage sent, and speedily transported to Algiers by *Mangalis*, a famous pyrat, then Gouvernour of the Rhodes; who at his landing, was honourably receiued by *Barbaruissa*, and audience giuen him. *Barbaruissa* vnderstanding the cause of his comming, was exceeding glad thereof, presently conceiuing no small hope of obtaining the Monarchy of Affricke, if hee might once come to *Solymans* presence, and

*Horrucius*  
slaine, and his  
head carried  
about in Spain.

*Hariadenus*  
tyrannical  
barbarous, fierce  
dreadfull brother  
the kingdome  
of Algiers.

*Hamet* a great  
warrior.

*Abraham* sent  
for the Bassa.

A and at large shew vnto him the state of Affricke, and power of the Christians, with their continuall discord amongst themselves. Wherefore without further delay committing the protection of his son *Asmes* (then about eightene yeares old) and the government of the new gotten kingdome to *Ramada* and *Agis*, two of his nigh kinsmen and assured friends, of whose fidelity he doubted not: he with forty of his owne gallies in most warlike manner appointed, set forward with *Solymans* Embassadour towards Constantinople: where by the way he met with a fleet of Genoway ships bound for Sicily for corne, which after a sharpe a cruell fight he tooke and burnt. After that, landing by night in the Countrey of *Elba*, not farre from *Naples*, hee suddenly surpris'd *Rhim* a rich city; where loading his gallies with the wealth thereof, and carrying away with him all the inhabitants into captiuitie, he arriued at Constantinople in the yeare 1533, where he was by the great courtiers brought to *Solyman*, of whom he was joyfully receiued; if it were but for the presents which he gaue him: which were faire boyes and young maidens sumptuously apparelled, eunuchs, and wild beasts of *Lybia*, as *Lions*, *Leopards* and such like. But after he had certaine daies discoursed at large with his great Bassa's, of the state of Affricke, the strength of the Christians, and how the wars were to be managed, he was afterwards by them seldomer sent for, and offering himselfe into their company, was hardly admitted: for enuy (the inseparable companion of growing honour) had quickly ouertaken him in the Court, so that many men letted not openly to say, It had not bin the fashion of the *Othoman* Kings, to prefer pyrats (the worst kind of theecues) to the honor of their great Admirall; and that there wanted not, neither euer would want men both vertuous and valiant in the Turks court, which could with great honour maintaine and augment the glory of the Turkish Empire both by sea and land; whereas he had against all right and conscience, by shameful treachery intruded himselfe into another mans kingdom in Affricke, and there persecuted the Mahometan Princes and people, being of no religion himselfe, as one that was borne of a renegade Greeke, and had from his youth liued as a mercilesse pyrat, and common enemy of mankind. By which speeches *Barbaruissa* perceiued in how euill time *Abraham Bassa* his best friend, and by whose meanes he was sent for, was absent from Court; who at that time was gone into *Comagena*, and *Winred* at *Aleppo*, with purpose (as *Solyman* forerunner) with the first of the next Spring, to passe ouer *Euphrates* against the *Persian*. After long suit and much expectation, *Solyman* answered *Barbaruissa* by *Ajax* and *Cassimes* two of the great Bassa's. That all the matter concerning him should be referred to the discretion of *Abraham* the chiefe Bassa, for that he was by his counsell especially sent for out of Affricke: wherefore if he did expect any thing, he should repaire vnto him in Syria, that according to his graue judgement all things might be ordered. *Barbaruissa* thus rejected into Syria, although he well perceiued that it tended to his no small disgrace; yet in hope by sufferance to obtaine another kingdome, seemed contented with the answer, and resolved forthwith to take vpon him that long and painefull journey: which the old king lustily performed, and so posting by land thorow Asia the lesse, and traueilling ouer the mountain *Amanus*, then covered with deep snow, came in the dead time of Winter to *Aleppo* in Syria, where he was honourably receiued by the great Bassa, and heard at large, to his so good contentation and liking, that he deemed him of all others the fittest to command the Turks power at sea; and to that purpose writ commendatory letters in his behalfe to *Solyman*, wishing him for his sufficiency to place him as the fourth with the other three Bassa's of his counsell. After *Barbaruissa* was againe arriued at Constantinople with these letters, and that it was once knowne how effectually the chiefe Bassa had commended him to *Solyman*, it was a world to see how on the sudden the face of the court was changed vpon him, euery man either for friendship or flattery began now to speake of his praises, and to extoll his worthinesse: who was now in all mens mouths but *Barbaruissa* so great was the power and authority of the chiefe Bassa, that being absent, yet was his approbation of all men accounted sufficient to prefer whom he pleased, and his letters lawes to the rest of the court. *Barbaruissa* had brought with him from Algiers, one *Rosetes* the elder brother of *Mulcasses* king of Tunes, who wrongfully driuen into exile by his younger brother, had liued certain yeres at Algiers, but now by the persuation of *Barbaruissa* was come with him to Constantinople, to craue aid of *Solyman* against the oppression of his brother. Him *Barbaruissa* oftentimes shewed vnto the great Bassa's, and in his discourses with them concerning the conquest of Affricke, set him out as a most fit instrument for subduing of the kingdom of Tunes,

*Barbaruissa* cometh to Constantinople.

*Barbaruissa* enured in the Turkish court.

*Barbaruissa* referred to *Abraham* the great Bassa.

He traueilled into Syria to the Bassa, and it by him commended to *Solyman*.

His returne to Constantinople.

*Rosetes*.

as a man whom the people more affected than they did Muleasses the vsurper. After long deliberation and consultation had with the Bassaes concerning the inuasion of Affricke, Barbarussa now admitted vnto the presence of Solyman, in these or like words perswaded him to that war, for the entrance whereunto we haue thus far digressed.

*Barbarussa's first speech to Solyman to persuade him to invade Tunis.*

What thing the Priests with loud voice vse to pray for, at such time as the Orthoman Emperors enter into the Temple to pray, the same thing do I also wish vnto thee most mighty Solyman; which is, That thou shouldst remember thy progenitors by Justice and Religion to haue got for thee this Empire, than which, more magnificent and richer the gods haue not giuen to any: Fortune hath neuer deceiued them that trod that way, and thou hitherto hast so traced their steps, that thou hast easily surmounted their fame and glory, administering Justice to thy subjects, and inflamed with the hope of eternall praise, making continuall war against the enemies of our religion, the true office of a zealous Prince. By this means is Belgrade taken, Rhodes won, the King of Hungary slaine in battell, Germany twice harried and burnt: so that Charles, whom the Christians would make equal to thy selfe in power and valour, with the great aid almost of all the Christian Nations, terrified with the noise of thy army, shunned battell. But forasmuch as Empires be they neuer so large, or victories be they neuer so glorious, can neither satisfie the greatness of an heroicall mind, or glut the same with glory; thou hast therefore sent before thee thy victorious ensignes against the Persians and Parthians, that those Nations who haue wickedly fallen from our Rites, purified as it were by thy sacred armes, may be again reclaimed to the ancient rites of our religion. But be this vnto thy greatest, most honourable to accept, and glorious to performe: for it is only lawful for me now grown an old man in the midst of arms & dangers, to declare what is expedient, and briefly to open such things as I haue by long experience learned to concerne the augmenting of thy fame and Empire elsewhere. Neither would I haue, you to take this as presumptuously spoken of me: for Fortune hath enough, yea, and more than enough fauoured my designs, whom from a poore cottage and bare hope, shee hath promoted to glorious victories, great riches yea, vnto the title and majesty of a King. But vnto these things the gods could giue me nothing better, than to be called for of thee, and sent for in Counsell to discourse of matters of greatest importance: wherefore my aduice shall be vnto thee, faithfully, and with experience confirmed: which although it be all that is seemeth old men can do, yet in my sound body remaineth such strength, that I dare both promise and performe vnto thee my good seruice at all affaires both by sea and land. For vnto this only course haue I bent my selfe day and night from my youth, following the purpose and counsell of my valiant brother Hortuencius, (who to extend the bounds of our religion, persecuted the Christians both by sea and land) desiring nothing more, than that thy fleet and power might once be joynt with my forces and direction, and so vnder thy good hap, to be either a commander, or else commanded: forasmuch as it grieueth me not to be commanded by my betters. Of which I desire if the gods shall make me partaker, the Spaniards shall shortly be driven quite out of Affricke; thou shalt heare that the Moores are gone ouer into Spaine, to repossesse the kingdome of Granada; That Tunes and Numidia are at thy command; and not to speake of Sardinia, and Corcyra, that Sicilia is ours: which once taken, we shall serue up Italy, and on euery side distresse it with our fleet, being now weak and brought low by the discord of the Princes, and that part thereof both toward Sicilia and Macedonia ready to submit it selfe vpon any condition, so it might cast off the Spanish yoke. Thinke not, that either that strength or vnto is now in Italy, which was when thy great grandfather Mahomet, hauing taken Hydruntum, brought a great feare, not vpon Italy, on, but vpon other the Christian nations also: for by the good success of that war which all the Christian Princes could hardly withstand, he had undoubtedly taken the city of Rome, and so according to right and reason, againe united the Empire of the East and of the West, as they were before in their ancient glory. But he suddenly left the World, & so to Heaven, that hee might come to thee (according to the appointment of the fatal Destinies, & resolutions of the heauens) in this work of absolute perfection. And yet my purpose is not, by putting thee in hope of so great and rare a triumph, to interrupt or hinder thee for turning thy power into the East, against thy old and irreligious enemies, deserting all extremities: for thy navy shall be sufficient for me, whereof thou shalt haue no need in thy wars so far within land; that whilest thou art conquering Asia, Affrica the third part of the World may in the meane time be brought vnder thy subiection also. Where before all other things, Muleasses is to be driven out of Tunes; a man of insatiable conetousnesse, vnstaid lust, horrible cruelty, hated both of God and man; who hauing by treachery slaine eigheteene of his brethren, or that which worse is, cruelly burnt out their eyes, doth so raigne alone, that he left him neither kinsman nor friend. For being as vnthankfull as perfidious, he hath murdered all his fathers friends, who with great trauell had prestured him to the kingdome

A kingdome, so to make short payment for so great desert. With this beast we must haue to do, whom whilest no man loueth, all men wish to perish. The Numidians trouble him with daily inuasions, whose injuries the infamous coward endureth with such shame and reproach, that it should seeme he had rather to suffer them, than reuenge them. And yet this effeminate dastard holdeth in chaine many valiant Turks, and acknowledgeth not your imperiall name, whereunto all men on euery side sue for grace: and which is not to be suffered, exceedingly fauoureth the Spaniards of Tripolis, to the intent that Agis and Moses, two valiant Turkish captaines, may be driven out of the city. This wilde beast disarmed of his claws and teeth, we shall easily destroy, if it be but for that we haue with vs Roscetes his brother, whom the Numidians wish and long for: him must we vse, if it be but for a shew, so shall the thing we desire, be without blood effected, as soone as we shall but present our selues before the gates of Tunes. Then shall it be at your pleasure, to appoint whom you will haue to gouerne the Numidian kingdome: it shall be vnto me glory enough, when the greatest part of Affricke conquered, shall be peaceably deliuered into your hands at your returne with the triumphs of Persia. But by the way as I returne, I assure you vpon mine own priuat, so to vse the matter, that the Christians shall also haue good cause to bewaile their calamities: and if I hap to meet with Auria, he shall haue small cause to reioyce of the mischiefe he hath done: for him alone I challenge to persecute, as my proper and peculiar enemy, both for the remembrance of the harmes we haue received at his hands, and for the despite I haue at his fame, who once taken out of the way, the seas shall be open onely to you and your fleets. And belcene me, he that shall be able to command the seas, shall easily also subdue the kingdomes by land.

C But Solyman, who after the manner of wise Princes, vsed well to consider, and afterwards with ripe judgement to resolve of such matters as he had with attentiu care hearkened vnto, commending Barbarussa for his forwardnesse in his seruice, for that time brake vp the counsell. Not long after, a decree was made, according to Abraham the great Bassa's aduice, That Barbarussa should be joynt with the other three chiefe Bassa's of Solymans counsell, and be made great Admirall, so that all the Islands, ports, and people all alongst the sea coast thorow out Solymans Empire should be at his command, and that it should be lawfull for him to take vp such mariners and soldiers for seruice at sea, as pleased him in what place soeuer. This being solemnly proclaimed, Solyman with his owne hand deliuered him a scepter and a sword, willing him by worthy deeds to performe what he had promised. After which, Ajax and Castimes the two great Bassa's, with the Captaine of the Ianizaries, brought him with exceeding pompe, from the Court to the Navy: at which time was carried before him all the tokens of his new obtained honour. And toward the maintenance of that warre at sea, he had deliuered vnto him out of Solymans treasures, eight hundred thousand duckets, and eight hundred Ianizaries.

But forasmuch as much it was that he did in the seruice of Solyman, and more is of him hereafter to be spoken; it shall not be amisse here to present vnto the view of the World the sterne, but liuely countenance of this so famous a man (who liuing kept all the Mediterranean in feare) as it is by Boissardus expressed, together with the Elogium following.



*Litterae Hesperia timuere utrinque, Lybesque  
Oppressi dextra subcubuerunt tua.  
Numquam te Lypare, Corcyrae diligit, harum  
Cum sis immeritis depopulatus agros.*

The coasts of Italy and Spaine, of thee were fore afraid,  
And so the Moores did stoupe to thee, by thy right hand dismayd.  
Lyparos will thee neuer loue, ne yet Corcyra strong;  
For that thou causelesse did'st to them so great and open wrong.

*Barbarussa* sped of that he desired, staid not long after at Constantinople, but departing out of Hellespontus with eighty gallies and certain galliots, shap'd his course towards Italy, leauing *Amurashes* (a sea captaine) with twelue gallies to transport *Solyman* and his army, ready to set forward against the Persian, ouer that narrow sea into Asia. Who after he had so done, ouertooke *Barbarussa* at Methone, who holding on his course to Affricke, and suddenly passing the streit betwixt Italy and Sicily, brought a great feare vpon both the Countries; but passing by the Bay of Hippona alongst the coast of the lower Calabria, he set vpon the towne of Saint *Lucidius*, called in antient time *Tempa*: which although it stood vpon a rocke and was reasonable well walled; yet such was the violence of the Turkes assault, that it could not be defended but was taken, with so much more hurt to the inhabitants, for that the

Major

A Major of the towne, to keepe the people from flying away, had lockt vp the gates on the other side of the city, from the enemy. From thence he with rich spoile and many prisoners went to Cittrarium, where he had learned of his prisoners, a fleet of gallies was in building. This towne forsaken of the inhabitants for feare, he tooke without resistance, ransacked it, and burnt it, where he also fired seuen gallies not yet altogether finished. But after he was come with his fleet as far as the Island Capri, within the sight of Naples, such a terror was stricken into the minds of all that dwelt alongst that coast, That it was thought, if he had lauded and gone directly to Naples, the Neapolitans would for feare haue abandoned the city. But holding on his course, he came to Prochira, which he tooke and rifled: so passing by the port of Caieta, (which he might easily haue taken) he came to Spelunca, a town in the hithermost part of the

B Kingdome of Naples. They of the Towne dismayed with the sudden arrivall of so great a fleet, yeelded the same without resistance. The enemy entring the towne, tooke twelue hundred prisoners. *Pelegrius* a chiefe man amongst them of Spelunca, was fled into the Castle: him *Barbarussa* commanded to yeeld, which if he would presently do, he promised to let him go free, but if he should stand vpon his defence, he threatned in short time to make him repent his foolish hardinesse, with the vtter destruction both of himselfe and the towne. The fearefull gentleman without delay came out of the castle, and fell downe at his feet, who according to his promise gaue him his liberty, and with rare curtesie restored to him his wife, his sonne, and niece, whom he had taken prisoners; who receiued them with many teares falling from their eies for joy.

C The same night also 2000 Turkes came from the fleet, through the rough and bushy mountaines, to the city Fundi, ten miles distant from Spelunca, in the vttermost borders of the kingdome of Naples, conducted as was thought by certaine Italians of that country; who a few yeares before taken at sea, and ouerwearyed with the heavy burthen of the Turkish slavery, had reuolted to the Mahometan religion. But such was the suddenesse of their comming, and their celerity in entring the city, that *Julia Gonzaga* the Paragon of Italy, and the chiefe

*Julia Gonzaga*  
a faire Lady  
bravely distressed  
by *Barbarussa*.

prize which they sought after, had scarce time to get to horse halfe naked, and so with much difficulty to escape into the mountaines. It is reported that *Barbarussa* (which thing he himselfe afterwards seemed not to deny) moued with the fame of her incomparable beauty, and wonderfull perfection, desired exceedingly to haue taken her as a Present for *Solyman*. The citizens were for most part either slaine or taken prisoners by the Turkes, who loaded with the spoile of the city, returned againe to the fleet. Another part of *Barbarusses* fleet came to Taracina, which the Turkes tooke for faken of the inhabitants, who for feare were all fled into the mountains, except some which for age or sickenesse could not shift for themselves, whom the Turkes slew, and spoyled the churches. *Barbarussa* thus scouring along the coast of Italy, and newes thereof daily brought to the city of Rome, stricke such an exceeding terrour into the minds of the citizens, that it was verily thought if he had come a little further to Ostia, they

*The Romans*  
afraid of *Barbarussa*.

would generally haue forsaken the city. But he hauing well performed his promise made to *Solyman* for vexing the Christians, and before resolved of a greater matter he had to do; when he had watred at Pontia, passed ouer into Affricke with such celerity, that he was arrived there before it was thought that he was departed from the coast of Italy. For *Barbarussa* to deceive *Muleasses* king of Tunes, and to take him vnprovided, had giuen it out, that he would burn and spoyle the coasts of the Christian countries, especially of Italy, Liguria, and Spain, in reuenge of the harme done by *Auria* at Corone and Patras. Which thing *Muleasses* the rather believed, vnderstanding his proceedings vpon the coast of Italy. The Venetians hauing also at the same time at great charges prepared a great fleet, did in some part lessen *Muleasses* feare, That *Barbarussa* would employ his forces for Affricke: for then what should the Venetians haue needed to haue had so great and chargeable a preparation. But that which aboue all other things brought him into security, was for that he had by his secret espials certainly learned, that his brother *Rosetes* was kept at Constantinople, as a prisoner at large, vnder safe keeping; which made him to thinke, that *Barbarussa's* forces were not prepared against him; for he knew that he could not be impugned, or his state more indangered by any other means, than by producing the competitor of his kingdome, to whom his guilty conscience doubted, that both the citizens of Tunes and the Numidians were for most part well affected.

This *Muleasses* of whom we now speake, and whom afterward we shall by occasion often remember,

*Muleaffes King of Tunes.* member, was lineally descended of the antient Kings of Tunes; who without interruption of G  
 difcent, or mixture of forreine blood, had by the space of 954 yeares mightily ruled the great  
 kingdome of Tunes, from Tripolis to Bugia, almost 800 miles alongst the Mediterranean, and  
 into the Main as far as the mount Atlas: and for the long continuance of their state, and large-  
 nesse of their kingdome, were worthily accounted the most reuerend and mighty amongst  
 the Mahometan Kings of Affricke. His father *Mahomethes*, when he had with much glory,  
 and more pleasure, reigned 32 yeares, perceiuing the end of his life to approach, had purposed  
 to haue appointed *Maimo* his eldest sonne (whom for his hasty aspiring he then held in du-  
 rance) to succeed him in his kingdome: but ouercome with the importunity of *Lentigesia* his  
 wife, a woman of a haughy spirit, who had by reward made a strong faction in the Court for  
 her sonne *Muleaffes*, he altered his former purpose, and appointed him his successor: by whom H  
 (as it was thought) the small remainder of his owne old yeares was shortened; *Maimo* the  
 right heire of the kingdome in prison, presently murdered; seuentene of his other brethren  
 vnmereifully executed; and three other, *Barcha*, *Beleth*, and *Saeth*, with more than barbarous  
 cruelty with a hot yron of their sight deprived; only *Rosetes* the second brother, and *Abde-  
 melech*, escaping the hands of their vnnatural brother, fled to *Morhabitus* a great Prince amongst  
 the Numidians: whither also their brothers malice persecuted them, seeking by many pra-  
 ctises to haue taken them away, and at last for a great summe of mony to haue had them deli-  
 uered into his hands. Which mony the Numidian, receiued, but suffered the distressed Prin-  
 ces, as if they had escaped against his will, to fly further to another Numidian Prince a friend  
 of his, called *Bemises*: where *Muleaffes* by like practises as before, sought to haue destroyed  
 them, or to haue got them into his owne power. Thus chased by their brothers endlesse ma-  
 lice, from Prince to Prince, and from place to place, they for their more safety fled at last to  
 the city of Bisferta, farre into the maine land: where *Abdemelech* as one weary of the World  
 gaue ouer all, and betooke himselfe to a solitary life, and became a melancholy Mahometan  
 Monke. But *Rosetes* curiously entertained by *Abdalla* Prince of that city, found such fauour  
 in his sight, that he gaue him his daughter in marriage, and long time honourably maintai-  
 ned him as his sonne in law, with such carefulnesse, that for faare of *Muleaffes* practises, he was  
 feldome permitted to eat any other meat but such as the Prince or his wife had before tasted  
 of. *Muleaffes* thus reigning and raging, and yet not contented with the death of so many of  
 his brethren, proceeded further, and murdered diuers of their children also. He caused also K  
 the Manifest and Mesuar, men of greatest authority in all the kingdom, his fathers graue coun-  
 sellors, and his chiefe friends, by whose meanes especially he had aspired vnto the kingdome,  
 to be cruelly tortured to death, fearing their greatnesse; or rather as some thought grieuing  
 to see them liue, to whom he was so much beholden, and therefore rewarded them with such  
 sharpe payment. And by the instigation of *Lentigesia* his mother, caused diuers of his fathers  
 other wiues and concubines to be shamefully murdered, enueighing oftentimes against his  
 father, that as an effeminate Prince, had for his pleasure maintained 200 wiues and concubins  
 in his houses of delight, by whom he had begot so many sons competitors of the kingdome,  
 that he had left him (as he said) a laborious and endlesse piece of worke, to destroy so great a  
 brood. *Rosetes* aided by his father in law and the other Numidian Princes, to whom the L  
 name of *Muleaffes*, both for his cruelty against his owne blood, and injurious dealing against  
 his neighbors was become odious; passing ouer the riuer Bragada, with a great army, neere  
 vnto Tunes met with *Muleaffes* his army, conducted by *Dorax* a valiant capitaine, brother to  
*Lentigesia*: where in a sharpe conflict he ouerthrew his brothers Army, and enforced *Dorax*  
 with them that were escaped out of the battell, for safeguard of their liues to fly into Tunes.  
*Rosetes* pursuing the victory, came and presented his army before the gates of the city, in hope  
 that the citifens (whom he knew for the most part to hate the vsurping tyrant) would vpon  
 the sight of him, in right their King, with so great an army, raise some tumult in the city, and  
 let him in. There he lay by the space of twenty daies, still expecting some innouation; in which  
 time the more to alienate the minds of the people from *Muleaffes*, and to shew how vnable he M  
 was to protect them, he burnt and destroyed all the Oliue and fruit trees, which grew most  
 plentifully and pleasantly all alongst the country, from the ruines of old Carthage, to the  
 walls of Tunes: which was vnto the citifens, whose greatest possessions lay there, a most hea-  
 uy and lamentable spectacle. But *Muleaffes* had so attempted their minds with faire speeches, and

The ingratitude  
of Muleaffes.

Rosetes riseth  
against his brother  
Muleaffes.

A and large promises of recompensing euery man to the full; for all such harme as they should  
 sustaine for his brothers fury in the country: and beside that, had the city in such strong pos-  
 session by reason of his soldiery, that the citifens either would not or could not resort to *Rosce-  
 tes*. The Numidian Princes weary of that long and vaine expectation, according to the leuitie  
 of that nation, accounting it no shame after victory once gotten to depart, began one after  
 another to shrink away to their owne dwellings, persuading *Rosetes* also to provide for him-  
 selfe whilst he had time, and to attend his better fortune. Wherefore he fearing to be betrayed  
 by the Numidians, or circumvented by his cruell brother, fled to *Barbarussa*, then reigning at  
 Algiers in great glory, where he was honourably entertained; and there remained vntill such  
 time as by his persuation he went with him as is aforesaid to Constantinople, to craue helpe  
 B of *Solyman*, by whom he was detained in safe custody: although it was in policy giuen out  
 by *Barbarussa*, that he was in the fleet, and that he should by *Solymans* power be restored to his  
 fathers kingdome at Tunes.

This was the state of the kingdom of Tunes, at such time as *Barbarussa* with *Solymans* great  
 fleet, contrary to all mens expectation, suddenly departing from the coast of Italy, landed in  
 Affricke at Bisferta, a famous port of the kingdome of Tunes. They of Bisferta weary of the  
 gouernment of *Muleaffes*, and of themselves desirous of change, as soone as they heard the  
 name of *Rosetes*, forthwith draue out their Gouernor, and receiued the Turks into the towne. Bisferta yielded.  
 For *Barbarussa* had before sent certaine of *Rosetes* his familiar friends ashore, which bare the  
 people in hand, that he was in the fleet, but not able to come yet on shore, for that he was (as  
 they said) sea-sick, and troubled with an ague. Bisferta thus possessed by *Barbarussa*, he presently  
 C departed thence, and sailing by Vtica, thirty miles distant from Bisferta, and so keeping alongst  
 the coast, and passing the promontory of Carthage, came before Guletra, a strong castle  
 within the Bay of Tunes, so placed vpon a streit, that it commandeth all the passage by sea  
 vnto the city Tunes. Before this castle, *Barbarussa* in token of friendship, discharged all his  
 great ordnance, which they of the castle answered with like: but being required to deliuer it  
 vnto *Rosetes*, they said it should be alwaies at his command that ruled in the city of Tunes.  
 The newes of *Rosetes* his supposed coming, flying swiftly by land from Bisferta to Tunes,  
 and the great fleet once discovered, set all the city on an vprore: for the citifens were in great  
 expectation of their new King, both for the loue of *Rosetes*, who had alwaies shewed himselfe  
 to be of a mild and bountifull nature; and also for the hatred of *Muleaffes*, whose tyrannous  
 and couetous gouernment they thought they had too long indured. Neither was he ignorant  
 what report ran of himselfe, and how he had lost the hearts of his subjects; which was eui-  
 dently to be seene in the eies and countenances of the chiefe men of the city. And that which  
 more increased their hatred, was for that he had not according to his promise to them in time  
 of his distresse, made them any recompence for their goodly houses and Oliue gardens, de-  
 stroied in the country by *Rosetes* in the former wars: wherefore at such time as he came now  
 out of the castle, and in the greatest assembly of his people, began to persuade them to play  
 the men, and to continue constant in their obedience, promising vnto them such reward as  
 they knew he was neuer able to performe, they all departed and left him alone: yea, some of  
 them vnder the colour of friendship, and amongst them *Abdabar*, then Mesuar (which was  
 E chiefe officer next vnto the King) persuaded him to giue place to his hard fortune, and forth-  
 with to fly, for by chance it was at the same instance in euery mans mouth, that the Turks were  
 euen at hand: which thing caused *Muleaffes*, forsaken of his subjects, of himselfe fearefull, and  
 worthily doubting to be betrayed, to fly in such hast out of the city, that he left behind him  
 both his treasure and jewels, which afterwards came into the hands of his enemies. The first  
 that reuolted was *Abazes*, a man of great authority; and *Fetuches*, captain of the castle; both re-  
 negate Spaniards. *Fetuches* presently after the flight of *Muleaffes*, brought out *Rosetes* wife and  
 children, whom *Muleaffes* had long time kept in prison, & to welcom their father, placed them  
 in the Kings royall seat. *Abazes* also forthwith aduertised *Barbarussa* of *Muleaffes* departure,  
 F and with what longing the people expected their desired King, wishing him without delay to  
 repaire vnto the city: and for a present sent him a goodly Barbarian horse, richly furnished,  
 and diuers others for his other chiefe captains. Hereupon *Barbarussa* without longer stay set  
 forward with fife thousand Turks, which he had already landed, and comming to the city, was  
 of the citifens ioisfully receiued. But after long looking, when they could no where descry *Ros-*  
*etes* into Tun-  
*es*

*Rosetes* serua-  
ken of the Nu-  
midian Princes,  
he flyeth to Bar-  
barussa.

*Barbarussa* lan-  
deth at Bisferta.

*Bisferta* yielded.

*Barbarussa* co-  
meth to Guletra

*Muleaffes* fleeth  
out of Tunes.

ates their supposed king, and heard nothing but the name of *Solyman* and *Barbarussa*, doubled G and redoubled by the Turks in their military acclamations, as they marched thorow the city towards the castle; they began to distrust as the truth was, that in stead of their new King whom they so much desired, they had received the Turkish government, which they utterly detested. Which suspicion once confirmed by certaine of *Roscetes* friends (whom *Barbarussa* had brought with him of purpose to delude the people) who grieued to see the ruine of their native country, spared not for feare of the present danger to tel their friends and acquaintance as they went, That they did in vaine looke for *Roscetes*, whom they had left in bonds at Constantinople: it was a wonder to see, how suddenly the minds of the people were changed, how speedily they ran to their weapons, and how furiously they assailed the Turks, now fearing no such matter, and were not as yet all got into the castle. The chiefe leader of the citifens in this tumult, was *Abdabar* the Mesuar, who but a little before vpon the comming of the Turks, by augmenting the danger, and the vnfaithfulness of his subjects, had persuaded *Muleaffes* to fly; but now perceiuing himselfe deceived of his expectation for the comming of *Roscetes*, and repeating of that he had done, sought by all meanes to driue out the Turks, and to recall *Muleaffes*. And the more to animate the people, as he stood on high, from whence he might best be heard, he cried vnto them with a loud voice:

*We are most villanously betrayed (worthy Citifens) for Roscetes, whom we expected for our lawfull King lamenteth his misery in chains in prison at Constantinople: and we except we presently play the men, and valiantly fight for our liberty, shall for ever serue as slaues to these forreine and mercilesse tyrants. The present danger of our estate telleth vs, that we must presently and without delay take the occasion offered. Wherefore let all men that meane not to serue as slaues, and to be bought and sold as beasts, take up armes against the faithlesse Turks. I my selfe will be your leader: let vs therefore all with one consent, with heart and hand reuenge this shamefull treachery, defend our country and liberty with the ancient honour and liberty of the Numidians.*

There was now no time to stay, euery man had betaken himselfe to his weapons; *Muleaffes* was againe sent for, who yet staid in the suburbs, expecting what should happen; many of the Turks were slain before they were aware, or feared any thing; all the city was filled with outcries and clattering of weapons; the number of the citifens was such, as might easily haue expelled the Turks, had they been but reasonably armed, or well conducted, which in a matter so sudden, and with men altogether ignorant of seruice, was not possible. Yet they, armed with fury, and encouraged with the multitude of themselves, swarmed vp as thicke as was possible, one of the bulwarks of the castle, which they knew was easiest to be gained, where the Turks had set vp one of their ensignes; and with the multitude of their darts and arrowes so overwhelmed the Turks, that they were glad to forsake the place, and to retire further into the castle to a place of more strength: from whence and all along the curtaine of the wall, they without intermission discharged their great artillery and small shot amongst the thickest of the naked Moores, making of them a wonderfull slaughter. *Barbarussa* although he was a man of an inuincible courage and great experience, all his life time well acquainted with desperat dangers (the dreadfull steps of aspiring minds) yet surprisid with the suddenesse of the assault, shut vp in a place whereof he yet knew not the strength, and not prouided of victuall for three daies, was with the due consideration of these difficulties, nor a little troubled: which his care was by the disordered fury of his enemies, and knowne valour of his owne souldiers greatly diminished; especially when he saw his owne men still fighting, as men full of hope and courage, and the Moores as men halfe dismaied with the wounds and slaughter of their friends, ready to retire. Howbeit by the comming in of *Muleaffes* and *Dorax*, the assault twice before giuen ouer, was againe at both times renewed, with no lesse desperat fury than at the first, and the Turks hardly charged. In this dangerous assault *Halio* of Maliga, a renegat Spaniard, but a most expert souldier, turning himselfe to *Barbarussa*, said,

*If thou wilt save thine honour, and hold this fort, we must fall out vpon this enemy; which hauing neuer scene a set battell, but only acquainted with light skirmishes, will not be able to endure our charge at hand but shall in a moment know the price of their foolish hardinesse; who as braine sicke men could neither indure the government of their cruell King, ne yet thankfully receive the authors of their deliuerance and liberty.*

This motion of the Spaniard, confirmed by the generall approbation of the chiefe captaines,

*A* taines, *Barbarussa* commanded *Halio* the author of that counsell, with certaine other captaines and their companions, at one instant to fall out at two ports of the castle: which they so resolutely performed, that in short time a wonderfull number of the naked Moores lay dead vpon the ground.

*Abdabar* the Mesuar himselfe, was there shot thorow with a bullet and slaine: whereupon the assault was quite giuen ouer, the Moores retiring for companies backe into the city, and the Turks still pursuing them: where in the streets for certaine houres, was fought a most cruell and bloody battell. At last the citifens ouercome, forsooke the open streets, and betooke them to the refuge of their houses; not so carefull of their king, as of themselves, their wiues, and children. And *Halio* with the rest, wearied with the slaughter of his enemies, and ouercome with labour, heat, and thirst, returned with victory vnto the castle. It is reported that there was about three thousand of the citifens slaine that day, and thrice as many hurt. *Muleaffes* thus discouraged, & utterly despairing to recouer the city, hardly escaped his enemies hands, by the good helpe of his vncle *Dorax*, with whom he fled ouer the riuier Bagrada, and came in safety to Constantina (called of old time Cyrrha) the antient seat of the Numidian Kings, but then a part of *Dorax* his dominion; where he was honourably maintained and protected vntill the comming of *Charles* the Emperour into Affricke. The night ensuing this battell, and the flight of their King, was restless both to the citifens and the Turks, each of them for feare of other standing vpon their strongest guard.

The next day, the citifens discouraged with the losse of so many of their kinsmen and friends, and hauing no King now for whom they should fight, craued pardon of *Barbarussa* for their rash attempt, excusing it by the name of loyalty to their ancient Kings; offering to submit themselves vnto him with all faithfulness. Which their offer he willingly accepted, knowing that he was not able to keepe that place with his souldiers three daies, for lacke of victuall: so that all his hope and victory gotten, might easily be ouerthrowne and brought to nought, if the citifens moued either with desperation or desire of reuenge, should ioyne with the other Numidian Princes, and besiege him in the castle. Whereupon a general peace was granted, and by solemne oath on both sides confirmed, whereby the citifens expressly bound themselves to the obedience of *Solyman*, and to *Barbarussa* as his lieutenant. All things thus set in order in the city of Tunes, and new magistrats and officers by him made, he laboured by all means to win vnto him the Numidian Princes: which when he had easily brought to passe by gifts and rewards with those needy Princes, of themselves prone enough vpon light occasions to make or break the bonds of friendship, he sent *Asan-agan* an eunuch, and *Halio* the Spaniard, with the Ianizaries, and certaine pieces of great ordnance, to take in the other cities of the kingdome of Tunes: which they in short time performed, being in all places peaceably received, only the city of Caruenna held out a while, yet afterwards for feare of further harme received the Turks garrison. But to leaue *Barbarussa* King of Algiers and *Solymans* great Admirall, thus possessed of the kingdome of Tunes; and *Muleaffes* in exile at Constantina, vntill he be againe restored vnto his kingdome by *Charles* the Emperour, as shall be hereafter declared: let vs againe returne to the wars at the selfe same time vnderaken by *Solyman* in person himselfe in Persia, persued thereunto (as we haue before said) by *Abraham* the great Bassa. Of whom a few words, that they which shall hereafter liue, may in him as in others, see in what slippery place they stand, and what small assurance they haue, which forsaking God, run headlong after these worldly vanities; and swelling with the fauours of great Princes, are in a moment when they least feare any such fall, suddenly ouerthrowne, and become the miserable spectacles of mans fragility, in the height of their supposed blisse.

This great Bassa called of the Turks *Ibrahim*, of vs *Abraham*, was borne in a poore country villageneere vnto Perga, a towne in that part of Epirus which was called Buthrotia: who in his childhood was taken from his Christian parents, by such as by authority did take vp the tribute children of the Christians for the Turkish Emperour. A tribute of all tributes most greivous. He was of countenance amiable, of feature comely, active of body, wel spoken, pleasantly conceited, and sharpe of wit; so that he in shorter time than was thought possible, to the admiration of many, learned both to speake and write the Arabian tongue, and other languages vsed in the Turks court, and could skilfully play vpon sundry kindes of instruments. And being yet a boy, serued *Scanderbassa*, a man of great authority and power, in the time of

*Selymus*

field most puissant armies of valiant souldiers out of his owne dominions: besides the wonderfull concourse of most resolute men out of all parts of Christendome, which would not spare to lay downe their liues at his feet in that war, which was of them accounted most religious. Yea what strength both of horse and foot might be raised and brought to the battell by the two brethren Charles and Ferdinand, onely might (as he said) then then be plainly perceived, when as they valiantly defended Vienna, besieged by us with great power. Neither did Charles afterward, as it seemed, and as the Christians commonly vaunt, feare to haue aduentured the fortune of a maine battell with you: who although I doubt not but he should haue bene overcome by you so great a monarch with so puissant an army, a thing peculiar to your owne good fortune; yet I cannot deny, but that the victory against such expert and resolute souldiers, so strongly armed, must haue bene bought with a great deale of our blood. These things in my opinion may reasonably persuade you to let the Christians alone, by civile wars to weaken one another, that so afterward they may become a pray vnto vs without any danger of ours. So that in my judgement the Persian war also be taken in hand, rather than the wars in Germany, and especially for that you haue sufficiently enlarged the bounds of your Empire Westward, which you haue extended euen vnto Nations very far distant. So that it is now a great matter to defend so much as you haue already gotten; and therefore partly for the difficulty of the defending thereof, and partly vpon an honourable contempt, according to the infinite bounty of your heroicall inclination, I haue thought good to bestow whole kingdomes vpon strangers, yea, halfe your enemies. Wherefore how much more glorious should it be now vpon just occasion to seeke for them which joyneth vnto you on one confines; and may therefore easily be united vnto your owne Empire: if you according to the example of your grandfather and father shall force your selfe to drinethat accursed and abhominable race of Hysmael out of Asia. For it shall be a great glory vnto the name of the Ottoman Kings for euer, if you shall after your wonted manner zealously respect the cause of religion, a worke of incomparable fame, if the authors of a most detestible superstition shall by you be chased quite out of Asia. For what more honourable cause can there be to make war, than to professe your selfe the defender of the diuine precepts of our great Prophet Mahomet, against the wicked and irreligious impugnors thereof? And by the way to reuenge and utterly to destroy the capitall remedies of your ancestors, which was the last prayer of your father Selymus. Can you endure them which rule so insolently, that they account enemy one that is neere them their enemies and prey, and dare also with their pilfering inuasions prouoke your selfe living contented within the bounds of your owne Empire, in peace both in Europe and Asia? and they (forsooth) such as haue by most horrible wrong crept into the royall seat of the most lawfull and noble Kings descended of the blood of Vun-Cassanes? Who after their wonted manner still line by rapine and robbery? Beleeme, Noble Emperour, if you shall vpon a zeale to your religion, with your victorious hand take away this staine and plague of Asia, there shall undoubtedly be erected vnto you so glorious and magnifient a trophy in the midst of Persia, as may be compared, yea, preferred before the Triumphs of your victorious father Selymus. For it is not so much to haue destroyed the Amalukes (by condision slaues) and the proud Sultans of Egypt and Syria, as to haue subdued the Persians, famous in ancient time for their martiall prowesse, who so oftentimes vanquished by Alexander of Macedon, gaue vnto him the name of Great. Solyman prickt forward with many such discourses, daily founded in his eares by the Bassa, began to yeeld to his persuation. Whereof Abraham himselfe greatly reioyced: for it was thought by many, that hee did neuer in heart renounce the Christian religion, but was onely in outward shew a Turke, and in heart a Christian. Which was the rather conjectured, for that he maruellously fauoured and protected the Christian Merchants, furthered by all meanes the leagues of the Christian Princes with Solyman, and laboured alwaies to turne his forces from them vpon the Persians. And the more to whet him forward, the Bassa had cunningly insinuated into his acquaintance one Mulearb of Damascus, a man in that time famous in Constantinople, for the opinion the people had generally conceived of his holiness and profound knowledge in the secret causes of things, and the art of Magike, vsing him as a Prophet to fill the ambitious minde of Solyman, with assured hope of prosperous success: which thing the hypocriticall wisard, after the manner of such deceivers, ill performed, prophesying vnto him all happinesse in so religious a war, and so much (as he said) pleasing God. This the Bassaes purpose was much furthered also by Vlemus a noble and valiant Persian, who hauing married the great Persian King Tamas his sister, was revolted from him to Solyman, fearing to be called to account for the extortion wherewith he had grievously oppressed

- A oppressed the countries whereof he had the government; and being wonderfully countenanced in Solymans court by the great Bassa, did after the manner of disloyall fugitiues persuade Solyman by all means he could to take that war in hand, discouering vnto him the power, state, and strength of the Persian kingdom (which he could wel do) and plotting vnto him the easiest way for the conquering thereof, offering also vnto him the vntermost of his deuoir. So Solyman filled with the vain hope of the conquest of Persia, yeilded fully vnto the persuasions of the great Bassa, and gaue out his commissions into all parts of his empire, for the raising of a mighty army for the performance of so great an enterprize, commanding all his capitaines and men of War to be ready at the City of Nice in Bithynia, at a certaine day appointed. Which his purpose, although it was mightily impugned by his mother, and the fair Roxolana his best beloued, as that which altogether proceeded from the Bassa (the one alledging, with what euil successe his grandfather and father before him had attempted that same Warre; the other assailing him with her passionat affections: but both of them indeed repining at the honor of the Bassa, and in their hearts disdaining, that so great a monarch should at the pleasure of his seruant be led vp and down the world so far from their company. For which cause they did what in them lay to haue ouerthrowne the purpose of Abraham, and to haue altered Solymans former determination) yet so strong was the Bassa's credit with his great Lord & Master, that all these great ladies deuices and prayers were as womens affectionate passions rejected, and the Bassa's counsell (to their no small grieffe) in all things regarded.
- The time appointed being come, and all things in readines, Solyman sent Abraham the Bassa, and Vlemus the Persian before him into Syria with a strong army, to be ready with the first of the Spring to inuade the Persian King. Which thing the Bassa gladly took vpon him, and comming into Syria, wintred with his army at Aleppo: whither Barbarussa came vnto him for his letters of credence to Solyman, as is before declared. The Spring now approaching, Abraham sent Vlemus the fugitiue Persian Prince before him with the light horsmen, the fore-runners of his army, into Mesopotamia as his guid, because the country was to him best known; following not far after himself with his Army. And marching still forward in that manner, came at length without resistance vnto the famous city of Tauris in Armenia the greater, called in ancient time Ecbathana, as is probably by some conjectured; a great and rich City, but vnwalled, and of no strength: where the Persian Kings for the pleasantnesse of the place and freshe of the air vsed commonly to be resident in the heat of the year. From whence Tamas the Persian King was as then absent, buied in wars against Kezien-Bassa a Prince of the Corasine Hyrcanians. So that the Citifens of Tauris destitute of all helpe, yeilded themselves and the City vnto the Bassa at his first comming. Tamas the Persian King vnderstanding what had hapned at Tauris, drew neer with his power, warily expecting to haue taken the Turks at some aduantage, and so by policy to haue defeated his enemies, whom he was too weake to meet with in plain battell. Which thing the wary Bassa well perceiuing, for more assurance, by speedy Currours aduertised Solyman of the taking of Tauris, and of the enemies purpose; requesting him with all speed to repair with his army to Tauris. Solyman was then come far on his way with a very great Army, not by the way of Ancyra, Sebastia, Amasia, the borders of Trapezond, and so ouer Euphrates at Arsenga, into Armenia, as his father Selymus had done before him, because that way was thought longer and more troublesome: but quite another way, on the right hand from Nyce in Bithynia, to Iconium, and by Cesaria to Malathia, where is the notable passage ouer the riuer Euphrates, bursting out by the vallies of the mountaine Antitaurus, from whence the plaines of Mesopotamia (then part of the Persian Kingdome, begin to open themselves: through which countrey Solyman marched peaceably with his army, paying the poore countrey people for whatsoeuer he tooke; and so in foure and fiftie dayes march, came from Nice in Bithynia, to the city of Coim in Armenia the greater, which is supposed to be built in the ruines of the famous and ancient city Artaxata. But hearing such newes as is aforesaid from the Bassa, he doubled his march, and so in short time after came and ioyned his forces with the Bassa at Tauris. Tamas (who yet dayly expected the comming of the Georgian light horsmen) vnderstanding that Solyman was comming against him with a world of men, thought it not good to abide the comming of so puissant an enemy, but with delay to weary him out, that drew such a multitude of people after him; and by taking him at all aduantages, to cut off his people, spent with long trauell, wanting

Solyman resolute to get against the Persians.

Abrahams credit maligned by Solymans mother and Roxolana.

Abraham Bassa sent before with an army into Syria.

The city of Tauris yielded vnto the Bassa.

Solyman comming to Tauris.

Solyman followeth Tamas the Persian King into Sultania.

Solyman's army distressed with tempest.

visually, and falling into diuers diseases; as it commonly chaunceth to populous armies in strange countries, where the change of the aire, with the inevitable necessity alwaies attending vpon a great army, most times causeth grievous and contagious diseases. Wherefore Tamas to shun the coming of Solyman, retyred further off into Sultania, about six daies journey from Tauris. Whereof Solyman having knowledge, departed from that rich City without doing any harme therein, following after Tamas into Sultania, to joyne battell with him if he could possible: leauing behind him for halt, a great part of his carriages and baggage, with five hundred Ianizaries, and three of his Sanzacks with their companies. The city of Sultania was in ancient time one of the royall seats of the Persian Kings, but ruinated by the Scythian Tamerlane, retained no shew of the ancient majesty, but only in the churches by him spared. Neere vnto this city Solyman lay incamped many daies, expecting that the Persian King (in reuenge of the injuries to him done, and for the safeguard of his honour) should at length come out of the mountaines, and shew himselfe in plaine field, and giue him battell. Which was a thing so far from Tamas his resolution, vpon the due comparing of his owne strength with his enemies, that he retired in such sort, that Solyman could by no means learne what was become of him, or which way to follow him.

The country neere vnto the city of Sultania, wherein Solyman lay incamped at large, is on every side inuironed with huy mountains, whose tops are to be seene a far off, alwaies covered with deepe snow: these mountaines were, in ancient time called Nyphates, Caspius, Cothras, and Zagrus, taking their beginning no doubt from Caucasus the father of mountaines; and joyning one to another, some one way, some another, do diuide most large and wide countries. Whilst Solyman in those vast and plaine fields most fit to fight a battell in, expected the coming of Tamas, such a horrible and cruell tempest (as the like whereof the Persians had neuer before seene at that time of the yeare) fell downe from those mountaines (which was so much the more strange, for that it fell in the begining of September) with such abundance of raine, which frose so eagerly as it fell, that it seemed the depth of Winter had euen then of a sudden been come in: for such was the rage of the blustering winds, striuing with themselves as if it had bin for victory, that they swept the snow from off the tops of those high mountaines, and cast it into the plaines in such abundance, that the Turks lay as men buried aliue in the deep snow, most part of their tents being ouerthrowne and beaten downe to the ground with the violence of the tempest, and weight of the snow; wherein a wonderfull number of sicke souldiers and others of the baser sort which followed the campe, perished; and many others were sore benumbed, some their hands, some their feet, that they lost the vse of them for euer: most part of their beasts which they vsed for carriage, but especially their camels, were frozen to death. Yea, Solyman himselfe was in great danger to haue bene ouerwhelmed in his Tent, all the Tents round about him being ouerthrowne with the violence of the tempest. Neither was there any remedy to be found for so great mischieses, by reason of the belish darkenesse of that tempestuous night, most of their fires being put out by the extremity of the storme: which did not a little terrifie the superstitious Turks, as a thing accounted of them ominous. And that which troubled them no lesse than the miseries of the tempest, was the feare of the enemy, whose sudden coming they deadly feared: vntill that after so tedious a night the sun breaking out the next morning, with his cheerefull beams reuiued many, before ready to giue vp the ghost for cold, and gaue comfort vnto them all in generall, by discovering the open fields cleere of their feared enemies. It was a dreadfull thing to haue seene what misery that one night had brought into the Turks campe: the ground lay almost covered with bodies of the dead; and many liued but so, as that they accounted the dead more happy than themselves. Many of the Turks vainly thought, that horrible tempest was brought vpon them by the charmes and enchantments of the Persian Magicians: whereas it was vndoubtedly by the hand of him who bringeth the proud deuices of Princes to nought.

Solyman troubled as well with the strangenesse of the accident, as the losse he had receiued, after he had a little refreshed his discouraged souldiers, rose with his army, and tooke his way on the left hand into Assyria: Plemas the Persian persuading him thereunto for many causes, but especially by putting him in hope of the taking of Babylon; for that Mahometus a friend of his was Gouvernour thereof. But he when the matter came to proofe, was not to be wooon either by promise or reward, to betray the City. Wherefore Solyman resolved to take it

A it by force: neither did his fortune fail him therein: for as soone as Mahometus vnderstood that Plemas was at hand with the fore-runners of the Turkes army; and that Solyman with all his power was coming after, (who as he thought would neuer haue come so far) hee not prouided to withstand so mighty an enemy, and not beloued of the Citifens, fled out of the City. Solyman coming, in short time after was receiued without resistance. The City of Babylon, commonly called Bagdat, rise out of the ruins of the old city of Babylon, so much spoken of in holy Writ: from whence it is not far distant, standing vpon the riuer of Tygris, which not far beneath falleth into the riuer Euphrates. In this famous city is the seat of the great Calyph, the chief Mahometan Priest, whom all the Mahometan Princes haue in great reuerence, and hath an old prerogative in the choice and confirmation of the Kings of Assyria and the Sultans of Egypt: of which Calyph Solyman according to the old superstitious manner, receiued at his hands the Ensignes and Ornaments of the Assyrian Kings, and with great bounty won the hearts of the people, and therupon resolved to spend that Winter there, billeting his army in diuers places of that fertile country. The other citles of Assyria and Mesopotamia also, namely Caracemida, Meredinum, Orsa, and Asancefa, hearing that Solyman had without resistance taken Babylon, yeelded themselves and receiued his Garrisons. Yea the same therof was so great, that Embassadors came to him as far as Ormus (a city in the mouth of Euphrates where it falleth into the Persian gulf, famous for the great traffique out of India thither) suing vnto him for peace. Thus the ancient city of Babylon, with the great countries of Assyria and Mesopotamia, sometimes famous kingdoms of themselves, and lately part of the Persian kingdom, fel into the hands of the Turks, and became provinces vnto the Turkish Empire in the yeare 1534. Where Solyman after he had spent that Winter in great joy and triumph, according to the manner of the Turkish gouernment, placed a great Commander (which they by a proud name call the Beglerbeg, which is as much as to say, Lord of Lords) and vnder him diuers others for the gouernment of these Countries by parts, which they call Sanzacks, who are euer at the command of the Beglerbeg. Whilst he thus wintred at Babylon, he caused Ashender Zelibi (which is to say, Alexander the Noble) his great Treasurer for the Wars, to be hanged, for that he had vnfaithfully dealt in his office; and confiscated all his goods.

Tamas hearing that Solyman was come to Babylon, returned to Tauris: Of whose speedy coming the Ianizaries and other captains there left by Solyman vnderstanding, fled in haste out of the City, leauing all such things as were committed to their custody, for a prey to the Persian souldiers.

Solyman's army being mightily increased by the coming of the great Bassa of Caire vnto him, with the Sanzacks of Alexandria, Iudaea, Syria, and Comagena; by the persuation of A. braham and Plemas, the Spring now wel come on, departed from Babylon again toward Tauris, with purpose either to draw Tamas to battell, or els to his eternal infamy, to sacke that his Regal city before his face. But Tamas aduertised of his coming, and knowing himselfe too weake to giue him battell, forsook the City, and fled into the mountaines of Hyrcania, destroying all the Country before him as he went, and carrying away the inhabitants, leauing nothing to relieue the Turks souldiers, if they should pursue him. Solyman vnderstanding that Tamas was again fled, sent Plemas with all the choice horfemen of his Army to ouertake him if it were possible, and to fight with him. But when he had followed him two or three dayes journey, and still found the Country desolate as he went, yeelding neither forrage for his horses, nor relief for his men, and saw no hope to ouertake the King, he began as a prouident General to forecast the extremities like to befall in his return thorow those desolat Countries with the Enemy at his heels; and therupon in time retyred backe again to Solyman, declaring vnto him what had happened. Who fretting in his mind, that the Persian King was not to be drawn to battell, marched forthwith to Tauris, entering it without resistance, the Citifens submitting themselves vnto him: whose liues spared, he gaue that rich city as a prey vnto his souldiers, who left neither house nor corner thereof vnransacked, abusing the poor citifens with all manner of insolencie; euery common souldier without controulment fitting himselfe with whatsoeuer best pleased his greedy desire or filthy lust. Tamas had in this city a most stately and royal palace, so had also most part of the nobility their sumptuous & rich houses, which by the commandment of Solyman were all rased down to the ground, and the greatest part of the

Babylon, with the countries of Assyria and Mesopotamia yeelded to Solyman.

Tamas comes to Tauris.

1535.

Tamas hearing of Solyman his coming vnto Tauris, fleeth into Hyrcania.

Solyman reuents Tauris.

the best citizens and beautiful personages of all sorts and conditions, at his departure thence carried away captives. *Solyman* contenting himself to have done the Persian King this disgrace, in spoiling this his rich and royal City, returned againe toward Mesopotamia, destroying all the countries as he went, killing the very beasts and cattell, thereby the more to impoverish the Persians, wishing to leave nothing to them but penury and miserie. He was scarce past Coim and the Caldean fields (famous for his fathers victory against *Hysmer*) but that certain troups of Persian horsemen were in the tail of his Army, and had taken away some of his baggage, and slain divers of the sick and stragling souldiers, and with their often skirmishes did not a little trouble his whole army. Besides that, it was noised thorow all his camp, That *Tamas* himself was coming after him with a greater power of horsemen, taken vp in Iberia, Albania, Parthia, Media, and Armenia, and would be at their backs before they could get out of Armenia. For which cause he appointed the two great Bassa's of Cair and Syria (for so they were called) and *Vlemas* the Persian, with 18000 good souldiers to follow him in the rereward of his Army, to receive and repress the sudden assaults of the Persians, if need should require: and so stil kept on his march vntill he was come to Amida, now called Caracemida, an ancient city of Mesopotamia. In the mean time *Tamas* the Persian King was returned to Tauris with a mighty Army, in hope there suddenly to have surpris'd his enemy, surcharged with the pleasures of so rich a city: but finding him gon, and beholding the miserable desolation and spoil he had made in the city, mooued with indignation, hee resolved to pursue him whither soeuer he was gon, and was now on his way as far as Coim. Where vnderstanding that *Solyman* was gon so far before that he was hardly to be overtaken, and finding the noble gentlemen in his army vnwilling in their heavy armor to vndertake such a pursuit, as could not be performed without the wonderful toil of themselves, and most assured losse of their goodly horses, alledging that they were prouided to fight a battel, and not to travel so long a journey (all which *Tamas* now that his choler was ouer, knew to stand with good reason) he changed his former determination, thinking it best there to stay, and not to follow the pursuit of his enemies any further: vntill that *Delimethes* one of his noblemen (alwaies more forward than the rest) offered with five thousand chosen horsemen to undertake some part of the Turks army, and to do on them some good seruice. Which his offer *Tamas* gladly accepted, commanding him greatly for the same, promising him most honorable reward, and so in hast sent him away.

*Delimethes*  
with 5000  
Persians pursue  
the Turks.

He forthwith taking the wel known and neere way, vsed such expedition, that hee was in hope to overtake the rereward of the Turks Army (marching not far now before him) about the foot of the mountain Taurus, as indeed it fel out at a place called Bethlis. This Bethlis is a famous town in the confines of the Persian kingdome where it bordereth vpon Mesopotamia, standing in a pleasant vally, by which runneth a little riuer falling out of the mountaine Antitaurus; and had a castle kept with a garrison of Persians. In this vally the two Bassa's of Cair and Syria (conducted by *Vlemas*) thinking they had now bin past all danger of the enemies pursuit, staid with the rereward of the army to refresh their wearied souldiers; vpon certain knowledge that *Solyman* with the rest of his Army was already come in safety to Amida in Mesopotamia. And therefore lay as men secure, without any suspicion of the coming of the Persians, whom they had not so much as heard any thing of in long time before. But *Delimethes* vsing most faithfull and diligent espials of that country people, by that time hee was come within one daies journey of Bethlis, vnderstood certainly where the Turks lay, weary of their long travell, as men without fear, keeping little or nowatch in their camp. Whereupon he determined in the dead time of the night following to assail them in their Campe; and by secret messengers gaue knowledge both of his coming, and of this his purpose, to the Captain of the castle of Bethlis; requesting him at an appointed houre vpon signe given, readily to fall out with his garrison vpon that side of the Turks Camp which was towards the Castle. Which his venturous designement was so furthered both by the darkenes of the night, and the abundance of rain which fell at the same time, as if it had been wished for, that hee was got with all his resolute followers within the Turks Campe, before they were aware of his coming. Where the enraged Persian souldiers, as *Vlues* amongst Sheepe, did such speedy execution amongst the sleepey Turkes, that the two great Bassa's, with *Vlemas*, had much ado to get to horse and saue themselves by flight. And such was the fury of the Persians

*Delimethes*  
assails the  
Turks camp by  
night, and maketh  
a great slaughter.

**A** sians, and the greatnes of the sudden fear increased by the darknes of the night, that the Turks not knowing which way to turne themselves, or what to do, were slain by thousands, some sleeping, some half waking, some making themselves ready to fight, and some to fly: few of all that great army escaped the sword of the Persians. Of the five great Sangacks that were in the army, three were slain, and one taken. Eight hundred Janizaries seeing themselves forsaken of their chieftains, laid down their barquebusts and other weapons, and yielded themselves vpon *Delimethes* his word. The fierce mountain people also, who formerly had suffered great iniuries of the Turks, after the death of *Aladenles* their King, had now ioynd themselves to the Persians, and notably reuenged their wrongs to whose share all the baggage of the Turks camp fel for a prey. It might then wel haue bin said of the Turks, which the Poet speaketh of **B** the night wherein Troy was sacked:

*Quis cladem illius noctis qui funera fundo*

*Explicit*

That nights slaughter was so great, that it is of the Turks vntill this day accounted: amongst their greatest losses: and the victory so welcome to the Persians, that in memorial thereof they kept that day (being the thirteenth of October) as one of their soleme holy daies for many years after. *Delimethes* returning all bloody with the slaughter of the Turks, and loded with their spoils, was of *Tamas* ioyfully received, and honorably rewarded.

*Solyman discouraged.*

This overthrow reported to *Solyman* by the two great Bassa's and *Vlemas*, as men that had hardly escaped the shipwrecke, so daunted his proud conceits, that he resolved in himselfe to return home, and no further to prosecute that vnfortunat war; the euill euent whereof his mother (as he said) had more truly presaged than had the cold Prophet *Mulearbe*: but secretly in mind displeased with *Abraham* the great Bassa, by whose persuation hee had taken in hand that dangerous expedition. By the way as he went he was met at Leonium by *Barbarussa* & *Sinan Bassa*, tyrramed the Jew, a man for his skil at sea in reputation next to *Barbarussa*. These two great personages, lately come from Algiers to Constantinople with the remainder of his fleet, met him so far by land, to shew their ioyfulness for the conquest he had made of Mesopotamia and Assyria: & to excuse them for the losse of the kingdom of Tunes, which won by *Barbarussa* in the beginning of the Persian war, was before the end thereof again wrung out of his hands by *Charles* the emperor, and restored to *Muleasses*, as shal be hereafter declared. They **D** with great humility declared vnto him the whole proces of that VVar, and with what successe they had indured the force of *Charles* the Emperor himself in person; shewing him plainly, that there wanted neither valor in the soldiers, nor direction in them the Commanders, but only fortune, which as it mightily reigneth in all mens actions, so especially in matters of war. *Solyman* graciously accepted of their excuse, and curteously took them vp prostrat at his feet, commending them for their valor in their euil haps, in a plot so well by them laid, more than he did the victory of others, got by good fortune, not grounded vpon any good reason: willing them to be of good cheere, laying that he would in short time find occasion for them to recompence that disgrace, and again to shew their approued valor. After long trauell hee came to the streit of Bosphorus, where *Abraham* the Bassa going before him, had in token of **E** triumph caused the shore all along the place where he should go aboard the gally prouided for his transportation, to be covered with Persian silk for him to tread vpon: from whence hee passed with much triumph ouer to his palace at Constantinople.

*Abraham the great Bassa in disgrace with Solyman.*

Envy, the fatal and cruel companion of Princes immoderat fauours, had with her prying eyes suddenly discovered in court *Solymans* changed countenance vpon the great Bassa, & began to shew her ghastly face. They which before were most ready to do him all honour possible, yea and to haue laid their hands vnder his feet, sought now by all secret means to work his disgrace and confusion. But of all others, the two great ladies, *Solymans* mother and the faire *Roxolana*, ceased not by daily complaints to inuence *Solyman* against him: the mother, for that he had by his persuations, contrary to her mind and her superstitious obseruations, drawn her **F** son into the dangers of the Persian war. And *Roxolana*, for that he most honoured and sought the preferment of *Mustapha*, *Solymans* eldest son by another woman, whereas shee aboue all things laboured by all subtil means to prefer *Bajazet* her own son vnto the empire after the death of *Solyman* his father. Which her designement shee perceiued to be much crossed by the great credit which the Bassa had with her *Solyman*; and therefore did what she might both to bring him

him out of favor, and to work his destruction. But that which most impaired his credit with Solyman, was the common report raised of him by his enemies, that he being in heart a Christian, did in all things favor the Christians (a thing most odious among the Turks), and had for that cause craftily persuaded Solyman to take in hand the unfortunate Pechian war. And that which most increased the suspicion, was, that he about that time had caused one Mark Nicolo a Venetian merchant (who had not without the suspicion of some, oftentimes come unto him with letters and secret messages whilst he lay at Babylon) to be taken in the night and murdered in Constantinople, and cast into the sea, because he should not discover any thing that might be hurtful unto him. Abraham thus brought in disgrace with Solyman, was (after the manner of the Turkish tyrannie) bid to a solemn supper in the Court about the 14 of March, after which time he was never more seen. It is reported, That after supper Solyman fell into a great rage with him, charging him bitterly, That he had misgoverned the state, inverted his Treasures to his own priuat, and as a traitor had secret intelligence with the Christian princes his enemies: for proofe whereof Solyman with sterne countenance shewed him his owne letters, which had by chance bin intercepted, oftentimes asking him in furious manner, if hee knew not that hand, if he knew not that seal. All which the Bassa, lying prostrate at his feet, humbly confessed, & with many tears craved of him pardon. But his hard heart was not by any tears to be moued: for the same night as he was slumbering vpon a pallet in the Court, ouercome with heauines, an eunuch cut his throat with a crooked knife, which Solyman for that purpose had deliuered vnto him with his own hand. He was murdered sleeping, because Solyman had in former time of his fauor sworn vnto him, that he would neuer kill him whilst he liued. By which oath the great Mahometan priest said he was not so bound, but that he might kill him sleeping, forasmuch as men by sleep deprived of sense, are for that time not to be accounted as liuing, but as dead; mans life (as he said) consisting altogether in liuely actions. It is reported, That after Solyman had looked vpon the dead body, and bitterly cursed the same, hee caused a great weight to be tied vnto it, and so cast it into the sea. His treasure and goods (which were almost infinite) were the next day all seized vpon for the Emperour, and a small portion thereof appointed for his poore wife to liue vpon. His death was no sooner knowne, but that the vulgar people deuised of him infamous songs, and slanderous reports, as a Traitor most iustly condemned: and in further despight, with mire and stones defaced the Trophies of the Hungarian victory, which hee had in a stately manner erected before his house in Constantinople. This was the wofull end of Abraham the great Bassa, who whilst he stood in fauor with his prince, was of all others accounted most fortunate, wanting nothing but the name of the great Sultan: but afterwards falling into disgrace, became the scorn of fortune, and the lamentable spectacle of mans fragility. He was murdered the fifteenth of March, in the year 1536.

How the kingdom of Tunes was by Barbarossa the Turks great Admiral taken from Mules, we haue already told: but how the same was again taken from him by Charles the emperor a little before the returne of Solyman out of Persia, remaineth now to be declared. It was commonly reported, and not without iust cause feared, that Barbarossa possessed of the Kingdome of Tunes, and supported by the power of Solyman, would the next summer not content himselfe with the spoil of the coasts of Spain, Sardinia, and Italy, as hee had in former times, but with all his forces invade Sicilia, the garnary and store-house of Italy, and from thence attempt to conquer the kingdome of Naples, which it was thought hee in his immoderat desires had longed much after. To repress this his barbarous insolencie, and to worke the safety of the frontiers of the Christian kingdomes (much subiect to the rapines of Turkish pyrats) Charles the Emperour resolved in person himselfe with a puissant army to passe ouer into Africk, whilst Solyman was yet busied in the Persian wars, and by force of armes to dispossesse the tyrant of his new gotten kingdom in Tunes. For accomplishment whereof, he caused soldiers to be leuiued in all parts of Spaine, and came down to Barcelona with eight thousand footmen and seuen hundred horsemen, far sooner than was by any man expected: amongst whom were many of the nobility of Spaine, with their followers most gallantly appointed: but especially Ferdinand of Toledo Duke of Alva, whose forwardnesse in that honourable action, with the desire he had to reuenge the death of his father Garcia, slaine before by the Moores at Girapolis, gaue great hope euen then vnto his Countrymen, That hee would

Abraham Bassa  
murdered in the  
Court by Soly-  
mans commandement.

The confutes that  
moued Charles  
the Emperour to  
inuaide Tunes.

The Emperours  
great preparations  
for inua-  
ding of Tunes.

- A would in time proue a worthy Chieftaine, as indeed he afterward did.
- In the meane time Andrew Auris the great Admirall, vnto whom only for his approued fidelitie and long experience the Emperour had fully communicated what he had with himselfe before purposed, had with wonderfull diligence and celeritie rigged vp a great fleet of ships and gallies so furnished with all manner of warlike prouision, as might well haue sufficed a great army: whereunto he ioyned also his owne fleet of 17 gallies and three galleasses, wherein he had imbarked the foure of Genoa and Liguria, who with exceeding cheerfulness had voluntarily offered themselves to follow him their old General in that great expedition. With this great preparation Auris came to the Emperour at Barcelona. Thither came also Lewis the King of Portugals brother (whose sister Isabel, Charles the Emperour had married) with twenty five Carauels, ships which the Portugals vsed in their Indian voyages, amongst whom was also one huge Galeon, all ships well appointed and fit for seruice, wherein were imbarked 2000 Portugals, beside many others: there also arrived sixty saile of tall ships, sent out of Flanders and the low-countries, wherein were a great number of condemned persons, whose liues were spared that they might serue in the gallies. Vnto this war Paulus the third of that name, then Bishop of Rome, sent ten gallies vnder the conduct of Virginius Vrsinus: the great Master of Malta sent thither his fleet also. At the same time that all this preparation was in making in other places, that worthy Chieftaine Alphonsus D'Aualus Vassius, whom the Emperour had appointed General of all his forces at land, had by the Emperours commandement taken vp foure thousand new souldiers in Italy, which were led by Hieronimus Tutanilla, Countie of Sarne, Fredericks, Carastis, and Augustine Spinola, all famous Capitaines. The old Spanish garrisons which lay in Lombardie, the Emperour commanded to be streitly looked vpon, that some of them should leaue their places to go into this new expedition, but to remaine there still vnder their Generall Antonius Lema: which worthy Capitaine although hee would faine haue had him with him, as of all his great Commanders the best; yet he thought it good to spare him, both for that he was much troubled with the gout, and also for that it was necessarie (as he thought) to leaue such a valiant capitaine with his garrisons in the countrey, so neer vnto the French and Swisssers, whom he durst not so well trust as to dis-furnish that countrey either of so great a Commander, or of the wonted garrisons. At the same time Maximilian Aberstein, an old Commander, came to Vassius with eight thousand Germans, ouer the Tridentine Alpes to Millaine, and so to Genoa; amongst whom were diuers noble Gentlemen, who then as voluntary men serued of their owne charges. With these Germans and the foure thousand Italians, Vassius imbarked himselfe at the port called Portus Veneris, in Liguria: hauing before persuaded them, with patience to endure the tediousnesse of the sea, and to comfort themselves with the hope of the victory in Africke, where they should fight in the quarrell of God, and for the Emperour, who did neuer forget his religious and valiant souldiers. So sailing alongst the coast of Italy, he came to Naples, where the Viceroy and diuers others of the Nobilitie had of their owne charges, euery man according to his denotion or abilitie, built or furnished some one gallie, some moe, for that seruice. It was a wonder to see with what cheerfulness the Gallants and lusty youths of Naples and all that part of Italy, came and offered themselves to Vassius; so that it seemed there was none left behind in Naples: for he had with singular courtesie sown the hearts of the old souldiers and lusty youths of that Kingdome, that both the one and the other thought it a most honourable thing to adorn, the one their before deserved pensions, and the other their first entrance into martiall affairs, with the participation of so notable a victorie. But whilst euery man was thus busied in setting forward, certaine mutinous souldiers (weary of the sea, and fearing the dangers of so long a voyage) began to cast many perils, to find fault with their small wages, and to discourage the multitude, persuading them with seditious speeches to forsake their colours, and to run away: for redresse whereof, Vassius caused the authours of that mutinie to be taken and thrust into sacks, and in the sight of the whole fleet to be cast into the sea. So Vassius departing with his fleet from Naples, came in few dayes to Palermo in Sicillie. The Emperour also loosing from Barcelona, came to the port of Mago in the Island of Minorca, and from thence to Caralis in Sardinia, whither Alphonsus Vassius was a little before come with all his fleet out of Sicillie. Not long after, the Emperour, now that all his forces were come together, passed ouer from Sardinia into Africke, and with a faire Westerly winde put into the Port

Andrew Auris  
the Emperours  
Admirall.

Alphonsus D'A-  
ualus Vassius  
General of the  
land forces.

The Emperour  
passeth over in-  
to Africk.

of Vtica, which is of the seafaring men called Farina. In the entering whereof, the Admirall G Galley, wherein the Emperour himself was, by great mischance, brook upon a sand, and there stuck fast: which so much the more troubled the Emperour, for that his father Philip by like mishap had like to have bin cast away vpon the coast of England, at he was sailing out of the Low countries into Spain. Howbeit by the good direction of *Auria* she was quickly got off the sand again, and entred with the rest, to the great rejoicing of the whole fleet. So presently departing again from Vtica, and sailing along the coast, he doubled the promontory of Carthage, yet famous for the ruins of that proud city, and came to anchor before a Castle, which of a Wel beneath it, is called by the name of Aquaria, or the Water Castle. The Moors, who from the hills of Vtica and their Watch-towers had taken view of the Christian fleet, and of the course it held, advertised *Barbarussa*. That the Christians were coming against him with an innumerable fleet: for there was of one sort and other almost 700 sail, whereof 8 were great galleys, which gallantly garnished with flags and streamers, made them of more than indeed they were, and wonderfully terrified the enemy. But that troubled *Barbarussa* most, that he was by messenger vpon messenger certainly informed, That the most mighty Christian Emperour *Charles* was in person himself in the fleet, with such a world of people, that it should seem he had left none in Spain and Italy, that were able to bear Arms. Which newes was brought by certain Mahometan slaues, who getting loose in the Gallies, had by night swam ashore, and reported the certainty of the Emperours coming. For the proud Turk, a great contemner of the Christian forces, neuer thought that the Emperour would haue aduanced his person to the dangers of the sea, and chances of war, especially in an vnknown, barren and scorching country, but would rather haue attempted to do something by his Lieutenants; as by *Auria* his Admirall seek to surprise some base places along the sea coast, but not to come directly for the regal city of Tunes. In which opinion hee was chiefly confirmed by *Andreas Praxenda* a Gentleman of Genoa, who being taken at sea, was kept as a prisoner at large in Tunes. Of whom *Barbarussa* had learned many things concerning the state of Italy, the manners of the Christians, and strength of the Emperour, graciously feeding him with the hope of liberty, if he would truly declare vnto him such things as he desired to know. Wherefore now in his rage he caused him to be brought before him, charging him bitterly, that he had craftily and perfidiously told him lies for truth, concerning the Emperour; and therefore commanded him to be forthwith executed. When hee had thus with the vnworthy death of a guiltlesse Christian, somewhat mitigated the griefe of his light beleefe, he forthwith began to cast with himselfe, how he might best withstand his puissant Enemy. And first of all calling to Counsell his sea Captaines (in whom for their approved valour he reposed the most confidence) he shewed vnto them, That they as valiant men, acquainted with the dangers attending vpon honourable actions, were not to doubt of the victory, forasmuch as hee saw it as good as already gained; for the same reasons for which he had before perswaded himself, that the Emperour (if he had not bin half mad) would not haue vndertaken so doubtfull and desperate a war.

*Barbarussa* encouraged his  
soldiers.

For who is there (said he) that knows the country (not to speak of our own forces) which would not reasonably think our enemies should in short time know the price of their ambitious desire, and rash attempt? which in a most vnseasonable time of the year, the days being now at the longest, and the sun in his greatest strength, are come to fight in a country scorched with heat, and altogether without water, where the very sand rising with euery blast of wind, flying into their eies and faces, shall no lesse trouble them than their enemies? Shall we think that they, which as I hear for the most part are fresh water soldiers, and forebarred with heavy armor, can easily march forward, or retire, or yet keep their ground, as the diuers occasions of battell shall require: when as the deep and hollow burning sands up to the mid leg, will not suffer them to keep any order of array? How shall they be able by any means to abide the force of our Turkish footmen, or the often charging of the nimble Numidian horsemen? And if there be so many of them as they say there is, where can they get victuall to feed such a multitude, if we do but protract the war. Alas! redly (most valiant and courageous Chieftaines) wee shall erect a most rare and incomparable trophy in this country of Africk: when as *Charles* the rich and great Emperour of the Christians, shall either be here slain in battell, or else fall into our hands as a rich prey. For myne owne part I will notably prouide, that you shall want neither weapons, victuall, nor ayd, during the time of this Warre. I will open the

A the old armories, broch my store, and bring forth my treasures. The Numidian princes now our friends, I will without delay entertain with great pay, and such presents as shall be to them most welcome. As for the citizens of Tunes, you know how easily they are to be kept in obedience, and brought on against the enemy for small pay, and hope of reward. But this one thing is it that I most earnestly require of your approved valor, I that you most valiantly defend the strong castle of Guletta, as the surest defence not of this city only, but of the whole kingdom; and especially our navy, which there lieth in safe harbor: for that piece will our enemies with all their forces first assail. Wherefore as worthy men neuer to be vanquished, keepe that for Solyman and me: so that it being vainly attempted by our enemies, and resolutely defended by you the Christian Emperour thereof failing of his purpose, and shamefully foiled, shall now begin to dispaire, not of the taking of the city of Tunes, but of his own return and safety.

B When he had thus said, the sea captains answered with one consent, that they would most willingly and cheerfully perform whatsoeuer it should please him to command: And in confirmation thereof, promised him not to do any thing which beleemed not most valiant & resolute men. Among these sea captains, *Sinan* of Smyrna a Jew, who had lost his right eye, was both for his age and long experience in military affaires, of greatest account: next vnto him was *Haidimus* of Cilicia, for his furiousnes in fight surnamed of the Italians *Cacciadiabolo*; and *Saleo* of Ionia; which two had before in a great battell at sea slain *Rodericus Portendus* great admirall of Spain, and taken his son *Iohn* prisoner, and seuen great Gallies: after these was *Ta-buchus* of Laodicea, and *Giasfer* a valiant Captaine of the lanizaries; all which were notable

*Barbarussa* his  
chief Captains.

C pyrates, and then men of great fame. The strong castle of Guletta standeth in the bottome of the Bay of Carthage, vpon a point of the land, where the sea by a narrow streit runneth on the East side of the castle into the lake of Tunes: which being in a maner round, is about twelue Italian miles ouer; but now that Castle is parted from the Maine on the West side also, by the sea that way let in. Which chargeable work was by *Barbarussa* begun, but giuen ouer again by him; perswaded by some, that the sea coming in that way, would in short time fill vp the lake with sand. But was afterwards for all that perfected by others, so that now it standeth in maner of an Island, in the mouth of the lake, diuided from the firm land by two narrow streit passages, the one on the East, and the other on the West, yet so that it commandeth both. This castle *Barbarussa* had before strongly fortified both with men and munition, as the

The situation  
of Guletta.

D key of that kingdom: but now vpon the coming of the emperor he put into it his most expert and resolute captains before named; wel foreseeing, that in defence thereof lay the safety of his Navy, which then lay within the lake, as in a most sure harbor; and also the greatest hope he had for the holding of the city of Tunes, whereon depended the whole state of that kingdom. The Emperour lying at anchor with all his fleet vnder the shore, gaue generall commandement, that his soldiers should with as much speed as was possible be landed with the long boats: which was so orderly done, that the Moors terrified with the hideous cry of the soldiers making toward land, and not able to abide the shoures of small shot, were easily beaten from the shore, whither they were come downe in great multitudes; and so suffered the Christian soldiers to land quietly. The first that landed were the Spanish companies, after

The Christian  
army landeth  
at Guletta.

E them the Italians, and last of all the Germans, whom *Vassius* Generall of the army caused presently to incamp themselves, strictly commanding, That no man should straggle from the camp further into the land, vntill the horsemen and great artillery were all landed. The Emperour himself bearing victory in the cheerfulness of his countenance, landed also. In the meane time certain Companies were sent out by the Generall to view the places nigh hand, and to seek out the cisterns and fountains of fresh water thereabout, which sometime serued the famous city of Carthage: with whom the Moors, but especially the Numidian horsemen, a swift, subtle, and painfull kind of fouldiers, oftentimes and in many places suddenly skirmished: and though they were but naked men, yet taking all the aduantages they could of the places to them wel known, with their arrows and darts furiously assailed them vnawares, and

F ouerloded with Armour, sparing no mans life which fell into their hands. Amongst whom was *Hieronymus Spinnula* a Ligurian Captain, who ouerthrown by a Numidian horseman, had his head cut off and carried away by the same nimble horseman, before hee could bee rescued. The like mishap befell *Fredericus Caretus* a noble Gentleman, who going with *Vassius*

to view the places therabouts, was fast by his side suddenly slain with a small shot. All which nimblenes and fiercenes of the enemy could not for all that stay the Emperour, but that hee would needs with a small troupe of horsemen, in person himself take view of the places therabouts, euen in the sight of the Numidian horsemen, which were in euery place to be seen picking vp and down the country in troups; although he was many times requested by his graue counsellors, to leaue that seruice for his inferior captains, and not to expose himselfe vnto so great danger both of his person and of the common safety. *Vasilius* had now brought vp the army neer to the castle of Guletta, still casting vp a rolling trench as he came neerer therunto; therby to keep his men out of the danger of the enemies shot: which work was not don only by the pioners and gally slaues, but by soldiers of all sorts; yea many of the captains also layd their hands to the spade and mattock: for why, the Emperour was there a continual beholder, and a cheerful commender of euery mans labour and forwardnesse: and the busie enemy was euer ready to take the aduantage, if any thing were by negligence omitted, oftentimes falling out euen vnto the very tents of the Christians, there giuing vnto them proud words of defiance. When the army was to be marshalled, and euery commander to be appointed to the place of his charge in this siege of Guletta; the Countie of Sarne (a man famous both for the honor of his house, and for the good seruice he had lately done against the Turks at Corone) requested of *Vasilius* the General, to haue the charge of the mount neere to the castle, which as it was a place of most danger, so was it also of greatest honor. Whereat the old Spaniards (after the maner of their proud nature) much repined. Vpon the top of this mount the Countie set vp his rich tent in the enemies cie, and there lay with the Italian companies ouer whom he commanded. He had not there lion long, but *Salec* one of the Turks famous captains, with a companie of the garison soldiers sallied out of the castle directly vpon the mount whereon the Count lay, and by making shew as if he would desperately haue assailed the same, raised a great alarme against the Italians; yet so, as after certaine volleys of shot discharged on both sides, he began to retyre as if he had bin therto constrained. Which thing the Countie perceiving, being a man of greater courage than direction, in great rage with bitter words reproued certain captains who were not so forward in the pursuit of the Enemy as hee would haue had them; and in his fury ran down from the mount, the rest for shame following him, and ouertaking the enemies, slew diuers of them. The crafty pyrat now seeing the Countie drawn out of his strength into the plain ground, and perceiving himselfe strong enough to encounter him, suddenly turning himself about, said to his soldiers, *The aduantage you wished to haue of your Enemies is now offered, they are now in your danger; wherefore shew your selues valiant men, and suffer not one of these proud fresh-water soldiers to escape alive or unwounded.* Which he had no sooner sayd, but they presently made a stand, and so hardly charged them from whom they but euen now seemd to fly, that the Italians not able longer to indure the fight, betook themselves to flight. The Countie himselfe (with *Belingerus* his kinsman) fighting valiantly in the foremost of his companies was slain: many others indured the like fortune: others flying backe again to the mount, were there slain by the Turks; who resolutely entred into the trenches with them so far, that they caried away with them the plate and riches of the Counties tent. Neither was there any of the Spaniards which lay neere vnto them, and might easily haue rescued them, that would once stir out of their places to help them. For it is reported, that they were nothing sorry for the ouerthrow of the Italians, inasmuch as the countie had so arrogantly craved of the General the most honorable place, which he so euil held. His head and right hand were cut off, and sent by *Salec* to *Barbaruissa*. This ouerthrow much grieved the Italians, whom *Vasilius* comforted with cheerful speeches; imputing all that losse neither to the valour of the enemy, or cowardise of the Italians, but only to the rashnes of the Countie, whom he said worthily to haue paid the price of his inconsiderat forwardnes. But the Spaniards he sharply reproued as mercilesse men, who vpon so light an occasion had giuen cause for the Italians to haue them in distrust. The Turks in the mean time by the often shooting off of their great ordnance, shewed the ioy they conceiued of this victory.

It oftentimes so falleth out, that whilst men laugh at their neighbors harms, their owne is not far off: and so it sel out with the Spaniards. For *Tabacches* another of the pyratial captains, shortly after sallying suddenly out of the castle in the dawning of the day, was got vp to the

*Salec* sallied out vpon the Countie & the Italians.

The Countie slain, and his head & right hand sent to *Barbaruissa*.

The Spaniards reioicing at the Italians ouerthrow, are this slaine folled by *Tabacches*.

A the top of the trenches wherein the Spaniards lay, before they were aware of his comming, and there slew some as they were asleep, some idely sitting fearing no harme, others as they were arming themselves, and with their sudden cry caused the rest which lay neer vnto that place, shamefully for fear to fly out of their trenches: where the Turks taking such trasti as they there found, and hauing slain and wounded many, amongst whom was one *Mendoza* a captain, and carrying away with them the ensigne of *Sarmentus* which stood vpon the top of the trench, returned with victory. The alarm raised in the army was such, as that the Emperour himselfe came running to the place in his Armor, seuerely reproouing them of cowardise which had forsaken the place, and grievously offended with them which had kept such negligent watch against such an enemy, as was not for wylines, agility, and courage, to be slightly regarded of the best and most expert soldiers. This disgrace of the Spaniards wel comforted the Italians, to see the old soldiers no lesse ouertaken in their negligence, than they had bin in their vnadvised forwardnes.

This tumult appeased, *Vasilius* called into his tent the Colonels and chief Captains of the Spaniards, to whom he spake in this maner:

*Friends* (said he) *elsewhere alwaies valiant, who together with mee, haue by your inuincible prouesse gained vnto our Emperour many most glorious victories; you seem vnto me at this time to haue needed to be called vpon, and to be put in remembrance of your wonted and approoued valour; for as far as I can see, the remembrance of your antient fame is in you growne altogether cold, your hands are become faint for fear, and that which I am sorry and ashamed to say, you are grown I know not how, altogether out of order, and heartlesse, shewing no courage for the subduing of these naked Pyrats. Yesterday (as many say) you smiled at the vnskilfull and vnforgotten forwardnesse of your friends, which they bought dear; but to day they worthily laugh at your degenerat carelesse negligence: so that it concerneth you in honor, to blot out this so foul and publique a disgrace, by some notable and worthy exploit. Wherefore I exhort you, and I strictly charge and command you, that with all speed you prepare both your minds and weapons for the achievement of some new honor; that if the proud enemy shall again presume to come forth and assail your trenches, you shall forthwith break out vpon him and beat him backe againe euen to the gates of Guletta. Perhaps good fortune will so attend your valiant and resolute pursuit, that you may together with their disordered men enter some of their rampiers, wherein we see their whole hope consisteth. Which if it shall otherwise fall out than is hoped for, you shall by this your notable deuoir wonderfully content the Emperour your Soueraign, and me your General, and wit hall couer your late dishonor.*

*Vasilius* heere to the Spanish Captains.

Wherunto they all answered, That they would so bear themselves against the Enemy, as that he should not desire greater courage or contempt of danger, in men desirous of honour and commendation.

It was not long, but that the Turks encouraged with their former succes, after their wonted maner sallied out again, conducted by *Giaffer* Capitaine of the Ianizaries, a man of great courage and strength of body: who with the Ianizaries and certain companies of Moorish archers, about noon time of the day issuing out of the castle, assailed the vttermost trenches, hoping in that broiling heat to find the Christians in their stations negligent and vnprepared: wherein he was nothing deceiued; for the Spaniards that burning hot time of the day kept such negligent watch, that *Giaffer* with his Ianizaries and archers was got vp to the top of the rampiers, and discharged their shot and arrows vpon the Christians in their trenches, before they were wel aware of his comming. But vpon the striking vp of the drum, certain Companies of harquebusiers brake out vpon them in two places at once, as *Vasilius* had before commanded; whom he seconded with a company of halberdiers, keeping in readinesse his squadrons to rescue his harquebusiers, if they should be enforced by the enemy to retyre; and in that order expected the euent of the skirmish, which was most valiantly maintained on both sides. For the Ianizaries, although they were enforced to giue ground, yet as men not vfed to fly, and standing vpon the honor of their order, withstood the Christians with no lesse resolution than they were by them charged; vntill that *Giaffer* their leader, desperately fighting amongst the foremost of the Ianizaries, was at once shot in with two bullets and slaine. Whose dead body the Ianizaries laboring to carry away, endured a most cruell fight, many being on both

The Turkish army, againe out of Guletta.

*Giaffer* Capitaine of the Ianizaries slain.

both sides slaine vpon his dead carcasse: yet at length they were enforced to flie, and so fiercely followed by the Spaniards, that they of Guletta, when they had receiued in the foremost shut out almost a fourth part of their own men, for feare the Christians should together with them haue entred the castle. *Didacus Abila*, one of the Spanish ensigne-bearers, advanced his ensigne vnto the top of one of the enemies rampiers, and was there slaine, but his ensigne saved by one of the souldiers of the same band. The Christians receiued more losse in their retreat, then they had in all the fight; for the Turks from their rampiers then discharged their shot as fast as they could vpon them, which they could not before doe without the like danger to their own mingled amongst them. This dayes work well abated the pride of the Turks, and gaue good hope to the Christians, that the Castle would without any great losse be gained: for being neer vnto it, they perceiued it not to be so strong as they had supposed.

The Emperor hauing spent a few dayes in consultation about his farther proceeding, and preparing of things for the siege, resolved without further delay with all his forces to assault the castle, persuaded thereunto by many reasons: first, by the cheerfulness of his owne soldiers, & the courage of his enemies sore danted in the last skirmish, which he was loth they should againe recouer by the comming of new supplies; besides that, hee was informed that diuers companies of the Numidians were comming to Tunes, entertained by *Barbarussa*, whose strength was like daily to increase: but that which moued him most to hasten the matter, was, for that his men began to grow sickly in his camp, being all the day time scorched as it were with the feruent heat of the Sun, and well neere starued in the night with cold and exceeding dewes wherewith they were commonly wet to the skin; neither was there either good water, or fresh victuall by any meanes to be had in that sandie and barren soile, for the reliefe of the sick, other than that was brought out of the fleet, for all the water thereabout was most vnpleasant and exceeding brackish, so that both sick and whole were glad when they could get a crab to quench their extreme thirst: although the Emperour did what he might to remedy these extremities, and much reliefe was in good time sent both from Sicilia and Naples: the bisket also in the ships, especially in the Spanish galleys, was growne hoary and vnwholsome. Wherefore he began to place his battery about the fifteenth of Iuly, which was defended all alongst with Gabions, and cask filled with sand, for that the country soile in that place yielded neither earth nor turfe to do it. *Anvia* appointed to batter the Castle by sea, diuided his galleys into three squadrons, which orderly succeeding one another, should by turns beat the same: his great ships rid at anker, and out of their forecables thundred with their great Ordnance. And *Vassim* at land had diuided his army into three battels; Spaniards, Italians, and Germans, euery station by themselves, in such sort, as that they might indifferently be partakers both of the danger of the assault, and of the glory of the victory. There was neuer strong place in the memory of man (since guns, that fatall engine were first inuented for the destruction of mankind) assailed with greater force, greater preparation, or industry. The great ordnance in manner of a great earthquake, so terribly roared and thundred, that the earth seemed not only to tremble and quake vnder mens feet, but euen by and by to rent in sunder and swallow them vp, and the sea which was euen now quiet and calme, began to rise aloft, and to rage & some as if it had bin in a great storm: at which time the air became thick & the skie darkened with the smoke of the great artillery: from the breake of the day vntil noon, roaring cannon and culueing neuer ceased: so that the Vamures were beaten down, the castle made faultable, & the wals so shaken, that in many places the Turks canoniers, together with their cannons lay buried in the ruins thereof. Which thing perceiued, they which were before appointed to giue the first assault, vpon signall giuen by the Emperor, presently vpon the ceasing of the great Artillery, assailed the breach, and others with their scaling ladders scaled the wals: which was done with such courage and resolution, that the Turks when they had done what they possibly could for the defence of the place, by casting down darts, wild fire, and such like things vpon the Christians as they were climbing vp; at length as men despairing longer to hold the place, & ouercome with a greater fortune, turned their backs & fled. *Sinan* & the rest of the captains by a wooden bridge, fled out at the further side of the castle, into the main, and so alongst the left side of the lake by land to Tunes, not looking behind them for haile: which way most part of his men followed him also. The rest were either slain or driuen into the lake, where seeking to haue their liues by swimming, they were either slain in comming to land, by

Guletta furiously battered.

Guletta assaulted by the Christians;

A the Spanish horsemen, or else in their swimming shot at pleasure by the hatquebusiers, so that all the lake was as it were covered with the dead bodies of the Turks and Moores. The Emperour with small shot thus gained the castle of Guletta, with all the warlike prouision therein, and with it all *Barbarussa* his great fleet and strength at sea, which he for the more safety had before put into the lake: which as it was vnto the Emperour a thing most pleasant, so was it vnto *Barbarussa* and his pyrats the greatest griefe and losse possible, hauing at once lost all their power at sea, which but a little before was no small terror to all the frontiers of the Christian countries and Islands in the Mediterranean.

*Barbarussa* troubled and terrified with so great a losse, with a sterne and fternefull countenance receiued the few and the rest of the captains fled from Guletta, reuiling them bitterly in his rage, and calling them faint hearted cowards, which had in so short a time giuen ouer so strong a place. Whereunto *Sinan* answered for them all, in this sort:

Hairadin (said he) so long as we were to fight with armed men, we did as thou well knowest, and our enemies cannot deny, what well befecmed vs and thy magnificent fortune. But when we were to withstand the Diuell and his infernall furies, which came against vs with flames of fire, and earthquakes, things of extreme terror and danger; it ought not to seeme strange vnto thee, if we sought to escape the vnconquered fury of the immortal enemies of mankind, to do thee seruice in thy better fortune, in defence of this thy city and kingdome. Neither doe we account it any disgrace to haue escaped that danger, as men that minde againe to fight: out of which then, a most antient and expert Commander (if I may frankly speake vnto thee the truth) if thou hadst been there present, wouldst haue accounted it no dishonor, but very good discretion to haue escaped in safety.

*Barbarussa* repressing his fury, began in a more temperat manner to request them euery one particularly, as valiant and courageous men to stand fast vnto him in that war against their enemies the Christians, telling them, that he well hoped, that after the great supplie of the Moorish footmen and Numidian horsemen were once come (which were now at hand) the enemy should not long reioyce of the taking of Guletta. After that, he forthwith conuerted all his study and endeaour, to prepare such things as were needfull for the war, bringing forth his treasures, and bountifully bestowing the same amongst the Moors and Numidians, thereby to confirme the friendship of such as well affected him, and with his new bounty to win the hearts of such as yet stood doubtful.

In the mean time *Muleassif* the exiled king, with a smal retinue of his friends and followers came from the furthest part of Numidia, into the Emperours campe; the Emperour sitting in a royall seat in the midst of his pauillion, whereinto *Muleassif* was admitted, with a myter vpon his head, in a garment of greene and blew changeable silke: he was of a tall and manly stature, of colour tawny, but so faint-eyed, that he seemed spitefully to looke vpon them whom he beheld: whom after he had kissed the Emperours right hand, and had set himselfe downe with his legs gathered close vnder him, vpon a carpet spread vpon the bare ground, after the manner of his country, he by an interpreter spake vnto the Emperour as followeth.

Thou art come in armes into this country, and art now almost conquerour of the same, (thrice mighty Emperour) prouoked: hereunto not by any desert of mine, for that our different religion so required; yet as I verily thinke, not without the appointment of the most high God, whom both thou and I do with like devotion worship, to take reuenge of the most perfidious and cruell tyrant and pyrat, the mortal enemy of mankind, whom I foresee as good as already vanquished, now that Guletta is taken and his navy surprised. So that I hope he shall in short time by thy reuenging hand, as once receiue the just guardon of all his former villanies: which shall be so much the more to my comfort, for that I hope the fruit of thy rare felicity and glorious victory will redound in great part to me, being restored by thee into my fathers kingdome: which I as a poore exiled Prince most humbly request of thy justice and bounty. For it shall be vnto thee a thing most honourable and profitable, if thou shalt receiue into thy protection me, a King royally descended of a most antient progeny, strengthened with the great alliance of Numidians and Moores. Neither do I refuse either to pay thee tribute therefore, or to acknowledge my selfe vassall vnto thee the Christian Emperour. Of which my fidelity there can be no greater assurance, than the thankfull remembrance of so great a benefit receiued; which shall for euer remaine vnforgotten of me and my posterity,

L II

cuch

Guletta wonne, and *Barbarussa* in flight taken.

*Barbarussa* raging.

The short answer of *Sinan* the few unto *Barbarussa*.

*Muleassif* commeth to the Emperour.

The Oration of *Muleassif* vnto Charles the Emperour.

even for that especially that I detest and abhorre the name of an vnthankfull man; and do well by experience finde, how much my state may be confirmed, and the minds of my people to me assured, by the garrisons so nere at hand in Sicilia and Sardinia.

The Emperours  
answer to Am-  
ulles.

Wherunto the Emperour answered, That he was come ouer into Affricke to be reuenged of the injuries which *Barbarussa* had many times done vpon the frontiers of his dominions, and to root out the pyrats, of all others most mischieuous: which his good purpose had by the goodnesse of Christ his Sauior taken so good effect, that he doubted not in short time by the taking of Tunes to obtaine a perfect victory; which once gained, he would then kindly grante him all things which should stand with the conuenience of his affaires, and the vse of his victory: so that he would not falsifie his faith, which he might justly suspect, if he reposed not in a speciall trust, that the remembrance of such a benefite would for euer remaine in his heroicall mind: and was further assured, that the same power which should restore him his kingdome of curtesie, could also take it from him againe, if his vnthankfulness should so deserue.

The behaviour of  
Amulles.

*Amulles* in the presence of the Emperour vsed such a grauity and grace in his speech & gesture, as well declared, that he had nothing forgotten his former estate: but towards the Generall and the other great Captaines he vsed all manner of curtesie, so that he rid vp and down with them gallantly mounted, manning his horse, and charging and discharged his lance with such agility and skill, as shewed him to be a very good horseman, and of great activity. At other vacant times he would subtilly reason with learned men, after the manner of *Auerrois*, of the nature of things, of the motion of heauen, and power of the starres. By the Emperours commandement he had a Tent appointed for him, and honourable allowance for his diet. *Vassius* and the rest of the chiefe Commanders of the army vsed him with all honor, and at such time as he was desirous to see the campe, curteously brought him into all places of it, that he might himselfe see what mounts they had in short time cast, what abundance there was of great artillery, what strong watch and ward was kept, what a number therewas of braue and warlike souldiers of diuers nations, differing much one from another in language, countenance, and manner of furniture: and further demanded, Whether that puissant army which the Emperour had brought ouer to his great good, were in his judgement sufficient to subdue the enemy? Where about all things *Amulles* wondered at the number and order of the great ordinance: and next vnto that, at the wonderfull plenty of things to be bought and sold in the market place, and at the modest quietnesse of the souldiers in buying the same. Not long after, the expert Captaines by diligent enquiry learned of him many things well seruing for their better proceeding in that war, especially of the disposition and strength of them of Tunes, of the situation of the city, of the nature of the walls, and fortification of the Castle, of the Wells and Cisternes in the suburbs, and what strength the Moores and Numidians were of, which *Barbarussa* had entertained. In conclusion, he assured them (as afterwards it fell out) that *Barbarussa* would neuer trust to the strength of the wals, which would easily be overthrowne with the great artillery; but would in a great brauery with ensignes displayed bring all his forces into the field, of purpose to terrifie the Christians with the sight of the multitude of his rascall soldiers, and to breake their array with his Numidian horsemen, who with hideous and terrible cries, after the manner of that nation, would not faile to assaile them: and yet for all that would neuer bring into the battell his Turkish footmen (in whom he reposed his greatest confidence, and whom he desired most to spare) but would as a crafty and subtil Turk, by opposing of the Moores, whom he held in small regard, try by their blood what might be done without the danger of his owne men. But as he told them, nothing could be more strange vnto the Moores his countrymen, or that they were more afraid of, than in a set battell to fight with that enemy whose squadrons comming orderly on in glistering armour, with long pikes, might scorner and easily overthrow the naked archers of the Moores, and the vnarmed Numidian horsemen: and that our men should find nothing more grievous or troublesome, than the scorching heat of the Sun, and the thirsting thereof; which might easily be remedied by plenty of water, which by slaues and smal boats might easily be brought in casks and bottles from the fleet alongst the lake, and so distributed amongst the army: although not far from the walls of the city were certaine old conduit heads which would yeeld them great plenty of water, if the malicious enemy did not to his owne hurt and others, poison the

His opinion and  
counsel concerning  
the profitt  
where.

A the same. These things orderly reported to the Emperour, confirmed the hope he had before conceiued of the desired victory: so that wholly bent thereupon, and carefully forcasting all things, he resolu'd forthwith to depart from Guletta, and with all his power to besiege Tunes.

But whilest he was preparing things necessary, ordering his souldiers, and discovering the enemies purposes, his souldiers had dayly diuers skirmishes with the Numidians; so that once the skirmish was like to haue come to a just battell: which began in this sort; The Moores had planted certain field-pieces amongst the Oliue gardens, wherewith they shot continually into the campe: for remouing whereof, the Emperour leauing the Italians, with certain companies of the old Germans and Spanish souldiers, for the keeping of his campe and trenches, went

B forth with his horsemen and the rest of his army: sending before him *Montegim*, Generall of the Spanish horsemen, who for most part were but raw souldiers, such as were of the Noblemens ordinary seruants and followers, not before acquainted with the wars. These light horsemen with diuers fortune skirmished a while with the enemy; but when they saw themselves to be hardly charged, and *Montegim* their Generall grievously wounded, they turned their backs, and in the sight of the Emperour shamefully fled to the men at armes which were comming after them. The manner of the enemies fight was, to giue at the first a fierce and desperate charge, and vpon the encounter giuen, of purpose to retyre, auoiding thereby the sudden force of their enemies, and by and by to turne againe vpon them with a fresh charge. The Emperour seeing the flight of his light horsemen, came on courageously with his men at armes;

The Spanish  
light horsemen  
put to flight.

C by whose comming in and valiant encounter the Turks and Moores were put to flight, and the field pieces wherewith they had before annoyed the campe, taken. In this skirmish the Emperour in person, as he stood formost in his armed troups, gaue the signall of battell himselfe, by crying with a loud voice, *Saint James*, *Saint James*, whom the Spaniards take for their Patron; and so charging the enemy, performed the part not only of a couragious Chieftaine, but of a resolute and valiant souldier also; rescuing with his owne hand *Andreas Pontius* a noble gentleman of Granado, whom vnhor'd and sore wounded, the enemy was ready presently to haue slaine, had not the Emperour by his comming in saued him: deseruing thereby the Oken garland, which the Romans by the name of *Genica Corona*, gaue as an honour to such as had in battell saued a citifien.

The Emperour,  
rescuing the  
battell, & with  
his owne hand  
rescues *Andreas  
Pontius* of  
Granado.

D About the same time it fortuned, that thirty thousand Moores came vpon the sudden to haue surpris'd a litle tower standing vpon a hill nere vnto the ruines of old Carthage: wher-in the Emperour had placed certaine souldiers for the keeping thereof, because it was nere vnto his campe. Before these Moores went a Numidian Priest, who bellowing out certain superstitious charmes, cast diuers scroles of paper on each side the way, wherein he curst and banned the Christians: and now they had with fire and smoake brought the Christians in that tower to great extremity, when the Emperour himselfe comming to their rescue with certaine companies of horsemen and footmen, slew the conjuring Priest, with others, and put the rest to flight. The discomfiture of the Spanish horsemen caused many men to thinke, that if the Emperour should come to a set battell with the enemy, he should finde his horsemen too weake,

E both for that they were but few in number, and not to be compared with the Numidians. For which cause, and diuers others, certaine of the Emperours graue counsellors, but none of the best souldiers, wished him not to proceed further in that dangerous war, but with speed to returne out of Affricke, for as much as he had won honour enough by the taking of Guletta, and surprising the enemies fleet: whereby he had to his immortall praise, and the common good of Christendome, deliuered all the frontiers of the Christian countries in the Mediterranean, from the danger and feare of those most cruell pyrats: besides that, the flux began to rage in his campe, whereof many of his souldiers fell sicke and died daily. Whereas on the contrary part, the mighty Numidian Princes, such as were *Amulles* old enemies, were reported to come in dayly to the aid of *Barbarussa*. These vnseasonable speeches the Emperour thought

The Emperour  
advised by his  
counsellors to  
returne home.

F good to repress betime; reasoning against the authors thereof with great grauity, as against men who with more feare doubted of the successe of things, and the euent of the victory, than becomed them, whom for their constant resolution, and good opinion conceiued of their discretion, he had chosen to be of his most secret counsell.

Saying, That he desired not of them that their needlesse and dishonourable labour, wherein they should shew peroure.

shew themselves more carefull of his person than of his honour: for as much as those things which they now alledged, should haue bin said before the war was taken in hand, now by good hap halfe ended: before he euer passed ouer into Affricke. For he might (as he said) haue rested quietly in Spaine, and haue easily neglected and rejected the injuries done vpon the sea coasts, and the complaints of his subjects: but he was (as they well knew) for most urgent causes come thither: whereas he was resolved to satisfie the expectation of the World with a notable victory; or if God should otherwise appoint, there to end his daies with honour. Wherefore he willed them to cease further to flatter him that was no way dismayed, or to perswade the minds of his valiant souldiers with a vaine forboding feare, and with resolute minds, together with him their chieftaine, against the next day to expect what the fortune of the field should appoint for the full accomplishment of that war. For he was (as he said) set downe to giue the enemy battell; or if he refused the same, to batter the walls of Tunes, not doubting but that God would stand on his side in so good and so godly a quarrell.

The Emperour  
marcheth to-  
ward Tunes.

The Emperour leauing a sufficient garrison in the castle of Guletta, commanded the breaches to be repaired, and the great ordnance there taken to be laid vpon carriages, which before after the old rude sea fashion lay bound in great vnwieldy pieces of timber, with yron rings fastened thereunto, and could not handfomely be handled or removed to and fro. After that when he had caused the country to be well viewed all about, which betwixt the Oliue groues and the right side of the lake giueth a direct passage vnto the City of Tunes; he set forward with his army in so good order, that he still marched as ready to fight, for feare of the policies and sudden assaults of the enemy. On the left hand marched the Italians next vnto the lake; on the right hand the Spaniards neere vnto the Oliue groues, which in the manner of a great wood ran all alongst the country, from the ruines of Carthage, almost to the walls of Tunes: in the midst betwixt both marched the Germans; next vnto them followed the great ordnance; and after it the carriages of all the army. In the vanguard was *Vasilius*, whom the Emperour had made Generall of the army, and especially for that day: in the reeward was the Duke of Alba with certaine troupes of chosen horsemen: in the middle of the main battell was the Emperour, and by his side *Lewu* his brother in law the King of Portugals brother. The Italians were conducted by the Prince of Salame, the Spaniards by *Alarco* an ancient captain, and the Germans by *Maximilian Eberstein*. But the Emperour in his armor ceased not to ride from Squadron to Squadron, with cheerefull countenance and full of hope, recounting vnto them the former victories which they had gotten for him: and telling them, that he did that day expect of them a most honourable daies seruice, forasmuch as they were to fight against the naked enemies of the Christian religion: wherefore they should with resolute minds set down themselves to endure the weight of their armor, the painfullnesse of their march, the heat of the Sun and sand, and the tediousnesse of the thirst arising thereof; vntill they might joyne battell with their enemies, where they should vndoubtedly by the goodnesse of God (in whose quarrell they fought) obtaine the victory: in the meane time they should with patience overcome all difficulties, comforting themselves with the vndoubted hope of a most rich prey, which they were to expect of the spoile of a rich city. Whereunto euery Squadron answered with a great shout, that he should not trouble himselfe with those matters which he had before rehearsed, but to assure himselfe, that they his souldiers would most patiently endure all extremities, and not deceiue the expectation he had conceiued of their wonted valour, but by valiant fight to make him Emperour, not of Affricke but of Asia also.

Now *Vasilius* had withdrawn two companies of harquebusiers out of the Spanish Squadron, to skirmish with the Moores who continually followed in the taile of the army: whom, by those harquebusiers and certaine troupes of horsemen deputed to that purpose, the duke of Alba notably repulsed in the reeward.

The army was now come vnto the Cisternes of fresh water, which *Muleasses* and others which well knew the country, had before told them of; which as soon as the souldiers almost fainting vnder the weight of their armor, with the scorching heat of the Sun, and extremity of thirst, deseried afar off; they for desire they had to quench their thirst, forthwith forsooke their colours, and disorderly ran as fast as they could to those cisternes: *Vasilius* the Generall, to the vttermost of his power laboring in vaine both by faire meanes and foule to haue staied them; who saw by that disordernes of the souldiers, a great aduantage offered vnto the enemy, which then

The souldiers for  
greedinesse of  
water disorder-  
ed their march.

A then was not far off. But when the Generall could neither with words or blowes preuaile any thing with them, the Emperour himselfe was glad to hast thither, with his presence and authority to haue kept them in order: yet such was the force of their intollerable thirst, that neither the sight of the Emperour, nor all that he could do, could remedy the disorder; some fainting in the sand for lacke of drinke, and some other for greedinesse ready to burst their bellies at the fountains; so that the Emperour was faine with his truncheon to beat them away. Amongst the rest, one *Sullim Cicero* of Arpinus, a famous captain, died at the cisternes side with drinking too much. This extremity for want of water seemed iustly to haue happened vnto them, forasmuch as *Vasilius* the day before had by generall proclamation thorow the campe, commanded that euery soldier should carry with him a bottle of wine or water at his girdle: B although he caused so much water as he conueniently could, to be carried in great casks for the common reliefe of the army, whereof the Germanes had the greatest part; some almost ready to giue ouer for thirst, were glad to get a draught of cold water of their fellows which had it, for two duckets.

A draught of  
water sold for  
two duckets.

This disorder being with as much speed as was possible reformed, and the Army againe brought into order, the Emperour held on his march towards the enemy: for *Barbarussa* with a wonderfull multitude of horsemen and footmen, and a number of ensignes (the instruments of vaine feare and foolish brauery) gallantly displayed after the manner of the Moores, was come about three miles from the city, and with certaine field-pieces (as *Muleasses* had foretold) went about to haue broken the battell of the Christians: which Pieces although they were often-

*Barbarussa* in  
field against the  
Emperour.

C times discharged, yet did they little or no harme by reason of the vnskillfullnesse of the Canoniers. *Vasilius* in like manner, and for like purpose had commanded the great ordnance to be brought into the front of the battell: but perceiuing what time and toile it required to haue it done (for that it was drawne but by strength of men, and the wheels of the carriages sunk deep in the deuouring sand, and the shot and powder which the Mariners and gally-slaves carried altogether vpon their shoulders, came but softly on) he suddenly changed his purpose, and told the Emperour, That he thought it not best to stay for the great artillery in that cheerfulness of his army when euery man desired battell, but to commit all to the valour of his resolute men, and his own good fortune, which euer fauored his noble attempts: lest whilst we stay (said he) too long vpon our great ordnance (which doth not alwaies serue to great purpose in sudden

D battels) our enemies gather courage in the time of this our vnecessary delay; and this exceeding cheerfulness of our soldiers (the most sure token of vndoubted victory) by deferring of time grow cold. Whereunto the Emperour, desirous of battell, and filled with good hope, joyfully answered; *Vasilius*, if thou so think it good (which I also like well of) in Gods name giue the signall. That shall I by and by do (said he) but first it is reason that you which sway & command a great part of the world, learne at this time to obey him, whom to his great charge and shame, you, laying aside the imperiall majesty of your selfe, haue for this day made Generall and commander of so mighty an army: wherefore (said *Vasilius*) I will now vse my authority, and command you, sith I may not so request you, to depart from this place, and to get you into the midst of the battell neere vnto the ensignes; lest by some vn lucky shot, the whole estate of

*Vasilius* com-  
mands the Empe-  
rour.

E the army be brought into extreame perill by the danger of one mans life. Whereat the Emperour smiling, willed him to feare no such thing; saying moreover, That neuer Emperour was yet slain with a gun. For all that, he departed out of the place as he was commanded, and went into the middle of the battell. Whereupon the signall of battell was by the found of the trumpet, and striking vp of the drum, presently giuen, and the enemy (with more haste than the extreame heat of the day required) furiously charged by the Emperours horsemen, who to auoid the danger of the great artillery, made all the haste they could to come to handy blowes. In the foremost of these horsemen was *Ferdinand Gonzaga*, a most valiant noble man, who then serued the emperor without charge: he being somewhat before the rest, at the first onfet slew with his lance a great captain of the Moores, & presently with his sword so troubled them that were F next, that he opened a way for them that followed him, to break into the enemies battell. The harquebusiers also discharged so fast vpon the enemy, that 300 of them lay dead vpon the ground before the joyning of the battell: which the rest of the footmen seeing, forsooke their great ordnance, and fled backe to *Barbarussa*. Who long endured not the force or sight of the Christians; but grinding his teeth for sorrow and griefe of mind, turned his horse, and with

Barbaruffa fly-  
eth to Tunes.

his Turks retired into Tunes. For now that his designs had in the beginning taken so euill G  
successe, he thought it not best to aduenture all in one battell, knowing right well, that the em-  
perours army could not long endure the inconueniencies of the intollerable heat, and want of  
many things, especially of fresh water: which fed him with hope, that he should out of these  
his enemies distresses picke some fit occasion of aduantage; if he could but a while defend the  
city of Tunes. The Numidians and Moores, who in great troupes and companies had alwaies  
houered about the Emperors army, without doing any thing worth reporting, retired them-  
selues into the suburbs, gardens, and other places neere vnto the city.

The Emperor glad of the flight of his enemies, which were thought to have bin in number  
100000, incamped with his army that night in the same place where they before lay, deter-  
mining the next day to batter the wals of Tunes. In the meane time Barbaruffa, surpris'd H  
with an exceeding feare, and distracted with many cares, and now become more cruell than  
himselfe, had in his mind purposed a fact full of exceeding and inhuman cruelty, which was,  
at once to haue killed all the Christian captiues in the castle of Tunes: fully resolu'd to put  
the same in execution, had not Sinan the Jew dissuaded him from that most execrable fact,  
protesting such a practise to be vnseemely for a man of valour, famous for his many victories,  
and carrying with him the majesty of a King; whereas he would shortly after wonderfully re-  
pent him for doing so shamefull a fact: the asking whereof, What was it else (as the Jew said)  
but a manifest demonstration of his extreame feare and desperation? which two things were  
most dangerous to him, that was to maintaine so doubtfull a war, and would much deface the  
glory of his former life: wherefore he should doe well to beware, that by the same of such a  
most horrible fact, he did not prouoke Solymans heavy displeasure against him: who deuoid  
of all humane cruelty, had vsed both to detest and reuenge such outrages. Wherefore he should  
suffer the Christian captiues to liue bound in their fatal chaines, so long as it were their for-  
tunes, who being well kept, and vnarmed, might shortly after serue him to good purpose, and  
could no way without most certain danger moue themselves, if they should vnadvisedly lost  
after their vnlucky liberty: for by them, the expected victory could neither be giuen to the  
enemy, nor taken from him, or yet so much as hindered. At which speech the tyrant was asha-  
med, and so sparing the liues of the poore wretches, went out of the Castle, into the greatest  
church of Tunes, whither he had caused to be assembled all the chiefe men of the city, to tell  
them what he would haue done for the defence of the city, and now by persuation to encour-  
age them to fight: from whom, as men by him holden in distrust, he had but a little before  
the comming of the Christians, taken all manner of armor and weapons.

Whilest Barbaruffa was thus busied, the most joyfull and happy day appeared to those mi-  
serable captiues; by fortunes change, no lesse blacke and dismall to the Turks and Moores. For  
that hainous purpose of the cruell tyrant could not long be couered or kept secret: so that a  
constant report of a danger so imminent, was run thorow the whole castle, euen into deep dun-  
geons; by the compassion of certaine manumisd slaues, who detesting the sauage cruelty of  
Barbaruffa their master, and touched with deuotion, had in heart returned to their old and true  
Christian religion; incouraging by secret speeches the chiefe of the captiues with whom they  
were acquainted, to lay hand now vpon their liberty. Amongst these well minded men was  
one Francis a Spaniard, whom Barbaruffa had from his youth brought vp as his minion, hauing  
him alwaies in great esteeme by the name of *Memus*; and another called *Vincencius Caterinus* of  
Dalmatia, an eunuch. These two venturing a most memorable and godly attempt, set open  
the prison doores, and gaue instruments vnto the poore prisoners, ready to take the occasion  
offered, who boldly starting vp, brake off their chains and gyues, and so by the great goodnesse  
and mercy of God, about 6000 poore naked Christians, armed with that came first in hand,  
but especially with stones, brake forth suddenly vpon the Turks that were in the castle. *Rama-  
dius* a renegade Spaniard captain of the castle, stirred vp with the vnexpected and terrible noise  
of so many prisoners breaking their yrons, with a few soldiers whom he had suddenly called  
vnto him run to the castle gate, where one of the prisoners (a lusty young man of Sicilia) had  
with one of the bars of the gate stricke downe one or two of the Warders, and hauing bolted  
the gate, was become master thereof: him *Ramadius* slew, and opening the gate, made way for  
himselfe and his few followers, with whom he went to Barbaruffa, to carry him the newes of  
that his hard mischance. But the Christians now loosed from their bands, and hauing sud-  
denly

Barbaruffa in  
mind to kill all  
the Christian  
captiues, was dis-  
suaded by Si-  
nan the Jew.

The Christian  
captiues brake  
prison, and re-  
the Turks out  
of the castle of  
Tunes.

A denly slaine diuers of the Turks, possessed them selues of all the castle, brake open the armory,  
and so seizing vpon the kings treasure, armor, and prouision, from a high turret gaue signes of  
victory to the Christian army by smoake and false fires made with gunpowder; and lastly by  
displaying of *Sarmenus* his ensigne, which (as we haue before declared) was by *Tabacches* ta-  
ken from the top of the trenches at the siege of Guletta. These signes although the Christians  
in the army could not well perceiue, as being too far off, yet by the fugitiues which came of-  
tentimes out of Tunes to the Emperor and *Muleasses*, they were both perswaded, that some  
great tumult wts risen amongst the enemies. Wherefore the Emperor sent two of his captains  
with their companies, who going as neere as they could to the city and the castle, should dis-  
couer what the matter was. In the meane time, Barbaruffa almost mad for anger, in his fury  
B blaspheming his vain gods, and bitterly cursing and banning the Jew, for dissuading him from  
killing the captiues, came to the castle gate, with tears standing in his eys pittifully request-  
ing the late Christian captiues (which then stood vpon the top of the wals and the gate, with wea-  
pons in their hands) that they would forthwith let him in, faithfully promising them their li-  
berty, with a generall and free pardon for all that they had done. But they mindfull both of  
their former and present fortune, and moued with just harred, cast stones at him, and with many  
opprobrious words rejected his request: so that he enraged with sorrow and madnesse, shot  
at them with his owne hand, and seeing all past remedy, and the city nor possible now to be  
kept, shamefully betooke himselfe to flight. After him followed the Turks, in number seuen  
thousand, with purpose to fly to the city Hippona, now called Bona, famous with the Bisho-  
C pricke of that reuerend Father and great Diuine *Augustine*. For there (as in a most sure harbor)  
had Barbaruffa left fourteene gallies in the lake neere vnto the city, to serue his turne whatso-  
ever mischance should happen: but the tacklings, sailes, oares, and ordnance, he had laied vp  
in the castle fast by, which was kept with a garrison of his owne.

The Emperour vnderstanding that Barbaruffa with his Turks was fled, came with all his ar-  
my vnto the gates of Tunes, where the magistrates of the city were ready to submit them-  
selues vnto him, and to deliuer him the kies of the city; only requesting of him, that he would  
keep his soldiers incamped without the city, and not to seeke the vtter spoile and ruine there-  
of: promising, that the souldiers should want nothing that was there to be had. *Muleasses* also  
carefull of the safety thereof, earnestly intreated the Emperor in the citifens behalfe. But he,  
D although he was of his own honourable disposition ready enough to haue granted what they  
requested; yet for that he did not without cause, doubt of the Moores fidelity, and that the  
paiment of the mony which they of Tunes had by *Muleasses* promised for the paiment of the  
soldiers wages, was by them craftily delaied, expecting till the vttermost deuoir of *Barba-  
ruffa*, he could not by any means be perswaded to promise them any certainty of their safety:  
moued also so to do by the discontented speeches of his soldiers, who spared not to say, That  
they should be hardy and vnkindly dealt withall, if after so long trauell and so much paines  
taken both by sea and land, they should be defrauded of the reward of the victory, sith nothing  
but only the hope of the present spoile did relieue and feed them, being poore and miserable,  
hauing scarce clothes to couer their nakednesse, and their bodies spent with long labour and  
thirst: so that the Moores of Tunes, enemies of the Christian religion, and the perpetuall re-  
ceiuers of most horrible pyrats, might worthily reioyce of the Christians victory, and the con-  
querors themselves for euer bewaile their owne calamities and miseries. Whilest the Empe-  
ror stood thus in doubt what to resolute vpon, *Vastius* with a small company came to the castle  
gate, and was with wonderfull joy receiued by the Christian captiues. But as he was viewing  
the wealth and prouision laid vp in the castle, a Ligurian captiue discovered vnto him where  
certain treasure lay hid: for Barbaruffa had there cast into a well 30000 duckats sowed vp in  
bags, which *Vastius* getting easily out, obtain'd them of the Emperor of gift, as he whose good  
seruice had well deserved them. The castle thus won by a strange chance, and the captiues ta-  
king the spoile thereof, the soldiers could no longer be staied, but that they entred into the ci-  
ty by heaps, running after the spoile into euery part thereof, the citifens fearing no such matter,  
F and calling in vain vpon the faith of *Muleasses*: the old soldiers at the first entrance slew many.  
The Spaniards and Italians fought most after the spoile; but the Germans desiring more to  
glut themselves with the Mahometan bloud, fill'd all places with dead bodies, without regard  
of sex or age; so that the prophane temples of their vain prophet, swam with the bloud of them  
that

Tunes yielded  
to the Emperor.

Tunes spoiled  
by the Chris-  
tians.

It grieved him to heare, that the Christian religion should begin to take root amongst those Pagan kings, which had not long before receiued the Mahometan religion: Besides that, he was credibly informed, that the Portingals in these late wars he had against the Persians, had aided them with certain barquebusiers, and also had sent them workmen to shew them both the making and vse of great artillery. But that which moued him most of all, was for that the Portingals by their traffike into the Indies, had cut off all the trade of merchandise into the gulfes of Arabia, whereby the riches of the East were wont to be transported vnto Caire, and so to Alexandria, from whence they were afterwards by the Venetian Merchants and others dispersed into all parts of Europe: but now were carried by the great Ocean into Portingall, and from thence conueied into all parts of Christendome, to the great hindrance of his tributes and customs of Egypt. For these causes and at the instance of *Solyman Bassa* an eunuch, borne in Epirus, and then Gouverneur of Egypt; *Solyman* caused wonderfull preparation to be made, for the building of a great fleet in the Red sea, to go against the Portingals. All the timber whereof was cut downe in the mountaines of Cilicia, and shipped in the bay of Atralia in the bottome of the Mediterranean, from whence it was by sea transported to Pelusium, and so vp the riuer of Nilus to Caire; where after it was framed and ready to be set together, it was with infinit labour, and no lesse charge, carried by land with Camels thorow that hot and sandy country, from Caire to Suetia, a port of the Red sea, called in ancient time Arsinoe. From which place eightie miles distant from Caire, the ancient Kings of Egypt, seeking by vaine and wonderfull workes to eternise the memory of themselves, had with incredible charge cut through all that maine land; so that vessels of good burthen might come vp the same from Arsinoe to Caire: which great cut or ditch, *Sesoftris* the rich king of Egypt, and long after him *Ptolomus Philadelphus*, purposed to haue made a great deale wider and deeper, and thereby to haue let the Red sea into the Mediterranean, for the readier transportation of the Indian Merchandise to Caire and Alexandria. Which mad worke, *Sesoftris* preuented by death could not performe: and *Ptolomus* otherwise perswaded by skilfull men, in time gaue ouer: for feare lest by letting in the great South sea into the Mediterranean, he should thereby as it were with another generall deluge haue drowned the greatest part of Grecia, and many other goodly countries in Asia, and with exceeding charge, in stead of honor, haue purchased himselfe eternall infamy. Yet by the singular industry of *Solyman* the Eunuch, who with seuerer commandement inforced all the people of the countries therabouts to the furtherance of the building of that fleet; he had with wonderfull celerity in short time new built eighty tall ships and gallies at Arsinoe, and furnished them with men, and all things else needfull for so long a voyage. At which time he vpon a quarrell pickt without cause, but not without the good liking of *Solyman*, most injuriously confiscated the goods of the Venetian merchants at Alexandria and Caire, and thrust the marriners into his gallies as slaues. With which fleet in most warlike manner appointed, *Solyman* the Bassa, accompanied with *Affan-Beg*, commonly called the Moore of Alexandria, a most famous pyrat and an excellent sea-man, set forward against the Portingals: and sailing thorow the Red sea, and so Eastward by the gulfes of Persia, came at length as far as the great riuer Indus; where with all his power he assaulted Dium a castle of the Portingals, scituate vpon the mouth of that great riuer: but in conclusion, after he had many daies besieged the castle both by sea and land, and tried the vttermost of his strength, he was so repulsed by the Portingals, that he was glad to forsake the siege, & leauing his great ordnance behind him for haist, returned backe againe to Aden, a city of great trade in Arabia Foelix: where discouraged with the euill successe he had against the Portingals, because he would be thought to haue done something, he allured the king of that rich city to come vnto him, vpon his false faith before giuen for his safe returne: but as soone as he had him aboard, he like a perjured wretch hanged him vp at the yards arme of his Admirall gally, and so surprising the city, enriched himselfe with the spoile thereof. The like barbarous cruelty he vsed at Zibyth, another famous port of Arabia, where the pilgrims of the East do commonly land when they after the manner of their superstition come to visit the temple of their false prophet at Mecha: the king of which place together with all his nobility he cruelly murdered contrary to his faith giuen; and so traouelling himselfe by land to Mecha, as if he had been some deuout pilgrim, sent backe his fleet by the Moore to Suetia, hauing performed against the Portingals nothing at all.

The Egyptian Kings about to let in the Red sea into the Mediterranean.

Dium a castle of the Portingals in the East-Indies in vaine assaulted by the Turks.

The treacherous dealing of Solyman the Eunuch Bassa with the Kings of Arabia.

At

- A At the same time *Solyman* by the persuation of *Lutzius* and *Ajax* (the Bassaes of greatest authority about him, now that *Abraham* was dead) turned all his forces from the Persians, as men agreeing with him in the chiefe points of his Mahometan superstition, with purpose to conuert the same vpon Italy: whereunto he was earnestly solicited by *Iohn Forrest* the French Kings Embassador, then lying at Constantinople of purpose to incite *Solyman* against *Charles* the Emperour, assuring him that he was not of such power, as at one time to defend Apulia against him, and the Dukedome of Millaine against the French King, who (as he said) was determined that Summer to inuade that part of Italy. And to further the matter, about the same time one *Troilus Pignatellus*, a noble gentleman, sometime commander in *Charles* the Emperors army, but then exiled out of Naples, fled vnto *Solyman*; and so much as he was a man of name, and like to do him great seruice in the inuasion of Apulia, as one which knew the country well, and promised vnto him good successe in that wars, was by *Solyman* honourably entertained amongst his Musfaracas: which is a certaine company of horsemen for their approved valor, chosen out of all nations; hauing the free exercise of their religion whatsoeuer without controllement, and are onely bound to attend vpon the person of the great Turke when he goeth to wars. The cause of his reuolt was, for that the Viceroy of Naples had executed *Andrew* his brother, one of the Knights of the Rhodes. But being now growne into great fauour with *Solyman* and the Bassaes, and oftentimes called to counsell in the preparation of that war, casting off all naturall loue of his country, ceased not by all meanes to perswade *Solyman* to inuade the same; assuring him, that the people of Apulia and Salerne, oppressed with grievous tribute and exactions by the Emperors officers, would at the first reuolt, especially if they saw any of the French nation to cleaue vnto. And that which moued him more than all the rest, the ancient Turks told him into what a feare al Italy was stricken, at such time as *Achmetes* the Bassa hauing taken Hydruntum, had vndoubtedly conquered not only the kingdome of Naples, but the city of Rome also, and all the rest of Italy, had not the vntimely death of *Mahomes* his great grandfather interrupted the course of that victory. Which persuations wrought such effect in *Solyman*, that he, once fully resolved for the inuasion of Italy, made such expedition both by sea and land, that he himselfe in person was come with two hundred thousand men vnto Aulona, the most convenient port of Macedon for the transporting of his army, before it was thought in Italy that he was set forward from Constantinople: where he had not long staid, but *Lutzius Bassa* his Admirall, accompanied with *Barbarussa*, sailing alongt the coast of Peloponessus and Epirus, and so passing by Coreyra, where *Hieronimus Pisaurius*, Admirall of the Venetian fleet lay with his gallies (after mutuall salutation done after the manner of sea, by shooting off their great pieces in token of friend(ship) put into the haue of Aulona also. *Solyman* not purposing to lose any time, and hauing Italy now in his sight, commanded *Lutzius* and *Barbarussa* to passe ouer with the fleet vnto Otranto, and to proue the minds of the people; that if the first enterprize fell out well, he might presently follow after with all his army. With them went also *Troilus Pignatellus*, as forward to the destruction of his country, as any of the rest. He knowing that the great Cities of Hydruntum and Brundisium were kept with strong Garrisons of *Charles* the Emperour; leauing Hydruntum on the right hand, directed the Turks to a Towne vpon the Sea-coast, eight miles off, called *Castrum*, neere vnto which standeth a castle vpon a hill then belonging to *Mercurinus Catinarius*: who being a man vnacquainted with warres, and terrified with the sudden comming of the Turks, and perswaded by *Troilus*, yielded vp his Castle, vpon condition, That the Turks should offer no violence or injury vnto him or his, either in body or goods. Vpon which condition the Towne of *Castrum* was also deliuered vnto them. But the Turkes, especially the greedy marriners, being got into the Castle and the Towne, moued neither with the treaty of *Troilus*, nor the commandement of *Lutzius* and *Barbarussa*, rifled the Towne and Castle, and carried away with them *Mercurinus* himselfe, with all the floure of the people, to their gallies as prisoners. But *Lutzius* ashamed of such faithlesse dealing, presently set *Mercurinus* at liberty againe. At the same time also, *Solyman* had by night sent ouer certaine troupes of light horsemen, in great Palendars: which running all alongt the sea coast from Tarentum to Brundisium, carried away with them both the people and cattell, and whatsoever else came in their way by the space of forty miles. So that all that Countrey of *Salentinum*, now called Otranto, was filled with feare and danger; and had not there staid, but

*Solyman* incited by the French Embassador to inuade Italy.

*Solyman* with an army of two hundred thousand men cometh to Aulona.

*Solyman* sends *Lutzius* & *Barbarussa* with his fleet to inuade Italy.

*Castrum* in Apulia yielded to the Turks, & by them contrary to their faith spoiled.

The Turkes stole Apulia, was

was like enough to have overwhelmed all Italy, by the coming over of Solyman with his whole army, had not the rashness of one Venetian captain by unexpected chance turned that tempest from the Italians upon the Venetians themselves.

Alexander Contareno, a valiant captain of the Venetians, meeting with certain of the Turks galleys, which would neither vaile their top sailes, nor in token of reverence and friendship, discharge any of their great ordnance, as of duty they ought to have done in those seas, where the Venetians commanded; offended with their proud insolency, fiercely assailed them, and in fight sunke two of them: wherein *Vlames* Gouverneur of Callipolis, a man of no small reputation among the Turks, was reported to have perished. Which outrage don by *Contareno* in a most vnfit time (to the great hurt of the Venetian estate, as it appeared afterward) was imputed to his owne priuat grudge which he bare against the Turks, for that they intercepted a ship of his as she was coming out of the East countries laden with rich merchandize; so that it was thought, that he to please himselfe in reuenging of his owne priuat injury, regarded not what in that dangerous time might ensue thereof to the common state.

A little before the coming over of the Turks into Italy, *Andreas Aurea* the Emperours Admirall lying at Messina in Sicilia, vnderstanding that Solyman was come with his army to Aulona, and that his fleet was arrived there also, put to sea, directing his course towards the Islands of Caphalenia and Zacynthus, hoping (as indeed it fell out) to meet with the taile of the Turks fleet: for there according to his expectation he chanced vpon diuers of the Turks victuallers, whom he easily tooke. The mariners he chained in his owne galleys for slaues, and furnishing his fleet with the victual, which was not for him provided, fired the ships. Whilest *Aurea* was thus bearing too and fro in the Ionian sea, it fortuned that Solyman sent *Iamubeius* his chiefe interpreter, a man whom he made no small account of, with two galleys on a message to *Lutis* his Admirall. This proud Turke coming neere vnto Corcyra, where the Venetian Admirall lay with his fleet, offered scornfully to passe, without vailing: which his pride tending to the disgrace of the Venetians, certaine of the Venetian captains not enduring, set vpon him with such fury, that the Turks were enforced to run both their galleys on shore vpon the coast of Epirus, neere vnto the mountaines called *Acroceranij*, where hauing escaped the danger at sea, they fell almost all into the hands of the cruell mountaine people, liuing for the most part by theft, and waiting for wracks, as hawks for their prey: by these shauers the Turks were stript of all they had, and *Iamubeius* with much adoe redeeming himselfe out of their hands returned to Solyman. *Aurea* sailing alongst the sea coast, chanced vpon these galleys, and finding them sore brused, set fire on them.

For these vnkind parts, the Turks were wonderfully offended with the Venetians, and grievously complained of them to Solyman: although the Venetian Admirall laboured by all means he could to appease *Iamubeius*, and to excuse the matter as a thing done by great oversight on both sides. Vpon these small occasions, the Turks fought to breake off the league with the Venetians; which fell out so much the sooner, for that about the same time *Auria* sailing vp and down the Ionian sea, and diligently looking into every harbor to intercept such as stragled from the Turks fleet, happed by night to light vpon 12 of Solymans great galleys neere vnto Corcyra, all filled with his Ianizaries and choise horsemen of the court, the best soldiers of the Turks, who had by land sent their horses to the camp by their lackies, and were comming themselves with the Ianizaries by sea. *Auria* sailing vpon these galleys, had with them a cruell and deadly fight: for they as resolute men, wishing rather to die than to yeeld to their enemies, with inuincible courage maintained a most bloody fight against *Auria* with his 30 galleys excellently appointed, vntill such time as most part of them were slain, and the rest sore wounded; who seeing no remedy, but that they must needs come into the hands of their enemies, threw their scimiters ouerboord, because those choice weapons should not come into the hands of the Christians. In this conflict, *Auria* lost also many of his best soldiers: yet hauing got the victory, and possessed of the galleys, he ankered neere vnto Corcyra, there to take view of his own harmes and the enemies: but whilst he rid there at anker, he was aduertised, that *Barbarussa* was comming against him with 80 galleys. Wherefore knowing himselfe too weak to encounter so strong an enemy, he departed thence, and returned againe to Messina to repaire his fleet. Solyman thorowly chafed with the losse of his galleys and best soldiers, and with the double injury done vnto him by the Venetians, fell into such a rage, that he

A cursed *Barbarussa*, as one who in these wars had done him no good seruice: and chindred out grievous threats against the Venetians; saying, he was vnder the colour of an ancient league, by them deceiued and greatly abused, and that they were secretly confederated with *Charles* his enemy, and had for that cause (as they had alwaies) holpen *Auria* with intelligence, and all things necessary, receiuing him into their harbors, and by their espials giuing him knowledge of the order of his fleet, that so he might at his own aduantage surprise his galleys, as he had already done. Vnto which *Iamubeius* his Interpreter, *Barbarussa*, and *Ajan*, laid new cooler, more and more increasing the tyrant, who was of himselfe sufficiently inflamed; perswading him by all means they could, to breake the league with the Venetians. Wherein *Iamubeius* sought to reuenge his owne priuat injuries, and the other two after their greater profit and credit, gaping after the spoile of the Islands neer hand, especially of Corcyra (now called Corfu) Zacynthus and Cephallenia, all subiect to the Venetian seigniory; finding the wars in Italy more dangerous and difficult than they had before imagined. For the French King came not then into Italy, as was by them expected: and it was commonly reported, That *Petrus Tolosa* Viceroy of Naples, hauing put strong garrisons into the towns all alongst the sea coast, was comming himselfe with a great army: beside that, the horsemen sent ouer from Aulona, ranging about in the countrey of Salernum for spoile, were many times cut off by *Scipio Sommatius* a noble gentleman there Gouverneur for the Emperour. Wherefore Solyman changing his purpose for the inuasion of Italy, in his mad mood proclaimed war against the Venetians: and rising with his army from Aulona, & marching alongst the sea coast till he came ouer against Corcyra, he incamped neere vnto the mountaines called *Acroceranij*, where the fierce and wild people inhabiting the high and rough mountaine of Chimera, a part of the *Acroceranij* mountaines, by the instigation of one *Damianus* a notable theefe, and very perfect in the blind and difficult passages amongst the rocks and woods in those desolate mountaines; conspired to attempt a most strange and desperat exploit, which was, by night to spoile Solyman in his own pavilion. These beggerly wild rogues liuing for most part by murder and robbery, altogether without law or any maner of religion, in hope of so great a prey, and to become famous in killing one of the greatest Monarchs of the world in the midst of his strength, garded with so many thousands of his soldiers; were not afraid of any danger, how great soeuer, hoping in the dead time of the night to steale into the camp vndiscovered, and there so to oppress Solyman sleeping in his tent. Which (as was by many afterwards supposed) they were like enough to haue performed, to the astonishment of the world, had it not bin by chance discovered: for when they had put all things in readinesse for that purpose, *Damianus* ringleader of these desperat sauage people, by secret waies stealing downe the broken rockes of those huge mountaines, and comming very neer the camp, to view the standing of Solymans pavilion, with the order of the Turks watch, was by the crack of a bough espied by the Ianizaries, where he stood in a tree prying all ouer the camp: and being there taken, and afterward put to torture, and confessing what he had intended, was by the commandement of Solyman torne in pieces. Whereupon he forthwith sent a great part of his army vp into the mountaines, which hunting after these wild people as if they had bin wild beasts, slew many of them, and by Solymans appointment did what they possibly could to haue quite destroyed them, as an infamous people, enemy to all men.

When Solyman had thus fully reuenged himselfe vpon this barbarous nation, he purposed to inuade the Island of Corcyra, now called Corfu, part of the Venetian Seigniory: sending before *Barbarussa* with his great Artillery, whom he had but a little before called out of Italy with his forces. *Pisaurus* the Venetian Admirall in good time perceiuing the tyrants purpose, strengthened the garrisons in both the Castles of Corfu, with new supplies of good souldiers sent out of the galleys: and knowing himselfe vnable to incounter with the Turks great fleet at sea, withdrew himselfe farther off from the Island, into the gulf of the Adriaticke, to the intent to ioine his power with *Ioannes Petrusius*, who kept that sea with another fleet of the Venetian galleys, and so with ioyned forces to defend the Venetian coasts against the Turks: whom he thought himselfe strong enough for, with the help of *Petrusius* and of *Auid*, whose coming was dayly expected. Solyman sending a great part of his army out of the Main, into the Island, burnt and destroyed the country villages, leading away a wonderfull number of poore country people into most miserable captiuitie. *Ajan* the Bassa, and *Barbarussa*, in two small pinnaces

M m m

came

*Iamubeius* with two galleys, driven by the Venetians vpon the *Acroceranij* rocks.

*Auria* taketh 12 of the Turks galleys full of Ianizaries and Solymans other best souldiers.

*Iamubeius*, *Barbarussa*, and *Ajan*, influence Solyman against the Venetians.

Solyman himselfe with his speech from the Italians against the Venetians.

Solyman in danger to haue bin slain in his camp in the midst of his army.

Solyman himselfe inuades the Island of Corcyra.

came as neer vnto the city of Corfu as they possibly could to see which way they might most conveniently lay siege vnto it; but perceiving the great strength thereof, being wonderfully fortified, and thoroughly manned, they aduertised *Solyman*, that it was a place impregnable. *Iosius Ripa* and *Simon Leonius*, two Senators of Venice, wrote then gouernor of Corfu, who without cause standing in doubt of the great strength of the Turks, both by sea and land, refused the city suburbs (which were very great and sumptuously built) to be plucked down for fear that the Turks throwing themselves in them, should more easily besiege her town. This was a wofull and lamentable thing to behold, when as at the same time a man might haue seen the magnificent houses of the Venetian Merchants, built in time of long peace both for profit and for pleasure in every place of the Island, and set on fire by the Turks. But the regard of the publique state in so great a danger, made all those goodly things which went so much to the lightly accounted of their liues and liberty; forasmuch as those lost things might with new charge be again in short time recovered.

The two Venetian Gouernours aforesaid, fearing a long siege, and not prouided of victuals to suffice such a multitude as were got into the City, for any long time, raised a heauy and sharp remedy, by turning a great number of weak people and children vnable for service, out of the city; of whom many, specially children, died in the town ditches in their mothers arms, vnder the wals of the city, not daring to go any further for fear of the enemy, who had fast by, in places convenient cast vp great mounts, and planted his Ordnance against the city. Onely the castle called *S. Angelo*, standing in the middle of the Island, about fifteen miles from the city of Corfu, being valiantly defended by the Inhabitants against the assaults of the Turks, haply saued about three thousand poor people which fled thither from the fury of the Turks, who in all other places of the Island had made all desolate. The Turks the more to terrifie them of Corfu, taking a hill not far from the city, covered the same with their tents, and from the rock called *Maripetrus*, shot with their great ordnance into the town: some of them in the meane time standing close in the ruines of the suburbs, did with their harquebuses kill or wound them which appeared vpon the wals; the galleys also did oftentimes out of their prowesse discharge their great pieces against the city, to the greater terror than hurt of the defendants. *Solyman* perceiving that he did but lose his labour in besieging the city (as he was told at the first by his great capitaine, *Lutius*, *Ajax*, & *Barbarossa*) determined now to raise his siege, and to return to Constantinople, greatly ashamed that he had no better sped, neither in Italy, nor at the siege of Corfu. But when he was about to haue departed, it was told him how faithfully some of his soldiers had dealt with them of Castrum in Italy, who yielding themselves vpon the Turks faith to them giuen for the safeguard of their liberty and goods, were nevertheless most iniuriously spoiled of all that they had, and carried away into bondage: which fact, as tending to the dishonor of his name, and the deterring of others from yeelding, *Solyman* took in so euill part, that for amending thereof, he caused the authors of that fact to be put to death, and the captiues of Castrum to be diligently sought out, and sent home againe into their country; well deserving therein the commendation of a most iust Prince. The Turks left the siege of Corfu, and departed out of the Island about the twelfth of September, in the yere 1537; carrying away about sixteen thousand of the Island people into perpetual captiuitie. So *Solyman* rising with his army, marching through Acarnania and Etolia, returned through Macedonia to Constantinople: hauing in this his expedition done great harme both in Italy and Corcyra, but yet nothing increased his empire or honour.

Before his departure, calling vnto him *Lutius* his Admirall, he commanded him also to returne with his fleet to Hellepontus: who passing by Zacynthus, and landing some of his men in the night, took diuers of the country people prisoners. But vnderstanding that the City itselfe was both strong and well manned, he departed thence to Cythera, where vnto fortune attempting to haue taken the castle, and disappointed of his purpose, he made what spoyle he could vpon that Island, and with 800 prisoners returned into Egium to *Aegina*, a rich and famous Island, and well peopled both with mariners and other Inhabitants. Approaching the Island, he by his messengers sent before vnto the Gouernour of the City, attempted first by faire means, and afterwards by threats, to haue had the City yeelded vnto him, and not to prouailing, but perceiving them to stand vpon their defence, he landed his men, and gaue the sig-

A nall of battell; which they of the Island refused not, but manfully met him, and at the first encounter slew many of his men. Wherewith the Admirall grievously offended, and still landing fresh men, euen with his multitude oppressed them of the Island, being but few in number, and weary of long fight, and so enforced them to retire into the city.

To be reuenged of this injury, the Bassa caused certain great pieces of ordnance to be landed, and a battery planted against the City: by force whereof he had in short time in diuers places opened the wals, and then with all his power assaulting the breaches, forthwith tooke the city, which after he had rifled, he burnt it down to the ground, rased the wals, and put euery man to the sword. As for the women, he gaue them without respect vnto the luit of his soldi- ers and mariners; whom afterwards together with the boies and young children he shipped into the country neer Athens, to be from thence conueyed vnto Constantinople, into most miserable seruitude.

*Aegina* thus vtterly rased, he with much like force and cruelty raged vpon them of Paros and the other Islands therabouts, killing the old men and such as made resistance, & thrusting the rest into his galleys. Shortly after he came to the Isle of *Naxos*, where all the Island people were for fear of his coming fled out of the country into the city, where landing his men he made hauck of whatsoeuer came to hand. And in the mean time sent a messenger to the Duke, to wil him to yeeld himself and his city into the obedience of the Turkish Emperour *Solyman*. Which messenger admitted into the city, and brought before the duke, in blunt and plain terms, without further circumstance, deliuered his message thus:

C If thou wilt without more ad yeeld thy self, thy city and territory, to the Constantinopolitan Emperour, thou shalt deserue his fauor, and so saue thy selfe with that thou hast. But if thou, otherwise aduised, shalt now refuse this grace, thou shalt neuer haue the like offer, but for euer vndo thy selfe, thy wife & children, thy citizens, and subiects in generall. Here is present a most mighty fleet, with most valiant and victorious soldiers, furnished with all the habitiments of war requisite for battell or siege. Be warned by them of *Aegina*, *Paros*, and other thy neighbor Princes of the Islands. Thy hap is good, if thou be not misadvised, and (warned by other mens harms) wilfully refuse to remedy thy owne; and when thou mightst be safe, wilfully cast away thy selfe.

D This said, he was commanded by the duke to stand aside, and a while to expect his answer: who with the chief of his subiects there present, but much troubled, and all full of heauinesse and sorrow, consulted what answer to make. But after they had according to the weightinesse of the cause, and necessity of time fully debated the matter, it was generally agreed, That forasmuch as they were not themselves of power to withstand so furious an enemy, neither to expect for help from others, they should therefore yeeld vnto the present necessity (which otherwise threatened vnto them vnder destruction) & reserve themselves vnto better times. Whereupon answer was giuen vnto the messenger by the Duke, That he was ready to yeeld himself vnto *Solyman* as his Vassal, and of him as of his Soueraign to hold his seignory for the year- ly tribute of 10000 ducquets. Of which offer the Bassa accepted, receiuing in hand one yeares tribute. So was that notable Island yeelded vnto the Turkish obedience the 11 of November Anno 1537. From whence *Lutius* the proud Bassa, laded with the rich spoil of the Countries and Islands he had passed by, returned to Constantinople with his fleet.

Not long after, this great Bassa (then next in credit and authority to *Solyman* himselfe) set at odds with his wife *Solyman* sister; for that he, after the vnnatural manner of that barbarous people, kept in his house a most delicate youth, in whom he took more delight than in his wife. Which she being a woman of great spirit, not able to indure, and knowing her husband by marrying of her, to haue bin from base degree aduanced vnto the highest honors the Emperour her brother could heape vpon him; in great rage reproued him with most bitter words; saying, That she had married him to be of him beloued, and vsed as his wife, and not contemptuously abused by his minions. Wherewith the Bassa moued, gaue her a blow on the eare, and caused her as a foolish and inquiet woman to be shut vp in her chamber. But she not brooking such abuse, came weeping to *Solyman* her brother, & complaining of her husband, requested to be diuorced from him, who made no more reckoning of her. And with her complaint so incensed *Solyman*, that he took from him his Seal, and thrust him out of all his honourable

*Aegina with other Islands of the Egium Sea.*

*A blunt speech of a Turk sent to the Duke of Naxos.*

*Naxos becomes tributary vnto the Turks.*

*Good Justice done by Solyman*

*The Turks depart from Corfu, and carry away with them about 16000 Christians into captiuitie.*

Lutgm  
exited.

promotions, and had vndoubtedly put him to death, had not the remembrance of his old loue G and friendship staied his fury: yet hauing vterly disgraced him, he banished him the Court, into Macedonia, where he spent the remainder of his life like a poor priuat man. Of whom Boissardus thus writeth:

*Qua tibi cum molles est pollute Cynedo:  
Cum cubet in Thalamos regia nympha tuus?  
Ex humili fortuna loco se euexit in aulam  
Ex alto maior saepe ruina venit.*

On dainty Boyes, thou filthy man, why dost thou fix thyne eye;  
Whilst princely Dame of royal blood doth in thy chamber lye?  
From base estate, to honors hight blind fortune did thee call,  
And set thee vp with princes great, to work thy greater fall.

The Turks and  
Venetians fell  
one another.

Solyman thus fallen out with the Venetians, as is aforesaid; to intangle them with Wars in diuers places at once, commanded his Lieutenants in euery place bordering vpon the Venetian Seigniorie, to vex and molest them with all hostility, which they did accordingly. In Peloponnesus *Cassines* besieged Nauplium and Epidaurus, two strong Cities of the Venetians. *Barbarussa* landing his men in Dalmatia, surprised the ancient city of Botrotus, belonging to the Venetians, carried away the Citizens, and rased the City. Obroatum another city of the Venetians in Dalmatia, called in ancient time Argirutum, with the Castle of Nadin, were taken by *Vstref*, Solymans Lieutenant in Illyria.

The Venetians thus inuaded on euery side, requited them again with the like. *Pisaurius* and *Veturius* the Venetian Admirals landing their men, besieged Scardona a city of the Turkes in the borders of Dalmatia, which they took by force, put the Turks to the sword, & ouerbrew the walls of the city, because it should be no more a refuge vnto the Turks. They sent also another of their captains called *Gabriel Ribem*, to besiege Obroatum; who vpon the coming of *Amurathes* one of *Vstref*'s Captaines, cowardly fled, and in flight lost most of his men. For which his cowardise *Pisaurius* caused his head to be strook off aboard the Admiral gally. And *Camillus Vrsinus*, appointed by the Venetian state gouernor of Iadera, a strong Town vpon the frontiers of their territory in Dalmatia, took from the Turks the town of Ostrovizza, which he burnt down to the ground. He recovered also Obroatum, which was a little before lost; and by commandement from the Senat vterly rased it, as a place not well to be kept against the Enemy.

The same Autumn that Solyman having wasted Cornyra, returned to Constantinople, and the Venetians held wars with the Turks for the towns and castles in Dalmatia; King *Ferdinand* receiued such an overthrow at Exek by the Turks, as a greater or more shamefull vnto the name of the Christians was hardly seen in that age, if the losse of the choise souldiours and Captains of four great Nations, with the shameful flight of the General, be well considered. After the battell of Mohatz, wherein King *Lewis* was lost, the Turks having gotten the victory, kept vnto themselves that part of Hungary which is called *Possessa*, because thereby they had a fit passage from Belgrade farther into Hungary. The two great Riuer of *Sauus* and *Dranus* running almost with equall distance from the West, taking with them diuers other smaller Riuer, before they fall into the great Riuer of *Danubius* Eastward, do on both sides incole this country of *Possessa*, being a rich and plentifull Country, and wonderfully well peopled. It bordereth vpon the Prouinces of *Cypatia* and *Corbania*, which intimes past were in continuall warres with the Turkish Garrisons there by in Illyria, and also in Bosna.

Mahometes  
Gouernor of  
Belgrade.

At that time one *Mahometes* a most valiant captain of the Turkes was gouernor of Belgrade: to whom for his approoued valour and wisdom Solyman had committed the keeping of those Frontiers, and the protection of the kingdom of Hungary in the beholfe of King *Iohn*. He the year before had vsed the matter, that what by force, what by policy, hee had taken from the Christians aboue thirty small Castles in the Country (which was sometime a part of the patrimony of the Despot of Rascia) and had joined them to the regiment of Bosna.

One

An euill affa-  
red League.K. Ferdinand  
breaks League  
with the Turke

- A One of these castles amongst the rest, called Exek, for the commodious situation thereof he strongly fortified, as that which might giue him passage ouer the riuer Dranus into Hungary, from whence he set infinit preys out of King *Ferdinands* country neer vnto him. Yet was there at that time a certain league betwixt Solyman and Ferdinand, which notwithstanding after the old custom of those Countries, for the exercise of the garrison soldiers, did bear with the taking of booty, and light skirmishes, without any breach thereof: so that it were done without any great power or field pieces. Which wrong-named peace *Mathias* & other kings of Hungary had of long time vsed with the Turks, doing them with their nimble light horsemen no lesse harm than they receiued. But the Germans now vsing no such light horsemen, but seruing vpon great horses, and charged with heavy armour, receiued great hurt by those light skirmishes; the Turks with their light horses easily shunning their charge, and again at their pleasure charging them afresh, when they saw the heavy German horses almost wearie and spent: by which means the German horsemen were oftentimes by the Turks light horsemen ouerthrown, and so either slain or taken. King *Ferdinand* not wel brooking these continual injuries, and grieued in mind at the league which Solyman had to his profit made with him at his going into Persia, finding the same both vnprofitable and hurtfull to himselfe, determined to take vp arms, with purpose that if he could driue the Turks out of the Country of *Possessa*, then forthwith to passe ouer Dranus, and to go directly to Buda against king *Iohn*. It stil stucke in his minde, how that kingdom was taken from him by Solyman, and that more was, as it were in disgrace of him and the House of Austria, bestowed vpon a stranger, which had neither right thereto, nor was any way royally descended. Yet there were some that wished him, not rashly to enter into arms against so mighty an Enemy, as was not to be vanquished but by the vnitied forces of all the Christian Princes of Europ. For they foresaw, that Solyman so provoked, would not put it vp, but for the hatred he bare against the Christians, and for his honour, seeke more cruell reuenge: as he had of late don against the Venetians, with whom vpon a light occasion he had broke an ancient League, for sinking one or two of his gallies; for which he would admie no excuse or satisfaction. All this *Ferdinand* knew to bee true: yet all the people of his dominions lay so earnestly vpon him to take that war in hand, that they said plainly, they would neuer bear arms more against the Turks, if he omitted that occasion. For they of Carinthia, Stiria, Croatia and Noricum, subiect to the inuasion of the Turks, & daily receiuing great harms, thought the Turks might easily be driuen out of *Possessa*, for so much as *Mahometes* had no great power, nor like to haue any greater, Autumn now almost spent:

1. So King *Ferdinand*, with the wonderful reioicing of his subjects, caused soldiers to be taken vp in all parts of his kingdom, sending for most of his nobility and best captaines, as to a Religious War: and in a very short space had raised a good Army, yet supposed of greater strength than number, as consisting most of select men. The footmen were for most part Germans, to whom were joined as wings certaine Companies of Italians, harquebusiers, whom *Lewis Lodouicus*, a valiant captain, and General of the footmen, had raised in Rhetia and those parts of Italy which lie neer vnto the Alps. The horsemen were of Bohemia, Silesia, Moravia, Stiria, Carinthia, and some also out of Hungary, all conducted by their feuerall captaines. All these horsemen were in number 8000, but the footmen were 16000 strong, with great store of attillery of all sorts. This army for the experterie and valor of the soldiers, was thought sufficient to haue met the greatest army of the Turks in field, if it had been conducted by a politique General, and (as he had at other times bin) fortunat which was one *Iohn Cazdamer* a nobleman of Croatia, whom as one of great experience, and famous for the late defence of Vienna, King *Ferdinand* had made General of his Army. For *Ferdinand* by the aduice of his best friends neuer vsed to adventure his person vnto the danger of any battell, especially against the Turks, by whom many Christian Kings had in former time bin vanquished and slain, but performed all his wars by his lieutenants: which he was thought to do not so much for want of courage, as moved with the fatal mishap of so many Christian Kings. *Mahometes* gouernor of Belgrade vnderstanding of this preparation made against him, sent for diuers companies of the garrison souldiers which lay vpon the borders neer hand, hee required aid of the Gouernours of the Turke prouince thereabouts, and was especially holpen by *Vstref* Gouernour of Bosna, who of all Solymans Lieutenants in Europ, was able to bring into the field most good horse.

Cazdamer Ge-  
neral of King  
Ferdinands ar-  
my.Mahometes go-  
uernor of Bel-  
grade aided by  
the other Tur-  
kish captaines.

M m m 3

horse.

horsemen, he sent him *Amurath* a famous Captaine with a great companie of gallant horsemen, vnto whom were joined certain companies of footmen of the wild and mountain people of Dalmatia, entertained for pay; which rough and rude kinde of people were gouerned and kept in order by certain companies of Ianizaries drawn out of the garrison towns as farre as Belgrade and Samandria. After whom followed many out of Serbia and Rascia, some for pay, some for prey: the Turks Receiuer liberally paying to such as were willing to serue, two months pay before hand. Neither wanted he aid of the Hungarians from Buda. So that the Turkish gouernors on euery side putting to their helping hands, *Mahometes*, had in short time gathered such an army, as for number and strength was not much inferior to King *Ferdinand*, and resolved to expect the coming of his enemies at Exek. *Cazzianer* was now come as far on his way as Caprunza, a town vpon the riuer Dranus; hauing before well and conueniently provided for the victualling of his army, if they whom he put in trust, and had taken the matter vpon them, had with like speed and diligence performed their charge: for they were the chief men of all the Countrey; who all followed the direction of *Symon* Bishop of Zagabria; who inflamed with zeal about measure, or else for want of judgement deceived, had promised to serue the whole Campe with plenty of victuall, some by wagon, some by boats along the Riuer, many difficulties now arising, were not able to perform: which was not to be remedied by reason of the needresse of the enemy, and also for that *Mahometes* with final gallies in both Riuer, and his troups of horsemen pricking vp and down the country, did either stay the country people from bringing of victuall, or els allured them for a greater price to bring it to his own Camp, where they received ready money. *Cazzianer* setting forward from Caprunza, hardly came in ten dayes to the Castle of Veruza, which is about forty miles distant from Caprunza; being inforced to make short marches, by reason of the troublesome carriage of some great pieces of Artillery for battery. The wisest sort began euen then to misdoubt the want of victuall, both for the reasons before alledged, and for that such victuall as they looked for came not, although they marched very softly: so that they were then inforced to spend such victuall as they had provided, not for the beginning, but for the difficulties of a long protracted War. Whereof *Cazzianer* wrote sharply to the Bishop, and to the others who had taken vpon them the charge of providing victuall for the Army; commanding them to vse all possible diligence and speed, and not to let the hope of a most assured victory to be lost through their negligence, for want of victuall, rather than the valour of the enemy. In the mean time *Cazzianer* thought good there to stay, and to expect the coming of victuall, sending before him *Paulus Bachitius* with a thousand Hungarian light horsemen, and certain companies of Italian harquebusiers, as far as the Castle of Zopia, to the intent he might of such prisoners as he could take, learn something of the enemies purpose. The Turks in the Castle of Zopia descrying the coming of *Bachitius*, and thinking the whole Army of the Christians had bin at hand, set fire on the Castle, which they thought they could not keepe, and by boats fled down the riuer Dranus. Yet for all their hast, *Bachitius* took some of them in their flight, of whom *Cazzianer* learned that which he before knew by his own espials. That *Mahometes* and the Turks lay incamped at Exek; with a full resolution to giue him battell. *Cazzianer* setting forward again, still keeping alongst the riuer of Dranus, came in eight daies to the castle of Walpo: where by the way he was glad to stay seven daies at the riuer Crassus, which falleth into Dranus, vntill such time as a bridge was made for the transporting of his Army, for that the riuer was not to be waded ouer: in which time *Cazzianer* entred oftentimes into counsell with the other Captains, what course to hold for the better proceeding in that war. Where diuers men were of diuers opinions: some said it were best to leaue Exek, and to besiege a castle of the enemies thereby, called Villach. Others more wary than the rest, were of opinion, That it were better there to stay vntill the rest of the aid and victuall, which they expected dayly, were come. But the greater number (which also prevailed) urged the first determination, of going directly to the enemy at Exek, for that longer delay would but breed further danger; and there was in the Camp (as they said) both strength and victuall sufficient for the obtaining of the victory, if they would make an end of their needlesse Consultations, and not protract the Warre vntill that Winter were come on: whereby they did nothing els but cause most of the soldiers to think that they were afraid to meet the Enemy, and fearefully

A slow march.

Cazzianer comes to walpo.

- A to steal back again into their countries. Whereas if they would like resolute men march on forward against the enemy, who at other times trusting most vnto his multitudes, and now hauing no great power, would neuer abide the sight of the Christian Army, bringing with it so much Artillery, but forthwith forsake the place and neuer shew his face: forasmuch as the Christian men at Armes would (as they said) easily breake thorow and ouerthrow the naked Turkish horsemen, if they durst abide the field. The yong souldiers, who had neuer made proof as yet of the Turks manner of fight, did with such cheerfulness like of this resolution, that they thought two daies stay a long delay of so ready and easie a victory. Wherefore it was resolved vpon presently to set forward, and therupon the Army was mustred: where vpon view taken there was found to be 10000 horsemen (for diuers troups of Germans were come vnto the
- B Camp after the time of the first setting forward of the Army) a more gallant company of horsemen, both for the strength of the horses, and goodly furniture of the men, had seldom bin seen in an Army so suddenly raised. But the footmen, selected out of all the prouinces, were greatly diminished, being now in number scarce 8000 strong: for many were sick in the camp; others weary of the long journey, lingring behind were stoln away: and generally al they that were left, moyled with dirt and myre by reason of the deepnes of the rotten way, wet thorow with rain, and almost starued with cold, and thereto pinched with hunger, were thought scarce able to endure the hardnesse of the present War. After that, commandement was giuen, that euery foldier should carry with him three dayes victuall; and proclamation made, That no man should vpon pain of death take any Turke prisoner, although he yielded himselfe, or charge himself with any spoil before the battell were fully ended; for that the Captains would afterwards diuide the spoil of the enemy amongst the souldiers. This proclamation made thorow the camp, they set forward towards Exek, and the third day they came to a certain valley about three miles from Exek, where the incamped. The next day a company of Turks shewed themselves, who were by the great ordnance repulsed. The day following, the enemy sallied out of the Towne, and skirmished oftentimes with the Christians: in which skirmishes many were slain on both sides, but more wounded of the Christians; for that the Turks had politiquely mingled certain Ianizaries, harquebusiers, and archers, with their horsemen; who, vied to that manner of fight, fore gauled the Christian horsemen. For which cause the Generall forbade all such light skirmishes, as purposing to keep his strength whole against the
- D general day of battell: commanding his Cannoniers so to place the great Ordinance as might most annoy the enemy if he should shew himselfe by troups within the danger of the shot: which was so well performed, that the Turks sallying forth receiued thereby great hurt, the great shot flying through the midst of their companies. The same day *Symon* Bishop of Zagabria came into the Camp with his horsemen, and a certain prouision of victuall; whereby the fear of the want before conceiued, was well eased. *Mahometes* perceiuing that the Christians were not longer to be drawn to those harmful skirmishes, but that he must bring himself within the danger of the great shot, to annoy them by another means, sent many small Boats manned with harquebusiers and small pieces of ordnance, into the lake neer vnto the Campe, so to keep the Christians from warring there, and with those small pieces shot oftentimes into the camp. Neer to the valley where the Christians lay, was a hill, wherupon stood a village, wherein were placed certain Companies of Turks, to skirmish as occasion should serue with the Christians: for displacing of whom, the whole Army was straitway put in order of battell, and the great Artillery bent vpon them, that they should not with their light skirmishes, after the Turkish manner of fight, trouble the order of the Army. Which thing the Turks perceiuing, and that they were not able to hold the place, set fire on the towne, and so retired to Exek. The Christians keeping on their march, came to the top of the hill, for whence they might see Exek stand about two miles off in a fair plain neer to the bank of Dranus: all which low ground betwixt the hill and Exek was so subiect to the castle, that it was thought a matter too full of danger, to attempt that way to batter the castle, and expose the army to the inevitable fury of the enemies shot. Wherefore descrying a rising ground on the farther side of the city, equal with the top of the wals, they thought it best to remove their camp thither, & on that side to plant their battery against the city. But to come to that place was thought very troublesome; for they must fer a compasse three miles on the right hand thorow a Forrest by a foul and troublesom way, before they could come to the place they desired: for the army

The Turks skirmish with the Christians

The Christians come within sight of Exek.

was not so great to besiege the city round, wherein were not (as is reported) about 16000 men, G neither was there such store of victuals in the camp, but that the Army was like soon to feel the want thereof, without a continual supply, which would hardly be had, the enemy still besetting every passage, and with his light horsemen scouring about all the country, of purpose to keep them from victual. For which cause some were of opinion, that it was best to stay where they were, till such time as both more aid and better store of victuals were come to them: but others of the contrary mind, said the enemy was but barely stored with victual himselfe, and therefore could not long hold out. Which they said they understood by certain Christian fugitives; and that Mahometes had put his chief substance into certain boats, to be conveyed down the river, as purposing to fly, and would not hold out the siege about three daies. As for the forrest, they thought it might well enough be past thorow, if they would courageously set forward. Besides that, the time of the year suffered no delay, winter comming fast on, and except some notable thing were don quickly, they should be enforced by the very time of the year to return with shame, without doing any thing. This opinion was best liked of, as more honorable, and better becoming men of valor, than to ly still in one place: whereupon the next day the Army remoued, and in good order marched thorow the forrest. Which thing Mahometes quickly perceiuing, presently sent out a thousand light horsemen, and certain companies of Ianizaries, harquebusiers, to trouble the Christians in their passage: who by a neerer & well known way ouertaking the Army, suddenly charged the rereward, wherein the Italians and Bohemians marched. The Bohemians quickly fled, and the Italians had much ado to endure the charge: but being relieved by the Carinthian men at arms, they notably repulsed the Turks, I and put them to flight. So the army with small losse passed the forrest, and came to the place they desired: where after they had incamped themselves, and in good order placed all things needful for the siege, they in seemly order offered the enemy battell, but he keeping himselfe within the town, shot at the Christians with his great ordnance: and they to requite him, with two great pieces which they had placed vpon the hill, shot thorow both the wals of the Town and the bulwark also, to the great terror of the defendants. The Christians in the mean time having stood almost all the day in order of battell in sight of the enemy, vainly expecting when he should come forth to giue them battell, returned at night into their Camp. For Mahometes vpon great consideration kept in his soldiers, although they were most desirous to fight, vnderstanding right well of the want of victual in the Christian camp: and besides that (as the K fugitives reported) being strictly commanded by letters from Solyman, That he should not vpon pain of a most shamefull death forsake the place, but to defend it to the last. Now the Christians desirous of battell, being thus delayed and deceived of their expectation, had in a few daies spent the smal store of victuals they had, and began to feel a general want: nor was there any apparant means how they should be relieved. So that every man began to feare some general mischief to ensue. When Balihazar Pamphilus a noble Hungarian, and a Captain of great experience, sitting in counsel with the rest, entred into this speech:

Captains (said he) we do all that we do, vnadvisedly: for whilst we consult as large how we may overcome our enemies, the strength of our army is in the mean time so weakened for want of victual, that the soldiers are neither well able to stand on their legs, nor to hold their weapons in their feeble hands: and generally enen they which are of greatest courage begin now to quail, and despairing of battell, see that they must miserably and shamefully perish for want. Wherefore in my opinion we ought first and above all things most speedily to provide for this want, which so grievously pincheth vs, and presently to remoue hence vnder the castle of Hermande, that with the provision thereof, which is not like to be little, we may refresh our whole army, and so relieved, to proceed further as occasion shall require.

This castle was about ten miles from Exek, whereinto many of the Turks had conveyed their wiues and children, and chiefest substance, being kept with a smal garrison of 20 Turks. Fast by the castle was a pretty little walled town without flankers, after the manner of the old M fortifying: which town and castle Balihazar said would easily be won. This his counsel was well liked of all men, and he himself sent with certain Companies of souldiers to take in the town. Wherein fortune so fauoured him, that it was at his first comming surrendered vnto him: but when he had it, he found not therein any such store of corne or victuall as hee had hoped for:

A for, yet he took there certain vessels of wine, to the great relief of the weak souldiers. Vpon the news of the taking of this town, the camp remoued from Exek about ten a clock at night, but so disorderly, that the soldiers scarce knowing their own ensignes, seemed rather to haue fled for fear, than marched for spoil. Yet the Turks for all that moued not out of Exek, mifdoubting some deceit, and loth to attempt any thing rashly in the night. When the Army was come to the town, the captains took order that the victual there found was equally diuided amongst the soldiers: and the next morning battery laid against the Castle, which those few Turks valiantly defended half a day, and then by composition yielded it. But when the castle was taken, there was found in it but two barrels of meal, and other two of Millet. Then might a man haue seen the captains themselves hanging their heads, as men stricken with a sudden fear, who in stead of a great prey, & victual to haue serued many daies, found nothing but a few women & children, and scarce so much victual both in the town and castle as would serue the army two daies. Yet they dissembled the matter, and fed the soldiers with hope of better store after the bridge was once repaired, that they might passe the river of Bodrog, which ran by the town: which bridge the Turks had before, for their own defence, broken, by plucking vp of certain piles, and taking away of the planks, wherefore the carpenters being set on worke, and every man putting to his helping hand, the bridge was with continual labor in 3 daies repaired. The fourth day the wagons and smaller pieces of Ordnance passed over the bridge, and after them fixe of the great pieces for battery; but the bridge ouercharged with the seventh, which was of a wonderful weight, and much greater than the rest, began to break: C so that the captains were enforced to break that fair piece of ordnance, & so by pieces to cary it away, that the enemy should not get so great a spoil. All things being thus well past over, the piles were again cut down, and the planks struck off, to the intent the enemy should not that way pursue them; and other way there was none, but to fetch a compass about the great Lake, which was many miles about. Here the captains began to consult, whether it were best to break the great pieces of Ordnance, that so they might more speedily march away, or not. Of which opinion was Cazzianer himself, promising of his own charge to new cast them. As for the scaling ladders and other like things provided for the siege, they burnt, because they should not come into the enemies hand, or trouble themselves in their march. But most of the Captains were of opinion, that it was not best so dishonourably to breake those goodly pieces, the greatest ornament and defence of their Country; but to hold on their march thorow Possaga, vntill they came to Iuivaca, where they should find great store both of Corne and wine: which town with the castle of Gara fast by it, stored with all manner of provision, they said would easily be taken before the Turkes could possibly come so far about the Lake from Exek: and that it were a great shame so to retorne without doing any thing. Cazzianer thus persuaded, set forward, and with great toil (by reason of the deepnes of the way, and heavines of the great ordnance) came by night to Iuivaca, which was but three miles off; where the Turks hauing with incredible celeritie passed a long journey, arriued at the same time also. Neer vnto this castle was a little town out of which all the Turks were fled: the townsmen being Christians, opened the gates and receiued in the souldiers, who there filled themselves abundantly with wine, and could hardly be driuen out thence by their captains to the Camp. E The same night the Turks burnt the same town, and whatsoeuer the Christians had left therein, and every man betook him to his armor in the camp, for the enemy was then at hand, and in the dawning of the day began hotly to skirmish in diuers places with the Christians, but especially in that quarter of the camp where the Bohemians lay. Where with Petrus Rasthinnus general of the Bohemians being grieved, set vpon them with a troupe of his best horsemen, and enforced them to fly: but the Turks after the manner of their fight quickly returning againe, and relieved by the comming in of their fellows, beset the Bohemians on every side, and slew many of them. Rasthinnus the Generall fighting most valiantly, was there slain with his followers. The Christian captains purposing to retire home, placed on each side of the army four F ranks of wagons for defence on both sides. In the vauward were placed the weak & sick men, yet so, that in the front of the army were certain companies of lusty tall souldiers: but in the rereward was placed the greatest strength both of horse and foot. The army thus marching as it were on both sides intrenched, as it oft times met with woody hills hindring their way, so did the same sely serue the Christians, that the Turks could not well assaile them in their march,

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This once bruted thorow the army, filled them all with heauinesse and desperation; and so much the more, for that *Ladislaus Moreus*, and others which knew the country well, said there was but two waies to escape; the one thorow the Woods about ten miles space to *Walpo*, which by reason of the trees cut down crosse the waies by the Turks, was not to be passed; but they must needs leaue behind them their great ordnance and carriages: the other towards the castle of *Zenthuerzabeth*, which was in *Ladislaus Moreus* his Countrey, certaine miles distant from *Gara*: by taking of which way, the enemy by reason of the streitnes of the passage, must of necessitie be enforced to giue ouer his pursuit. Yet for all that, it was in Counsaill resolved vpon, to take the way thorow the Woods of *Walpo*, for that there was there victuals enough, and in the Castle of *Walpo* was kept money sent from King *Ferdinand*, sufficient to pay the soldiers for all that Winter. And so leauing the great Ordnance behind them, and burning the powder and whatsoever els could not well be carried on horsebacke, to set forward with all speed: as for the tregs, they said they would be well enough remooued, and the way opened by the pioneers and wagoners. Wherfore euery captain was commanded to haue his soldiers in readines to set forward vpon signe giuen, which was by the sound of a shalm or ho-boy, which when it should be giuen, was referred to the discretion of the General. There were many which wonderfully disliked of this resolution, and said openly, that the enemy was fewer in number than their horsemen, and pinched almost with like want of victual: besides, That the Turks durst neuer in iust fight incounter with the Christian men at arms, but like sheeves, assail them vpon a sudden at some aduantage, and by and by be gon again: and that the souldier of *Gara* where the enemy lay incamped, was not so strong but that it might be won: wherfore all

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After all this, they began to consult what was now to be done with the sick and wounded souldiers, which were before carried in waggon or among the other baggage of the army: for it was like, that so great a multitude of sick and wounded men, vnderstanding what was decreed concerning the departure of the army, would as miserable forsaken men, fill the camp with lamentation and mourning, which was thought would be also increased by the weeping and wailing of them which should neuer afterwards see their brethren, kinsmen, fellows, or friends; so miserably and shamefully left behind and forsaken: the noise wherof, must needs come to the ears of the Turks, which lay within a small gun shot. Wherfore it was determined, that these sick and wounded souldiers should be carried vpon the waggon and cart horses; and that such as were not able to stay themselves, should be holden vp by others of more strength riding behinde them vpon the buttocks of the horse. In fine, to color the matter, they which were so desirous to go, said that their manner of departure grounded vpon good reason, was not to be accounted a shamefull flight (as some would tearm it) but a right honest and necessary manner of retiring: so much as they were stronger than their enemies in horsemen, and equall also (if not stronger) in footmen, although they were fore weakned with sickness. Whilst these things were in counsell diuersly discoursed, and the resolution set down as is before said, the matter was brought to this passe, that euery captain with troubled iudgement conceiued in himself secret cogitations, far from the common good; and without regard of shame & dishonor, be thought himselfe how he might betake himselfe to flight, the vncertain hope of desired life. On the contrary part, *Mahometes* vsing most certain spies, and aduertised euery houre of all the distresses of the Christians, and therefore presaging his future victory; did by most diligent watch and troups of horsemen, besetting the passages far and neer, most vigilantly attend euery motion in the Christian camp: of purpose, that when the army should rise and set forward, he after his wonted manner might in the straits (fit for his purpose) set vpon them being diuided and dispersed one from another, as they must needs in those troublesome passages: for he had so placed his horsemen and footmen in the known tracts of those woods, that he had shut vp the Christians as it were in a toile. It was now almost midnight, & the army taking no rest, so carefully expected the signe of setting forward, that euery little delay seemed to most men both tedious and dangerous: so that many great captains vpon a cowardly conceit would stay no longer, but hastened to depart, and to go before the rest, without any leaue of the general: the beginning of this mischeuous departure, is reported to haue bin begun by the common Hungarian horsemen, which knowing the passages & waies through the woods, made hast to *Walpo*. *Ladislaus Moreus* dishonorably following their example, went the other way to his Castle *Zenthuerzabeth*. After them followed in great haste the Stirian horsemen, without regard of shame, led by *Iohn Hungar* their General, who was appointed to haue guarded the reuerward. *Simon* Bishop of *Zagrabia* fled in like manner, knowne by his great lanthorn wandring in the wood: yet with lesse shame than the rest, because he being a clergy man, thought it not to belong to his vocation to put on armes, or to go into battell. 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able flight of  
Gazizaper.

now that famous captain was called vp, and sold by his seruants, that the Generall was fled, and gone to whom he answered again, Without doubt it cannot be so, for I should be so shamed, so fully and perfidiously betraid of him, and so a mad megerd with long waiting and painful labour, laid himself down again to sleep. Not long after, *Mahomet* hearing this, rose in the camp, rise with his Turks to assaile his enemies: yet to be better assured what the enemy did, he thought it good to stay for day light, causing his men to stand still in order, but tell, and with wonderfull silence to expect the signe of setting forward, whilest he gazed by the soft sound of a horsemans drum passing through euery company. For the old captain acquainted with many battels against the Christians, doubting of their feigned flight, would not vndoubtedly be drawn into battell, but in a place commodious for his soldiers: as once before fully set down (after his wonted manner) to perform that service, not by the hazard of one set battell, but by dallying off the time with oftner skirmishes, when he could take the enemy at aduantage. The day appearing, *Lodronius* againe waking, heard a certain confused noise of the Turks, and withall saw himselfe forsaken of the greatest part of the horsemen, whereupon he complained in vaine, that he was betraid: yet for all that, he was nothing discouraged, but cheered vp the footmen, exhorting them to remember their former valor, and to resolve with themselves, onely with courage to ouercome the danger, which hard fortune had at that time brought them into; for that valiant men were rather to thinke of an honourable death, than a shamefull flight, whereby whether they should escape with life or not, was vncertaine. As for himselfe, who had bin their happy General in many battels, he said he was resolutely set down by repelling the enemy to bring them into a place of safety, or els valiantly fighting together with them to end his daies. As *Lodronius* was yet thus encouraging the footmen, the horsemen of Carinthia, Saxony, Austria, and Bohemia, who mindful of their duty, had in vaine expected the appointed signal from the General, came vnto *Lodronius*, as vnto the most valiant captain, beseeching him in stead of their trecherous General, to take vpon him the place: promising to do whatsoeuer he commanded, and to fight as men against those Infidels, for their Religion and King, so long as they were able to hold vp their weapons. *Lodronius* would in no case accept of that honor so frankly offered, modestly protesting himselfe vnworthy thereof: yet as a man of courage, and moued with the hard estate of such an army, he with a solemn protestation promised to execute the place in the best manner he could, and so did as long as his fortune gaue him leaue.

It is reported, that as *Lodronius* was encouraging the footmen, and earnestly incouraging against shamefull flight, an old German soldier was so bold, as bluntly, yet sharply to say vnto him: *Worthy Lodronius, thou canst neuer be thought to fly shamefully, with a horse of such price vnder thee. Lodronius* perceiving the old soldiers meaning, alighted, and with his sword boxed his horse, saying aloud, This day, valiant soldiers, shall you haue me both your General and fellow souldier, fighting on foot as one of your selues: see now that you deceiue not my expectation, but let vs either with glorious victory, or honourable death end this war together, yet so, as that we die not vreuenged. All his other horses he gaue away vnto such sick and wounded souldiers as he best knew, amongst whom was one *Piccard* of Cremená, a Captaine who was then in an extreme fit of an ague, & had hardly escaped the hands of the enemy. The first troupes of horsemen and bands of footmen, were scarcely out of the camp with their ensignes, but the Turks comming on with a hideous cry, assailed them on euery side, and many sharp skirmishes were giuen vnto the horsemen as they marched, with such euent that the Christians sometime valiantly receiving the enemies charge, and sometime charging them againe, repulsed the proud enemy still busie with them. In these continuall skirmishes, *Antius Mager Fuchsat*, General of the Carinthian horsemen, fighting valiantly was slain, being for his brave armor supposd by the Turks to haue bin the General of the field. And by like misfortune and twenty horsemen of great name were also slain, and their guidon taken, amongst the which were three noblemen, *Andrew Reschius*, *Christophorus Hornau*, and *Georgius Himeibergur*. In another place was made a most cruell skirmish with the Saxon horsemen, and them of Misnia, Thuringia and Franconia, who followed the Saxons ensigne: of these, fighting most valiantly, was slain about 36 worthy Captains, Lieutenants, or Antients, and *Christianus* a principall Captaine of the Saxons taken, who afterwards died in bonds amongst the Turks. Amongst them which were slain, *Sebastians Metebese*, and *Iacobs Scallimburgh* were of greatest Nobility.

An old German  
souldier rebuffs  
as Lodronius.

The horsemen  
discouraged by  
the Turks.

lity. In like manner the horsemen of Austria courageously resisting the enemy for a space, were in the end overborne, where amongst them was slain two valiant noblemen, *Fettimus* and *Mahomet*, with diuers other men of great place and reputation both in their own country and abroad. But the greatest slaughter was made amongst the Bohemian horsemen, vpon whom (being disordered by the Lanzaries Harquebusiers) the Turkish troupes of the old garrison soldiers breaking in with their scimiters and heavy yron maces, made a most bloody execution. The battell of footmen being sore galled, and almost disordered in their march by certain companies of Lanzaries and archers of the Asapi (who from a woody banke of a marish discharged their shot & arrowes continually vpon them, yet neuer comming to bandy blowes) was one the other side so hardly charged by *Amurathes* with his troupes of horsemen of Bosnia, that being not able longer to keep order, it was at last by him broken and cut in pieces: where the Turks with their swords and hatchets slew the poore Christians without mercy. *Lodronius* himselfe, paired away with the breaking in and force of the horsemen, was driuen into a marish: where after that he being sore wounded, and almost fast in the deepe mud, had done the vttermost of that his last endeavour, he by the faire intreaty of the Turks, perswading him rather to yeeld, than there to be slaine, so yeelded himselfe, that he with three companies which were with him, after they had laid downe their weapons, were all saued as valiant souldiers: for now the mercilesse Turks embayed with the Christian blood, were weary of slaughter, and began greedily to seeke after the spoile, hunting after them (who flying disperedly, thought themselves so hard escaped the enemies hands) with such successe, that a great number of them were taken and led away for slaues: few of the footmen escaped, and almost all the rest which were not fled before the battell, were to be seen dead vpon the ground.

This shamefull overthrow at Esek was reported to haue exceeded the most grievous overthrow that the Christians had receiued in any former time for the flower both of horse and foot, lost by the rashnesse and fault of an vnlucky General, rather than by the valor of the enemy, ruthfully perished: so that many provinces were filled with heauinesse and mourning: For it neuer chanced before (as was to be seen by the vnfurnat battels of *Sigismund* the Emperour, and king *Ladislaus*) that the Turks got such a victory without some losse: so that they which fell almost vreuenged at Esek, may seeme to haue augmented that losse by the great infamy thereof. *Mahometes* hauing thus almost without the blood of his soldiers, obtained so great a victory, and taken the spoile of the Christian camp, pitched his tents in a little meadow being clesed of the dead bodies, and after he had merrily feasted with his captains, commanded the chiefe prisoners, the goodly spoiles, and fairest ensignes to be brought vnto him: and openly commending the captaines who had that day done any good seruice, commanding diuers bags of money to be brought vnto him by the receiuers, he with his owne hand rewarded the soldiers, some with gold, some with silver, according to their deserts: And causing all the prisoners which were not common souldiers to be brought forth, he diligently viewed them, and presently caused euery one of their names, and the office they bare, to be inrolled by his clerks: and vnto such as brought in the heads, eares, or hands of the Christians with rings vpon them, he forthwith caused one reward or other to be giuen. *Lodronius*, when as by reason of his deadly wounds he was thought vnable to indure trauell, or to be brought aliue with the other prisoners to Constantinople, was slaine by his keepers, and his head afterward sent thither. For, as many noble gentlemen (and amongst others, *Laurentius Streiperg* and *Dietmarus Losstaine*) haue reported, (who ransomed afterwards, returned againe home to their wiues and children) amongst the prisoners which were together with the faire ensignes, and other gallant warlike furniture (especially gilt armor and headpieces) presented by *Mahometes* his messengers to *Solyman*, three of the greatest captaines heads were in a silver bason there scene and known, which were the heads of *Paulus Bachitius* the valiant Hungarian captain, *Antius Mager* General of the Carinthian horsemen, and *Lodronius* General of the footmen: which after the tyrant had looked a quint vpon, as obhorring that loathsome sight, he with stern countenance commanded all the prisoners to be slaine. But vpon the intercession of the Lanzaries (who entreated for them as valiant men, to whom they had at the time of their taking past their faith, and might afterwards do him good seruice) he changed his countenance, and saued many of them. But *Cassander* flying to his owne castle, was of all men accused as a wicked forsaker of his owne campe and ensignes, and commonly railed vpon, as the eternall infamy of his country.

The Christian  
footmen over-  
throwne.

*Lodronius* slain

Three of the  
great captaines  
heads presented  
to *Solyman* at  
Constantinople.

*Cassander* ge-  
nerally hated.

try, and author of that publike calamity: so that it was reported, that he durst neither goe abroad, nor shew his face for shame. He was so generally hated, that infamous libels, made against him & the other captains which shamefully fled as he did, were commonly sung in the streets by boyes in all places of Germany. Where with he was so much grieved, that he requested of *K. Ferdinand*, that he might safely come to the court, to answer whatsoever could be laid against him: which his request the king easily granted, and when he came to the court, received him with doubtfull countenance. But when the hearing of his cause was by the king, somewhat longer protracted than he would haue had it, and he in the mean time apprehended safe custody; impatient of such delay, and halfe doubtfull whether he should be acquitted or condemned, thought it better to fly, than to abide the trial. So feigning himselfe sick, and scraping vp by little and little with his knife a bricke pavement vnder his bed, and so in the night getting out one bricke first, and then another, at length brake thorow the vaule, and with his sheets letting himselfe downe, escaped, hauing post horses ready for him without the Castle. Not long after, as he was a man of a hasty and vnconstant nature, despairing of his estate, he fled to the Turks, *Mahometes* gladly receiuing him, and beside his great entertainment, promising him the gouernment of all Croatia in manner of a tributary king, if he would faithfully serue *Solyman*, and helpe him in the subduing of the cities of Austria. After he had agreed vpon all the conditions of his reuolt, that he might returne to *Mahometes* with some more credit, he began boldly to deale with *Nicholau Sirenus* a Nobleman of Croatia, and his deere friend, as he supposed, to reuolt with him; assuring him, that *Solyman* would deale kindly with them both, as he had before with king *Iohn* in the kingdome of Hungary. *Sirenus* promised him he would, or at least made as if he promised to do what he desired, and so agreed as it were vpon the matter, promising to go ouer with him to the Turks with a troupe of his best and most trusty horsemen. But *Sirenus* considering with himselfe the hainousness and impiety of so great an offence; changing his purpose, chose rather to deale treacherously with his old friend, fearing no such thing in his house, than to offend both against God and his Prince. Wherefore after he had well feasted *Cazzianer* in his house, he as a most cruell host, caused him to be slaine, and sent his head to King *Ferdinand*: in reward whereof he receiued of the Kings gift *Cazzianer* his castle, with all his substance.

In the mean time the Venetians, prouoked by the Turks with diuers injuries both by sea and land (when as *Solyman* but a little before hardly besieged *Corcyra*, and with most barbarous cruelty wassing the Island, had broken the league, & even then by his Lieutenant *Cassius Bassa* besieged *Epidaurus* and *Nauplium*, two of their cities in *Peloponnesus*) resolved without delay to make war likewise vpon him, who for a small trespass would admit no excuse or recompence. Whereunto they were also animated both by *Charles* the Emperor, and *Paulus* the great Bishop: who warned by the late and dangerous attempts of *Solyman* and *Barbarussa*, thought it more for the safety of their estates, by giuing aid to the Venetians, to keep the Turks busied further off, than to suffer them to acquaint themselves too much with the ports of Italy and Sicilia. Wherefore all the Winter following they labored by their Embassadors, to set down what number and what manner of ships, what souldiers, what money was to be provided, and how to be according to their estates apportioned, for the setting forth of a strong fleet against the next Summer, to be sent into Grecia against the Turks. At last it was agreed amongst these confederat Princes, by their Embassadors at Rome, That the Emperor should furnish and set forth 82 gallies, the Venetians the like number, and the Bishop 36; to make vp the number of two hundred gallies; that the Venetians should lend vnto the Bishop so many gallies ready rigged, as he should desire, to be furnished by him with mariners and souldiers; and that the Emperor and the State of Genoa should find sufficient shipping for the transportation of the land forces and victuall. The Generals also of this great fleet to be set forth, were at the same time appointed: *Andreas Auria* for the Emperour, *Vincentius Capellus* for the Venetians; and *Marcus Grimmanus* Patriarch of Aquilea for the Bishop: to whom was joynt *Paulus Iustinianus* one of the chiefe Senatours, a man of great experience in sea matters. It was also agreed, that *Ferdinand Gonzaga* Viceroy of Sicily, should haue the commanding of the land forces; and that whatsoever was got from the Turks in that expedition in Grecia, the Islands, or Dalmatia, should be all faithfully deliuered to the Venetians, who had receiued so many injuries from the Turks. The Emperour also of his liberality promised vnto the other Confederats,

*Cazzianer* imprisoned, breake  
thru prison.

*Cazzianer* most  
shamefully mur-  
dered, and his  
head sent vnto  
*K. Ferdinand*.

The Emperour,  
the Venetians,  
and the Bishop  
of Rome, enter  
into a confeder-  
ation against  
the Turks.

A federats, that they should for reasonable price haue as much wheat as they would out of Sicilia, without paying any custome.

*Solyman* vnderstanding of this confederation and preparation made against him by these Christian Princes, commanded *Barbarussa* his Admirall to make ready his fleet to goe against these enemies, and to do all the harme he could vpon the Islands subiect to the Venetian state. Which thing *Barbarussa* with great care and diligence in short time performed: and so with 130 gallies in most warlike manner appointed, with the first of the Spring, in the yeare 1538, departed from *Hellespontus* directly to Crete; where hauing passed the promontory of *Gyamus*, which at this day is called *Sparta*, he vnadvisedly landed most part of his men, to haue surprised the city of *Canea*, which was in ancient time called *Sydonia*. But *Gritius* one of the

B Venetian Senatours then kept the City with a strong garrison; who from the walls and bulwarks therof so plagued the Turks with great and small shot, and the sallying out of two companies of Italians, that *Barbarussa* hauing lost many of his men, was faine to retire againe to his fleet in such hast, that he left behind him 1000 of his Turks, which were gone further into the Island after booty, who were afterwards all slaine by them of Crete. After that, he attempted to haue taken diuers places in the Island, and was euery where notably repulsed. With the city of *Candia*, whereof the Island now taketh name, and was in ancient time called *Cytheum*, he durst not meddle: but sailing almost round about the Island, tooke onely *Cecilia*, a little towne before forsaken of the inhabitants, which he set on fire, and so departed from Crete: for he was aduertised, That *Vincentius Capellus* the Venetian Admirall, who was now come to

C *Corcyra*, would in short time come to relieue them of Crete. *Auria*, Admirall of the Emperors fleet, passing the streit of *Messana*, came to *Corcyra* also, and there joined with the Venetians. The Christian fleet was then so great that it was thought the Turks durst not meet it at sea, but by all means shun to giue battell. For *Barbarussa* then lay with the Turks fleet in the bay of *Ambracia*, expecting when the Christians should enter the streit entrance therof, where he had on both sides placed diuers pieces of great ordnance, to haue sunk them in their comming in: for *Grimmanus* the Patriarch, a little before departing from *Corcyra*, had with the great Bishops gallies begun to besiege *Preuesa*, a towne vpon the promontory of *Aetium* fast by that streit, and landing some of his souldiers, with three great pieces of artillery so battered the castle of *Preuesa*, that he was like enough to haue taken it, had not the Turks from *Aetolia*

D come to relieue it with a strong power both of horse and foot. Wherefore the Patriarch shipping againe his men and ordnance, returned to the fleet at *Corcyra*, not repenting him of his journey, for that he had well viewed the streits of that Bay, and all the enemies fleet riding at anchor within it. Vpon the returne of the Patriarch, and relation made, what he had both done and seene, the great commanders of the Christian fleet entred into counsell, what course were best to take for the better proceeding in that great action. *Gonzaga* the Viceroy, Generall of the land forces, was of opinion, That it were best to land the souldiers and great ordnance, and with all their force to assault the castle of *Preuesa*: which once taken, and their ordnance there planted, the enemies fleet might in the Bay be utterly defeated, for that all passage to sea might easily be taken from them, by sinking one of the great ships in the mouth of the

E Streite, and by mooring there of three great Gallions full of Artillery: so that if *Barbarussa* would desperatly aduenture to come out, hee must needs be sunke in the mouth of the Bay. Whereunto *Auria* replied, That *Gonzaga* his counsell was in words and shew glorious, but to put in execution most dangerous: for that first to land the souldiers and great artillery, he said was a thing too too full of hazard and perill: for it was to be thought, that the Turks in *Aetolia* would as they had before done, come with speed with their horsemen to relieue the besieged in the castle; whose force the Christian footmen could hardly abide. Besides that, if the fleet should by force of weather be constrained to leaue that coast, (as it wel might, Autumne now comming fast on) after the souldiers were landed, From whence should they then get victuall in the enemies country? Or what reliefe should they hope for, if they should hap to be distressed; being on euery side beset with their enemies, and their friends by tempest driven from them? Wherefore he thought it best, if the enemy could not be drawne out of the Bay to battell, to go directly to the Bay of *Naupactum*, and to take that towne which was not greatly fortified, and to ransacke and spoile all the Townes, euen to the bottome of the Bay of *Corinth*. Which the Grecians in the Fleet said might easily be done: by taking of which

1538  
*Solyman* sendeth  
*Barbarussa*  
against the  
Venetians.

*Barbarussa* land-  
ing in Crete, is  
repulsed with  
losse.

The confederat  
Princes Fleet  
meet at *Corcyra*.

*Gonzaga* his  
opinion.

*Auria* of ano-  
ther opinion.

course it might fall out, that *Barbarussa* mooued with the danger of his friends, would for shame come out and joyne with them in battell. This counsell of *Auria* was best liked both of *Capellius* and the Patriarch, being far more desirous to fight with their enemies at sea, than at land.

*Auria braueth  
Barbarussa ly-  
ing in the Bay  
of Ambracia.*

*Barbarussa re-  
proued of coun-  
sell by one of  
the Turkes Eu-  
nuchs.*

*Auria* hauing put in order his fleet, came to *Pruesia*, and so to the streit of the bay of *Ambracia*, where he so placed the whole fleet, which was in number 250 saile, that it might easily of the enemy be numbred. Which fight (as it was reported) wonderfully troubled *Barbarussa*; who although he was of a courageous disposition, and such a man as greatly feared not either the valor or martial discipline of the Christians, yet was he exceedingly moued with the sight of so great a fleet so well appointed; for a greater had not of long time bin scene in the Ionian sea. So that an Eunuch of *Solyman*'s court, sent by him as *Barbarussa*'s companion, seeing him to delay the time as a man halfe discouraged, did with most vnciuil and proud words take him vp, because he would not forthwith go out of the bay and fight with the Christians which lay at the mouth thereof daring of them: wherein he was not (as he said) to regard his own safety (who as a coward would not endure the sight of the enemy) but the honour of *Solyman* his Soueraigne, who would not take it well, to haue the glory of his name stained with so shamefull a delay: for if he were a valiant and martiall man, as he professed himselfe to be, he ought neuer to despaire of victory: and if it should so fall out, that fortune should frown vpon them, and not to answer their desires, yet should not *Solyman* therefore want captains and soldiers better than they, if they were ouercome; and the woods of *Pontus* would afford him timber enough to build twice so great and strong a fleet. And for a conclusion, the insolent Eunuch willed *Barbarussa* to beware, that whilest he feared a most honourable death (which was vncertaine, though the battell were lost) he drew not vpon himselfe the certaine danger of a most shamefull death by the displeasure of *Solyman*.

*Barbarussa his  
answer to Salec  
concerning the  
Eunuchs; see b.*

At which speech *Barbarussa* turning himselfe about to *Salac*, one of the arch pyrats, a famous sea man, said vnto him, *We must for ought that I can see, most valiant and faithfull capitaine, adu- ture this battell, although it be at too much disadvantage, lest haply we perish by the complaints of this bar- king demy man.* And so presently commanded all his fleet to weigh anchor, at the same time that *Auria* had hoised saile, and was on his way toward the bay of *Naupactus*, thinking that the enemy durst not for feare haue come out of the bay of *Ambracia*. *Auria* keeping on his course was come to *Leucade*, when the enemies fleet was discried out of the top of *Bondelme- rine* galleon, to be come out of the Bay, and to make towards them, keeping close by the shore: which manner of course the crafty Turke, misdoubting his own strength, held of purpose, that if he should chance to be ouermatched by the Christians, he might turne the prow of his gal- lies vpon them, and running the poups aground, so to land his men and great ordnance, and from land as he might to defend his Fleet: accounting it a lesse losse (if the worst should chance) to lose the gallies, than the men.

*The profile  
Turks fleet.*

*Auria* somewhat troubled with this sudden comming out of the enemy, as with a thing which he then least expected, yet notably staide himselfe, and commanded all the fleet to pre- pare themselves to battell, and to follow his Admirall gally. Now all the Turkes fleet was come into the open sea into such order, that *Barbarussa* himselfe was in the middle battell; where his Admirall gally was to be scene with many purple flags and streamers flying gallantly in the winde: on his right hand was *Tabacches*, and *Salac* on the left, both men of great fame, every one of them hauing almost like number of gallies, which were in all 150. Vnto the middle battell were joyned two wings, in such order, that which way soeuer the Admirall turned, they turning also, still represented the forme of a flying Eagle: so that (as *Auria* himselfe afterwards confessed) a more firme or orderly fleet could not haue bin brought out by any expert captain. Before the fleet came about 20 nimble gallies conducted by *Drogut* (or *Drogut*) an arch py- rat, famous afterwards for the great harme he did vnto the Christians. *Capellius* the Venetian Admirall came in his long boat to *Auria*, requesting him, That he with his gallies might giue the first charge vpon the enemy: to whom *Auria* gaue great thanks, and praising his forward- nes, requested him to follow him, to whom he would in good time giue a signe what he would haue done. The foremost of the Turkes light gallies was now come to the great galleon of *Bondelmerius*, which was the foremost of the Christian fleet, whereunto were sent also certaine gal- lies from *Salac*, to helpe to assaile that tall ship, which shooting a far off, did no harme, neither

*Bondel-*

*Bondelmerius* them; who would not suffer one peece to be discharged; for he being an expert sea man, and loth to shoot in vain, expected that they should come neerer vnto him, and then vpon the sudden to discharge all his great ordnance vpon them. Neither was he deceived in that his expectation, for the Turkes comming neerer vnto him, were so ouerwhelmed with the great and small shot out of the galleon, that they were glad to stay their course and retire. In the meane time *Auria* called backe again his ships which were gon before, and caused his gal- leon to be towed out; and by boats of purpose sent out, charged the captains of the gallies to make themselves ready to fight, vpon signall giuen by the sound of the trumpet, & displaying of the Admirals ensigne: yet was not *Auria* of mind to fight, with his gallies without his ships.

Which thing the crafty enemy well perceiued, and therefore sought by all meanes to joyne B battell with the gallies, before the comming in of the tall ships, which were as castles in respect of the gallies: for it was then such a calme, that the ships were not able to keepe way with the gallies, and the smooth water seemed to offer a fit opportunity for battell, which so well pleased the Patriarch, that many heard him cry aloud to *Auria* to giue the signall; and marvelled much why he deferred to giue battell. For he fetching a great compasse, and houering about his ships, with his gallies kept such a course, that many thought he would vpon a sudden haue don some strange and vnexpected exploit vpon the enemy: but *Auria* held that strange course of purpose to haue drawne the enemies gallies within the danger of his great ships, who thun- dering amongst them with their great ordnance, might haue easily sore beaten and disordered them, and opened a way to his gallies to haue gotten a most certaine victory. But the crafty

*Auria his poli-  
tique.*

old Turke doubting by the strangeness of *Auria*'s course, to be circumuented with some fine- nesse, changed his course, and lay still with his owne Squadron of gallies, warily expecting to what purpose that strange course of the enemy tended. In the meane time, both the wings of his fleet had a little before Sun-set, begun in diuers places to encounter with the Christians: some were in vaine still assailing *Bondelmerius* his great galleon; others with their great ord- nance had so fore beaten two tall ships (wherein *Buccaniera* and *Mongia*, two Spanish captains, were embarked with their companies) that they were giuen for lost, many of the soldiers and mariners being slain. Two other ships loded with victuall, the one of Venice, the other of Dal- matia, were burnt by the Turkes, & some few of the men saued by their shipboats, and by swim- ming to the ships neerest vnto them. In the shutting in of the evening *Salac* tooke two gallies

D stragling behind the rest of the fleet, whereof *Mozenicus* a Venetian, and *Behiema* a Florentine, were captains. After these gallies, was taken also the ship of *Aloysius Figaroa* a Spaniard, al- though his soldiers had for a time fought most valiantly. In this ship, with *Figaroa* the father, was taken his son a yong gentleman, and beautified with all the good gifts of nature; who af- terwards presented to *Solyman*, turned Turke; and growing in credit in *Solyman*'s chamber, after three yeres miserable imprisonment, obtained his poore fathers liberty, and sent him well re- warded home again into Spaine. Whilst both the fleets were thus expecting how they might to their most aduantage joyne battell, suddenly arose a great tempest of thunder, lightning, and rain, with a fresh gale of Easterly wind: whereupon the Christians seeing the Turkes hoising vp their small sailes, without delay hoised vp both small and great to cleere themselves of the

*The Christi-  
ans fleet shame-  
fully flyeth.*

E enemy, and with that faire wind returned againe to *Corcyra*; so disordredly and in such hast, sparing neither saile nor oare, that it seemed rather a shamefull flight, than an orderly retreat. So that *Auria*, a man of so great fame at sea, as that he was called a second *Neptune*, was that day accounted no captain. It is reported that *Barbarussa* with the same wind pursued the Christi- ans a while, and being not able longer to see what course they held, by reason of the darknesse of the night, to haue staied his course: for the Admirals had caused their lights which they vsed to carry in the poups of their gallies, to be put out. Whereat *Barbarussa* heartily laughing, said oftentimes in the Spanish tongue: *Auria hath therefore put out his light, the better in the darke to hide his flight*: noting in him such a feare, as that he without regard of honour, sought onely how by flight to escape. When they were come to *Corcyra*, they were all generally of opi- nion, That by the benefit of that sudden storme they had auoided a great danger. The Impe- rials, especially the *Genowais*, to excuse *Auria*, imputed the cause of so shamefull a flight vnto the Venetians, who would not from the beginning receiue any Spanish souldiers into their gallies, the better to haue withstood the enemy; and that *Auria* therefore doubting of the Ve- netians, refrained from joyning battell; and the rather, because that vpon the comming forth

*Barbarussa sea-  
selle at Auria.*

Barbarossa braves  
with the Christians.

Castro-novum  
taken by the  
Christians.

of the Turks fleet, they had hoisted up their sailes tied up to the yards with small lines, which they might at their pleasure easily cut, and set saile to fly which way they would. Shortly after came *Barbarossa* with all his fleet to the Island of Paxus, about foure leagues from *Coccyra* Eastward, braving the Christians as if he would have fought with them, if they durst come out. Whereat *Gonzaga* the Viceroy fretting, went to every one of the three great commanders, requesting them for the honor of the Christians, to repress that proud Turks insolency. At last the matter was brought to that passe, that the Venetians having taken in certain companies of Spaniards, the fleet should be diuided into foure squadrons, and so to giue battell. But this consultation was so long protracting, that *Barbarossa* fearing the tempestuous Autumn weather, hoisted saile, and about the seuenth of October returned again into the bay of *Ambra-cia*. After the departing of *Barbarossa*, the Generals of the Christian fleet directed their course into the bay called *Sinus Rifonicus*, to besiege *Castro-novum*, or New-castle, a strong towne of the Turks standing in that bey, and bordering vpon the Venetian Seigniorie. The inhabitants were part Dalmatians, part Epirots, which had renounced the Christian religion, and some Turks, liuing most part by merchandise. Vnto this towne the Christians laid siege, and in short time won it, where they had a great prey, and a wonderfull number of captiues of all sorts. Three daies after the taking of the towne, the castle was also yeelded by the Turks garrison, couenanting in vaine to depart with life and liberty.

This towne taken by common force, ought of right by the couenants of the league to haue been deliuered to the Venetians; yet was it for all that by *Auria* and *Gonzaga* referred for the Emperor, and *Franciscus Sarmenus* with foure thousand Spaniards all old soldiers, left there in garrison: *Capellius* the Venetian Admirall vrging in vaine the right of the Venetians. Which thing so much grieved the Senat, (who euer had the ambitious Spaniard in suspition, and now assured of him as an euill neighbour to their towne of *Catarum*) that repenting themselves of the league with the Emperor, they decreed to sue to *Solyman* for peace: which they afterwards easily obtained, for a short space, by *Laurentius Grissus* their Dukes son, and by the helpe of *Antonius Rinco* the French Kings Embassador; who then lying at *Constantinople*, in good time told the great Bassa's, that the league the Venetians had made with the Emperour, was made without the consent of the greatest part of the Senat, and that war taken in hand against most of their wills.

Whilst these things were in doing, *Barbarossa* put to sea againe to haue relieued *Castro-novum*: but being at sea, many of his gallies were by the violence of a sudden tempest driuen vpon the *Acroceranion* rocks, and there cast away. It is reported that he lost there 30000 men, which with the broken pieces of his gallies were found almost all alongst the coast of *Dalmatia*. This shipwracke being certainly knowne, *Capellius* would haue persuaded *Auria* to haue presently pursued *Barbarossa* so distressed: which motion *Gonzaga* well liked, as a man desirous by some notable exploit to recompence the disgrace before receiued at *Leucade*. But *Auria* for diuers causes not liking of the matter, was so set down vpon his returne to Italy, that he presently hoisted saile, leauing the Venetian Admirall in such a rage, that he detested himselfe, for submitting himselfe to another mans power; and wished the captains then present, heuer to subiect themselves to the command of a stranger, so much as that. Genoway, either vpon cowardise or malicious mind, as an old enemy to the Venetian State, would not prosecute so manifest a victory, but put up so shamefull a disgrace as he had before receiued. But of all this *Auria* made small reckoning, referring all that he both said and did, so far vnto the Emperors commodity, that *Valerius Vrsinus* a noble gentleman then seruing in the Venetian pay, merrily said, That *Auria* had done nothing but wisely and politickly, in setting the Venetians together by the ears with the Turks, and opening a gate for a long war, whether the Venetians would or not: so as the emperor himselfe could not haue better wished, and that without the losse of one gally. For it was thought by many, that the long wars betwixt the Turks and the Venetians would sort to the great good of the emperor, when as the Venetians worne out and spent with those long and chargeable wars against so mighty an enemy, should be stripped of their lands and territories either by force, or some hard composition wrung from them by necessity.

*Castro-novum* thus taken, and *Sarmenus* with a garrison of foure thousand Spaniards there placed, as is aforesaid, and the Christian fleet dissolued, *Solyman* tooke the matter so grievously, that he determined to besiege it againe both by sea and land: and in his fury, caused

Naupli-

A *Nauplium* and *Epidaurus*, two of the Venetian cities in the country of *Peloponessus*, to bee straitly besieged. Yet tooke he singular pleasure, that *Barbarossa* his Admirall, in all respects worse furnished, had driuen out of the sea the great fleet of the Christians, which he before that time had made too great account of. Wherefore in the beginning of the Spring, which was in the yeare 1539, *Barbarossa* by his commandement repaired againe his fleet, and notably furnished it with all manner of warlike prouision, manning his gallies for the most part with *Ianizaries* and other such select soldiers. With this fleet *Barbarossa* (Summer now wel come on) departed out of the *Hellepontus*, and came to the bay *Rifonicus*; at which time also *Vlames* the Persian then Governour of *Bosna*, shewed himselfe with his forces vpon the mountaines, as he had in charge from *Solyman*. *Barbarossa* before he entred the streits of the bay, sent before

B him *Dragut* and *Corsetus*, two notable pirats, with thirty galliots, who landing their men neere vnto *Castro-novum* (as they were commanded) were valiantly encountered by *Sarmenus* with his Spaniards, and forced againe to their galliots, many of the Turks being slaine and taken prisoners. After that came *Barbarossa* with 90 gallies, and 3 tal ships which carried the artillery for battery and other necessary prouision for the campe; where he spent three daies landing his great ordnance and casting up trenches, which could not be done but by night by reason of the continuall shot out of the Towne: wherewith the Spaniards had in that three daies space slaine about 1000 Turks: amongst whom was *Agis Mariademus*, who had made himselfe as it were a king at *Tajorca*, a city neere *Tripolis* in *Africa*; whose death much grieved *Barbarossa*, as one of his most antient and best friends. At length *Barbarossa* having cast up his trenches, landed foure and fifty great pieces of artillery for battery; whereof he gaue a fourth part to *Vlames* to batter the towne on the North side, whilest he in the meane time, in three diuers places battered the East side, and *Salec* from sea with ten gallies, did morning and euening batter another part of the wall. Whilest *Sarmenus* was thus in so many places assailed, and did what was possible to haue repaired the breaches; the Turks by force tooke one of the towers, whereafter they had displayed their ensignes, they from thence with their shot sore troubled the Spaniards. At the same time also, *Vlames* had made a breach, and was ready on the other side of the city to enter. In which extremities, *Sarmenus* seeing no means longer to defend the city, commanded the hurt soldiers to get them into the castle below, and the rest with him to take the market place, there to die together like men: where the Turks straight-

D way breaking in on euery side vpon them, made a most cruell and bloody fight, wherein the Spaniards ouerwhelmed with shot, and the multitude of their enemies, were slain almost euery man. *Sarmenus* wounded in the face with three arrowes, and wearied with long fight, seeing *Sancius Fria* a captain ready to fly, sharply reproved him, and catching him by the hand, made him there to tarry by it, vntill they were both together slaine. Many valiant captains were there lost, whose names for breuity I omit. *Aloysius Arius*, and certaine other captains who together with the wounded souldiers were got into the castle, seeing no means to defend the place, yeelded themselves: whom *Barbarossa* according to his promise, tooke to mercy in sparing their liues, yet carried them away into captiuitie to *Constantinople*. The dead body of *Sarmenus* could not be knowne amongst so many heaps of the dead, although *Barbarossa* had

E caused most diligent search to be made for it, and offered great sums of mony and liberty also, to whosoever could recover it; being desirous to haue sent his head for a Present to *Solyman*. *Barbarossa* proud of this victory, began forthwith to gape after *Cattarus* a City of the Venetians in the bottome of the same bay; and thereupon writ threatening letters to *Ioannes Bembo* one of the Venetian Senators then Governour of the city, presently to deliuer the city; which he would (as he said) otherwise assault by force. Whereunto *Bembo* answered againe by letters, that in so doing he should violate the league lately made with *Solyman*, and that he should find him ready by force to repell his forces. Wherewith *Barbarossa* displeased, sent certaine gallies into the bottome of the bay, who discharging certain great pieces at the city, made shew as if they had come to besiege it. At whom *Bembo* as a man of good courage

F caused as many moe like pieces to be discharged, and shewed his men vpon the walls: Which thing *Barbarossa* perceiving staid his course, and calling backe his gallies, returned to *Castro-novum*, from whence (better appeased with Presents afterwards sent from *Bembo*) he departed out of that bay.

The long wars betwixt *Charles* the Emperour and *Francis* the French King, were now well pacified;

1539  
Barbarossa sent  
by Solyman to  
besiege Castro-  
novum.

Castro-novum  
harshly besieged  
by Barbarossa.

Castro-novum  
taken.

Sarmenus  
slaine.

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of the Turks fleet, they had hoisted vp their sailes tied vp to the yards with small lines, which G they might at their pleasure easily cut, and set saile to fly which way they would. Shortly after came *Barbarus* with all his fleet to the Island of Paxos, about foure leagues from Corcyra Eastward, brauing the Christians as if he would haue fought with them, if they durst come out. Wherat *Gonzaga* the Viceroy fretting, went to euery one of the three great commanders, requesting them for the honor of the Christians, to repress that proud Turks insolency. At last the matter was brought to that passe, that the Venetians hauing taken in certain companies of Spaniards, the fleet should be diuided into foure squadrons, and so to giue battell. But this consultation was so long protracting, that *Barbarus* fearing the tempestuous Autumne weather, hoisted saile, and about the seventh of October returned again into the bay of Ambra- H cia. After the departing of *Barbarus*, the Generals of the Christian fleet directed their course into the bay called Sinus Rifonicus, to besiege Castronovum, or New-castle, a strong towne of the Turks standing in that bey, and bordering vpon the Venetian Seigniorie. The Inhabitants were part Dalmatians, part Epirots, which had renounced the Christian religion, and some Turks, liuing most part by merchandise. Vnto this towne the Christians laid siege, and in short time won it, where they had a great prey, and a wonderful number of captiues of all sorts. Three daies after the taking of the towne, the castle was also yeelded by the Turks gar- rison, couenanting in vaine to depart with life and liberty.

This towne taken by common force, ought of right by the covenants of the league to haue been deliuered to the Venetians; yet was it for all that by *Anria* and *Gonzaga* refused for the Emperor, and *Franciscus Sarmenus* with foure thousand Spaniards all old soldiers, left there in I garrison: *Capellus* the Venetian Admirall vrging in vaine the right of the Venetians. Which thing so much grieved the Senat, (who euer had the ambitious Spaniard in suspence, and now assured of him as an euill neighbour to their towne of Catarum) that repenting themselves of the league with the Emperor, they decreed to sue to *Solyman* for peace: which they afterwards easily obtained, for a short space, by *Laurentius Gritius* their Dukes son, and by the helpe of *Antonius Rinco* the French Kings Embassador; who then lying at Constantinople, in good time told the great Bassa's, that the league the Venetians had made with the Emperour, was made without the consent of the greatest part of the Senat, and that war taken in hand against most of their wils.

Whilst these things were in doing, *Barbarus* put to sea againe to haue relieued Castrono- K vum: but being at sea, many of his gallies were by the violence of a sudden tempest driuen vpon the Acroceraunian rocks, and there cast away. It is reported that he lost there 30000 men, which with the broken pieces of his gallies were found almost all alongst the coast of Dalmatia. This shipwracke being certainly knowne, *Capellus* would haue persuaded *Anria* to haue presently pursued *Barbarus* so distressed: which motion *Gonzaga* well liked, as a man desirous by some notable exploit to recompence the disgrace before receiued at Leucade. But *Anria* for diuers causes not liking of the matter, was so set down vpon his return to Italy, that he presently hoisted saile, leauing the Venetian Admirall in such a rage, that he detested himselfe, for submitting himselfe to another mans power; and wished the captains there present, neuer to subiect themselves to the command of a stranger, forasmuch as that Genoway, either vpon L cowardise or malicious mind, as an old enemy to the Venetian State, would not prosecute so manifest a victory, but put vp so shamefull a disgrace as he had before receiued. But of all this *Anria* made small reckoning, referring all that he both said and did, so far vnto the Emperors commodity, that *Valerius Prissus* a noble gentleman then seruing in the Venetian pay, merrily said, That *Anria* had done nothing but wisely and politickly, in setting the Venetians together by the ears with the Turks, and opening a gate for a long war, whether the Venetians would or not: so as the emperor himselfe could not haue better wished, and that without the losse of one gally. For it was thought by many, that the long wars betwixt the Turks and the Venetians would sort to the great good of the emperor, when as the Venetians worne out and spent with those long and chargeable wars against so mighty an enemy, should be stripped of their lands M and territories either by force, or some hard composition wrung from them by necessity.

Castronovum thus taken, and *Sarmenus* with a garrison of foure thousand Spaniards there placed, as is aforesaid, and the Christian fleet dissolved, *Solyman* tooke the matter so grievously, that he determined to besiege it againe both by sea and land: and in his fury, caused Naupli-

A Nauplium and Epidaurus, two of the Venetian cities in the country of Peloponesus, to bee straitly besieged. Yet tooke he singular pleasure, that *Barbarus* his Admirall, in all respects worse furnished, had driuen out of the sea the great fleet of the Christians, which he before that time had made too great account of. Wherefore in the beginning of the Spring, which was in the yeare 1539, *Barbarus* by his commandement repaired againe his fleet, and notably furnished it with all manner of warlike prouision, manning his gallies for the most part with Ianzizaries and other such select soldiers. With this fleet *Barbarus* (Summer now well come on) departed out of the Hellespontus, and came to the bay Rifonicus; at which time also *Vlames* the Persian then Governour of Bosna, shewed himselfe with his forces vpon the mountaines, as he had in charge from *Solyman*. *Barbarus* before he entred the streits of the bay, sent before B him *Dragus* and *Corsetus*, two notable pirats, with thirty galliots, who landing their men neere vnto Castronovum (as they were commanded) were valiantly encountered by *Sarmenus* with his Spaniards, and forced againe to their galliots, many of the Turks being slaine and taken prisoners. After that came *Barbarus* with 90 gallies, and 3 tal ships which carried the artillery for battery and other necessary prouision for the campe; where he spent three daies landing his great ordnance and casting vp trenches, which could not be done but by night by reason of the continuall shot out of the Towne: wherewith the Spaniards had in that three daies space slaine about 10000 Turks: amongst whom was *Agis Hariademus*, who had made himselfe as it were a king at Tajorca, a city neere Tripolis in Africa; whose death much grieved *Barbarus*, as one of his most auncient and best friends. At length *Barbarus* hauing cast vp his trench-

G es, landed foure and fifty great pieces of artillery for battery; whereof he gaue a fourth part to *Vlames* to batter the towne on the North side, whilst he in the meane time, in three diuers places battered the East side, and *Salec* from sea with ten gallies, did morning and euening batter another part of the wall. Whilst *Sarmenus* was thus in so many places assailed, and did what was possible to haue repaired the breaches; the Turks by force tooke one of the towers, where after they had displayed their ensignes, they from thence with their shot sore troubled the Spaniards. At the same time also, *Vlames* had made a breach, and was ready on the other side of the city to enter. In which extremities, *Sarmenus* seeing no means longer to defend the city, commanded the hurt soldiers to get them into the castle below, and the rest with him to take the market place, there to die together like men: where the Turks straight-

D way breaking in on euery side vpon them, made a most cruell and bloody fight, wherein the Spaniards ouerwhelmed with shot, and the multitude of their enemies, were slain almost euery man. *Sarmenus* wounded in the face with three arrowes, and wearied with long fight, seeing *Sancius Fria* a captain ready to fly, sharply reproofed him, and catching him by the hand, made him there to tarry by it, vntill they were both together slaine. Many valiant captaines were there lost, whose names for breuity I omit. *Aloysius Arius*, and certaine other captaines who together with the wounded souldiers were got into the castle, seeing no means to defend the place, yeelded themselves: whom *Barbarus* according to his promise, tooke to mercy in sparing their liues, yet carried them away into captiuitie to Constantinople. The dead body of *Sarmenus* could not be knowne amongst so many heaps of the dead, although *Barbarus* had E caused most diligent search to be made for it, and offered great sums of money and liberty also, to whosoever could recover it; being desirous to haue sent his head for a Present to *Solyman*. *Barbarus* proud of this victory, began forthwith to gape after Cattarus a City of the Venetians in the bottome of the same bay; and thereupon writ threatening letters to *Ioannes Bemus* one of the Venetian Senators then Governour of the city, presently to deliuer the city; which he would (as he said) otherwise assault by force. Whereunto *Bemus* answered againe by letters, that in so doing he should violate the league lately made with *Solyman*, and that he should find him ready by force to repell his forces. Wherewith *Barbarus* displeased, sent certaine gallies into the bottome of the bay, who discharging certain great pieces at the city, made shew as if they had come to besiege it. At whom *Bemus* as a man of good courage F caused as many moe like pieces to be discharged, and shewed his men vpon the walls: Which thing *Barbarus* perceiuing staid his course, and calling backe his gallies, returned to Castronovum, from whence (better appeased with Presents afterwards sent from *Bemus*) he departed out of that bay.

The long wars betwixt *Charles* the Emperour and *Francis* the French King, were now well pacified;

*Barbarus* bra-  
ueth the Chri-  
stians.

Castronovum  
taken by the  
Christians.

*Anria* neglect-  
ing to pursue  
*Barbarus*, re-  
turneth into Ita-  
ly, to the wife  
of the Venetian  
Admirall.

1539

*Barbarus* sent  
by *Solyman* to  
besiege Castronovum.

Castronovum  
hardly besieged  
by *Barbarus*.

Castronovum  
taken.

*Sarmenus*  
slaine.

Alphonſus, Vaſtus and Hanebald ſent embaſſadors from the Emperour & the French King to the State of Venice.

Vaſtus ſpoke to the Venetian Senat.

pacified, and ſuch friendſhip (at leaſt wiſe in ſhew) now growne betwixt theſe two great Princes, that moſt men thought that all other quarrels laid aſide, they would now at length with vnited forces goe againſt the great and dangerous enemy of Chriſtendome: which opinion not altogether of the wiſer ſort beleeued, was yet at this time wonderfully confirmed by many extraordinary and rare courteſies then paſſing betweene them, which concerne not this Hiſtory; as alſo, in that two of their moſt famous captains, *Alphonſus Vaſtus*, and *Hanebald*, were as it were with one conſent by them both ſent embaſſadors to Venice: to haue drawn the Venetians into the confederation of that war againſt the Turke. Which two renowned captains comming to Venice, moſt gallantly accompanied, were by *Landus* the Duke, and the whole State, with great magnificence receiued, the people after their wonted manner flocking together in every place to behold them ſo noble captaines ſent from ſuch mighty Princes; but eſpecially *Vaſtus*, whoſe fame hauing many times before filled their eares, made them now the more deſirous to ſatiſfie their eyes alſo with the beholding of his tall and comely perſon. Which two famous captains admitted into the Senat, for that purpoſe fully aſſembled, and audience giuen: *Vaſtus* ariſing from the Dukes ſide, in theſe or like words deliuered their embaſſage.

It is come to paſſe (as I ſuppoſe) by the great providence of Almighty God, and of all the Divine powers (moſt noble Duke and honourable Senators) that two of the moſt mighty Kings of Europe, who of late had of long time made morall wars one upon another, touched with the zeale of religion, are become great friends: vndoubtedly to that purpoſe only, that hauing made a firme peace, they may bring ſuch a generall quietneſſe to the long troubled and afflicted ſtate of Chriſtendome, as beſt beſeemeth their grace and neceſſe; and taking in hand a ſacred war, ſo reuenge ſo many calamities receiued from the Infidels. That this might be made knowne vnto you (moſt noble Venetians) theſe mighty Monarchs haue ſent vs hither in good time to kindle in you the like zeale, wherewith it is well knowne you haue alwayes for the honour of your State bin inflamed: far yon of all others, which are of ſuch power and valour at ſea, they wiſh for, as their fellowes and confederats in this ſacred war and hoped victory; and thinke you worthy, which ſhould enjoy the eſpeciall fruit of all that labour. Forasmuch as the Chriſtian forces once renewed, and ſo great and ſtrong a fleet once aſſembled, euery man ſeech that the Turks muſt needs be too weak: although they brag, That they carried away the victory of late at *Actum*, when as they then eſcaped the victorious hands of our men, not by their owne valour, but by the unexpected hap of a ſudden ſtorme. For all the powers of heauen and earth, and of the ſea alſo, will be propitious vnto vs, uniting ſo great forces, in regard of our ſacred religion, and will ſo take away the hearts of the Infidels, that they ſhall learne to be overcome. As for our land forces, we are to hope nothing but well, forasmuch as vnto thoſe which the Emperour of late brought into the field at Vienna, and cauſed the Turkiſh Emperour to fly, ſhall be joyned not onely all the horſemen and infantry of France (a wonderfull ſtrength) but *Sigilſmund alſo King of Polonia* will without delay bring forth his armies, wherewith he hath bene vſed in the quarrell of the Chriſtian Religion happily to fight againſt the Infidels: ſo that it is not to be doubted of a moſt certaine and aſſured victory. Wherefore the victorious Emperour and moſt Chriſtian King Francis moſt inſtantly requeſt you to enter into the like godly cogitations, conceiued for the generall good of the Chriſtian name, and religiously to embrace the hope of a moſt true and glorious victory: and further exhort you, by a wholeſome decree to avert your religious and couragious hearts from the friendſhip of the Infidels: for it may worthily ſeeme vnto your moſt honourable minds, a moſt foule and ſhamefull thing, to haue renewed your league, and to haue preferred an infamous and vncertaine peace, before a moſt religious and juſt war. Neiſther doth it beſeeme this moſt wealthy State to be terrified from that which is good and right, with any charges of war, be they neuer ſo great: for if we ſhall once overcome, which is incident to this preſent and long wiſhed occaſion, we ſhall by the proſit of one victory, either by ſea or land, to your incomparable praiſe, recompence all the loſſes by vs in former times receiued.

The anſwere of the Duke to Vaſtus.

Whereunto the Duke in the name of the whole State answered, That there neuer happened any thing at any time vnto the Venetian Senat more honorable, for the manner of the embaſſage, or for the publicke ſecurity of their ſtate, more to be deſired than the hope of ſuch a peace: after that two moſt mighty kings by two ſuch famous captains their embaſſadors, did certifie them of their attonement & aſſured peace, moſt glorious to themſelues, to their eternal praiſe, whole-

A wholeſome alſo to the Venetian State, beſet with ſo many dangers, and wonderfully to bewiſhed for of all other Princes of Chriſtendome, if they would ſincerely and religiously with their forces by common conſent vnited, reſolue vpon that ſacred war: for then would not the Venetians be wanting: to themſelues or the Chriſtian common-weale, but end the league they had with the Turke, not with a diſhonourable peace, but with armes and victory. Wherefore it was to be requeſted of Almighty God by praier, That thoſe puiſſant Kings would with religious and happy euent ſpeedily and ſeriously fulfill all that hope of peace, which they had by their mutuall diſcourſes and embracings in ſhew promiſed vnto the VVorld.

In few daies after, certain of the ſele Senators ſitting in counſell, after the ſpanner of that State, called the embaſſadors vnto them, and asked them, Whether they knew any thing of the articles and capitulations wherin that league and confederation was to be concluded? and by the way, Whether they thought the Emperour in regard of that peace would giue vnto the French kings ſon the Dukedom of Millan, as was reported? Whereunto *Hanebald* the French embaſſador anſwering nothing, *Vaſtus* ſaid, that he knew nothing more, but that the two great Princes had agreed of betwixt themſelues, and that the Emperour had deſired the peace, as one willing to help the afflicted and declining ſtate of the Chriſtian common-weale: which thing any man might ſee could not be effected or brought to paſſe, but the Emperour muſt in many things yeeld to the requeſts of the French King, and redeeme his good will: for the noble mind (ſaid he) worthy Senators, can eaſily make light of the greateſt loſſe of his owne things, when it foreſeeeth a large way opened thereby to eternall fame and glory. Theſe words were very glorious and gracious to the hearers: but they, as men of great experience, could not let it ſinke in their minds, that the Emperour whom they had often deeply founded, would euer part with the Dukedom of Millan, which only thing the French King required, and had for the recovering thereof vnfortunately ſtricken almoſt 20 yeares, to the trouble and diſquiet of a great part of the VVorld. The nobility and authority of this embaſſage more moued the Senat than did the other former Embaſſadors, *Didaco Mendoza* a Spaniard, and *Gulielmus Pellicerius* a Frenchman, then both preſent: yet was it much ſuſpected by the Venetians, becauſe it contained no certaine reſolution, but only the bare hope of a future peace; ſo that it was by many men ſuppoſed to be but a matter deuized to deceiue others, and to ſerue the Emperours turne to his great profit. Yet all the cunning ſeemed to reſt in this point, That the Venetians led on with the hope of this league, ſhould neglect the renewing of the league they had the yeare before taken with *Solyman*, which was now almoſt expired. Vpon which vncertainty of other mens reſolutions, the graue Senators thought too dangerous a matter to depend.

Vpon this queſtion of this new league and confederation to be made with theſe Chriſtian Princes againſt the Turke, the Senat was wonderfully diuided: ſome fauouring the Emperours requeſt, enueighed againſt the renewing of that ſhamefull league with the Infidels, which they ſaid was nothing els, but as much as in them lay to betray vnto them the other parts of Chriſtendom, and eſpecially Italy, deſtitute of their help, and yet not to be obtained without great charge; and with many reaſons vrged the honorable confederation with theſe Chriſtian Princes: others of a deeper reach, conſidering what inſinit harmes they had from time to time receiued by falling out with the Turks, & ſuſpecting alſo the Emperours drift; and joining therunto the conſideration of the great dearth then reigning in the city, which was not to be relieved but out of Macedonia & Grecia, the Turks countries; the emperor hauing at that time as it were of purpoſe impoſed ſo great a cuſtome vpon all come to be transported out of Sicily, that the very cuſtome came to as much as both the price of the corne and the freight together: all which miſchiefs they ſaid were to be prevented by renewing the league with *Solyman*. This matter was with great heat debated in the Senat too & fro, either part hauing great fauours: ſo that the Senators ſpent almoſt whole Winter nights in the court in diſcourſing and conſulting what were beſt to be done: but whatſoeuer was there ſaid or decreed, was forthwith by one of the factions or other made known, not only to the Embaſſadors preſent in the city, but by letters alſo diſcouered into prouinces far off: a thing neuer before in that ſtate known, which had euer vſed as it were with a religious ſilence to keep ſecret whatſoeuer was there decreed. Which thing *Marcus Foſcarus*, an old Senator and a man of great wiſedom, perceiuing, ſaid openly, That the ſtate was betrayed by the multitude and corruption of voices, and muſt needs ſhortly periſh, if it were not ſpeedily committed to the graue and faithfull judgment of ſome

Vaſtus bid anſwer to the demand of the Venetian Senators.

The Venetian Senators diſcreetly afflicted towards the confederation with the Emperour and the French King, againſt Solyman.

Foſcarus a graue Senator.

The Venetians  
send Aloysius  
Badoerius their  
Ambassador to  
Solyman, to con-  
clude a peace.

The most secret  
decree of the  
Venetian Senat  
made knowne  
to Solyman.

1540  
A peace could  
not be made  
between the  
Venetians  
and Solyman.

The traitours  
which revealed  
the secrets of  
the Venetian  
state to Soly-  
man, executed.

some few: for there were almost two hundred of them which gave voices, reducing the multitude to the number of fifty, who for their experience and love toward their country, were holden for men of greatest gravity and secrecy: so was the madnesse of many stayed by the discretion of a few. But *Foscarus* shortly after fell into such hatred of the multitude, grieving to be as light-headed men without discretion, so excluded out of the counsell; that he was by the voices of the multitude first thrust out of the counsell himselfe, and by them kept a great while after from all the preferments and honours of the city: being indeed one of the gravest Senators, and a man of deepest judgement. Which disgrace turned afterward to his great honour and credit, as one that had foreseene much, after they were once found out and condemned which had traiterously revealed the secrets of the State.

But this long consultation concerning the confederation, came to this end; That the Senators doubting the union of those two great princes, and yet willing to expect the event, decreed forthwith to send three Ambassadors; whereof two should be sent to the Emperour and the French king to discover their designs; and the third, which was *Aloysius Badoerius*, a wise and well spoken man, was with all speed dispatched away to *Solyman*, to prevent the same of the distrust to be conceived of the agreement of these great Christian Princes, and if he could by any means, to spare for no cost, to save unto the Venetians their cities of *Nauplium* and *Epidaurus*, which *Solyman* required of them before he would grant them peace. Which if it could not be obtained of the proud and crafty tyrant, then to yeeld unto necessity, and to conclude a peace with him upon any conditions: which course the *Decem-viri* thought to be most expedient for the State: yet concerning the yeelding up of the cities, they gave him secret instructions and warrant, fearing forsooth the force and tumult of the headstrong multitude, who if they had knowe any such thing, would undoubtedly thereupon have taken occasion to have crossed and overthrowne that most wholesome decree: for there was no doubt, that if they had delayed the matter, and sought for peace too late, but that *Solyman* would upon another mans weaknesse and necessity have increased his insatiable desire, and not granted them peace, being brought low and forsaken, except they would deliver unto him the Islands of *Cephalenia*, *Zacinthus*, and *Coreyra*, a matter no lesse grievous than the destruction of the very city of *Venice* it selfe. So that the great Ambassadors *Vassius* and *Hanebald*, who came of purpose to have hindered the league with the Turke, by their great diligence wrought nothing more effectually, than that the Venetians the better foreseeing the danger of their state, should as they did, make hast to conclude the same: for it falleth out in mens purposes & actions, That a good and happy successe otherwise well hoped for, is oftentimes marred with too much diligence and care. Neither was it any doubt, but that *Hanebald* was sent by the French King but for fashion sake, and secretly vnderhand by *Pellicerius* the old Ambassador, perswaded the Venetians to hasten the conclusion of a peace with *Solyman*. Which as *Badoerius* their ambassador was carefully soliciting the matter at *Constantinople*, & being loth to yeeld the strong cities which *Solyman* required, offering unto him in stead of them a great sum of mony: *Solyman* took him up with threatening words as a shamefull dissembler, earnestly protesting, That he would never grant him peace, without the yeelding of those cities, rehearsing unto him the most secretest points of his embassy, and how that he was authorized from the *Decem-viri* to yeeld them unto him: which thing the Ambassador did little thinke *Solyman* had knowne. Wherefore *Badoerius* so shamefully reproued and standing in doubt of his life, seeing the greatest secrets of his embassy revealed to *Solyman* and his Bassaes, was glad to accept of peace, by yeelding unto him *Nauplium* and *Epidaurus*, two cities in *Peloponessus*, and with them *Nadium* and *Labrania*, two castles of *Dalmatia*, to the great griefe of the whole Senat: for granting whereof the common people ignorant of the secret decree of the *Decem-viri*, and supposing that *Badoerius* had given away that which he had no authority to give, were so enraged against him at his returne, that there was much ado to save the guiltlesse man from exile, and his goods from confiscation, although the traitors were then knowne which had discovered the secrets of the state unto the Turks. These were *Mapheus Leonius* a Senator, and *Constantinus Colatius*, Secretary to the college of the *Decem-viri*, and *Franciscus Valerius*, one of the Senators base sonnes, the traitorous disperser of the Turks mony for the corruption of others: who with other his complices were for the same fact hanged in the market place, when as *Leonius* and *Colatius* were a little before fled into France.

About

A About the same time, which was in the yeare of our Lord 1540, died *Ioannes Sepusius* King of Hungary, *Solyman* tributary; after whose death ensued great wars in Hungary, and the lamentable subversion of that flourishing kingdom: for the better conceiving whereof, it shal not be amisse with as much breuery as the plainnesse of the history will permit, to open the causes and grounds of the endlesse calamities which afterwards ensued, and neuer tooke end, untill that warlike kingdom was to the great weakening of Christendome, utterly subverted.

King *Ferdinand* and this tributary King *John*, had with like desire of peace and quietnesse, made betweene them a league, profitable to them both as their estates then stood, rather than honorable, yet most welcome to the Hungarians, who diuided into factions, and having followed some the one king, and some the other, enjoyed neuer thelesse their lands and goods by the benefit of this peace; the towne and castles being still kept by them in whose possession they then were at the making of the peace. In the capitulations of which peace, it was comprised, That *Ferdinand* should from thenceforth call *John* by the name of a king; whereas before he had bestowed his common talke and letters called him by the name of a Vayuod only: It was also expressly set downe in the same articles of peace, and subscribed by the hands of diuers of the nobility of Hungary, That if king *John* should die, king *Ferdinand* should succeed him in the whole kingdom of Hungary: Which condition was suppressed and kept very secret for feare of *Solyman*, who accounted of that kingdom as of his owne, gotten by law of armes, and bestowed upon king *John* as upon his vassalle: neither was it to haue been thought, that if he should haue knowne thereof (being of a haughty mind by nature, and not able to indure any injury) he would haue suffered that kingdom, got and defended with so great danger and cost to be by the Will of an vnthankfull man, transferred unto his enemy.

This matter of so great importance, was (as it is reported) by *Hieronymus Lascus* embassadoer for king *Ferdinand* to *Constantinople*, resealed unto *Solyman* and the Bassaes, to bring king *John* into hatred. So much did this noble gentleman, for his rare vertues otherwise greatly to haue bene commended, yeeld unto his griefe, and desire of reuenge: when after the death of *Aloysius Grittius*, he fell from the friendship of king *John*, being (as is before declared) by him committed to prison, and hardly afterwards enlarged, at the request of king *Sigismund*. Whereupon *Solyman* being exceedingly angry with king *John*, called him vnthankfull churle, and turning himselfe about to *Lutzu Bassa* his brother in law, said, How vnworthily doe these two Christian kings wear their crownes upon their faithlesse heads; who as shamefull deceiuers are not afraid, either for worldly shame or feare of God, for their profit to falsifie their faith? But king *John* vnderstanding therof, & wonderfully fearing his owne estate, did by good friends and rich Presents, pacifie *Solyman* againe, laying all the blame upon king *Ferdinand*, as better able to beare it. Not long after, king *John* hauing set his kingdom in good order, and strongly fortified the city of *Buda*; being now far stricken in yeares, at the earnest request of most of the nobility of Hungary, and other his best friends, married *Isabella* the daughter of *Sigismund* king of *Polonia*, a gracious lady and of great spirit: which King *Sigismund*, had long before married *Barbara* king *John*'s sister; after whose death he married the lady *Bona Sfortia*, the daughter of *Ioannes Gallacius* Duke of *Millain*, by whom he had this lady *Isabella* whom king *John* now married. Which marriage *Solyman* liked well of, hauing many times by way of talke before condemned the single life of the king: but King *Ferdinand* liked thereof nothing at all, plainly foreseeing, that the Hungarians (if the king should chance to haue a son) would forthwith looke upon him as their naturall king, and reject himselfe as but a stranger.

This yong queene in short time (as he had feared) conceiued with child, and was now very big: when king *John* was enforced to make an expedition in person himselfe against *Maylat* (famous for the death of *Aloysius Grittius*) and *Balas* both *Gouernours* of *Transylvania*: whereof *Maylat* not contented with the name of Vayuod or *Gouernor*, sought to make himselfe King. But *Solyman* detesting the impudent arrogancy of the faithlesse man, and hating him for the death of *Grittius*, and the Turks slaine with him, aduertised king *John* of all the matter, wishing him to be more circumspect, whom he trusted with the government of so great and rich a country. So *Maylat* shamefully rejected of *Solyman*, and out of hope of a kingdom, fearing also to be thrust quite out of his government by King *John*, thought it best for his owne safety to raise up all the prouince into rebellion, and to take part with king *Ferdinand*: which thing *Ferdinand* by his diuers agents secretly furthered to the vttermost. For these two Kings, al-

The secret confederation between king Ferdinand & king John revealed.

King John in his old yeares married Isabella King Sigismunds daughter.

The Queen with child.

though they were at peace the one with the other, and in words and shew made semblance of friendship, yet in heart they envied and hated each other, as if they should presently have waged war. At that same time king *Iohn* exacted of his subjects, and especially of them of Transylvania, a great sum of money, to pay the Turks his tribute, then two years behind: Which thing served *Maylas* and his complices, as a fit occasion to raise the people into rebellion, persuading them, that there was no reason to pay unto the Turks such a tribute, as would serve wel to wage ten yeres honorable war against him: so that by that and such like persuasions, all the province was in an uprore, little differing from manifest rebellion. To appease these dangerous troubles thus arising, king *Iohn* sent certaine of his chiefe nobility and best capitaines with a great power into Transylvania, following after himselfe in his chariot, not yet well recovered of his late sicknesse. These noblemen entering in two places into Transylvania, and scouring vp and downe the country, had in short time so vied the matter, that what by force, what by policy, the tumult was well pacified, and diuers of the chiefe offenders worthily executed. *Maylas* the ambitious author of this sedition, not able to hold the field against the king, and seeing himselfe beset on euery side with his enemies, retired himselfe with all his wealth into a towne called Fogaras, a place of great strength, which the kings power shortly after hardly besieged: the king himselfe then lying at Sibynium, the chiefe city of Transylvania, about a mile distant from Fogaras, sicke of an ague, wherinto he was againe fallen through too much care and paines taken in travelling in that hot time of the yeare, the daies being then at the longest. Whilest he thus lay sicke at Sibynium, and his army fast by at the siege of Fogaras, newes was brought vnto him from the court, That the Queene his wife was delivered of a faire young son: which was no sooner bruted abroad, but the Hungarians as men ouerjoyed, came flocking to the court, where the king lay, discharging their pieces in triumph, with all other signes of joy and mirth: they could possibly deuise: the noblemen came from the camp to reioyce with the king, and all the army was filled with gladnesse. And for the greater solemnity of this so common a joy, a royall feast was prepared, which the noblemen would needs haue the king to honour with his presence, though he were thereto vnwilling, being as yet but a little recovered: howbeit yeelding to their importunity, he suffered himselfe to be oueruled and brought to the feast by them, which was vnto him the merriest and the last that euer he made: for willing to shew his inward joy, and to content his nobility there present, he forgot himselfe, and eat and dranke more liberally than was for the health of his weak body: whereby the feauer which had but a little before left him, was againe renewed, in such sort, as that he well perceived he could not long endure. Wherefore feeling his end to draw fast on, he made his Will, appointing his yong son to be his heire, whom he committed to the tuition of *George* Bishop of Veradium, and *Peter Picche* a noble gentleman and his neere kinsman, vntill he came to age: requesting the rest of the noblemen to prefer his son in the succession of the kingdom, before a stranger, telling them, That *Solyman* would vndoubtedly take vpon him the protection both of the kingdome and of his sonne, if they would in time send Embassadors vnto him with presents, and promise for his son, that he should reigne as his tributary, as he had done before: and so presently after died.

This king was of a courteous and gentle nature, bountifull, and in all his doings iust, of no fierce and rough disposition, as the Hungarians commonly are, but of a most ciuill behaviour, garnished with good letters, and thorowly schooled in the diuers chances of both fortunes: not measuring his actions by the strength of his power, but by the exact rule of discretion; for in time of businesse no man was more circumspect or vigilant than he, nor in time of recreation any man more courteous or pleasant. He vied oftentimes to say, That the fauor and loue of valiant men gotten by bounty and courtesie, was the best treasures of a Prince; for that courteous and thankfull men, did oftentimes in some one worthy piece of seruice, plentifully repay whatsoeuer had been bestowed vpon them: as for such as were vnthankfull, they did to their shame beare the testimony of another mans vertue.

The kings death was kept secret vntill such time as the noblemen had agreed with *Maylas*, that he should take an oath of his faithfull allegiance to the king, and his son his lawfull heire, and so still to enjoy his former place & government: which offer *Maylas* gladly accepted. Then calling together the counsell, it was decreed to send the same Embassage to *Solyman*, which was appointed the old king yet liuing. So were presently dispatched away two most honourable

Queene Isabel  
is delivered of  
a sonne.

The death of  
king Iohn.

The honorable  
saying of king  
Iohn.

A ble Embassador, *Ioannes Exechius* Bishop of Quinque Ecclesiæ, and *Stephanus Verbetius* the Chancellor, a man of great years, carrying with them ten boles of pure gold curiously wrought, 600 of silver gilt and ingrauen, forty pieces of purple silk & cloth of gold for Turks gowns, and 50 of coined gold to be paid in the name of two years tribute. Which Embassadors passing directly from Sibynium ouer Danubius into Serbia, and so travelling thorow Thracia, came to Constantinople. In the meane time the dead body of the King was with much heauines carried from Sibynium to Alba Regalis, most of the army following it, and there with great solemnitie buried. After this the yong king was christened and called *Stephen*, and there presently crowned with the antient Crown of king *Stephen*, who first erected that Kingdom, and without which the Hungarians neuer accounted their Kings lawfully crowned. Yet the Royal dignity was by common consent of the Nobility giuen vnto the Queene, with condition, that in al publique writings the names of the son and the mother should be joined, and the Kings mony coined with the same inscription. But the chief authority rested in *George* the Bishop, for he was Treasurer, and had at his command the castles & strongholds: yet were the soldiers with their ensignes and furniture at the deuotion of *Valentinus Thuracius*. In the middle betwixt these two was placed *Peter Picche* the Kings kinsman, and by the old king appointed for one of the tutors of his yong son, suspected of neither part, honored with the title of the high Constable. But because the name of this *George* the Bishop was most famous in this woful war which we are about to write, I thought it worth the labor to speak something of his nature and disposition; that it may be known to all posterity, by what policie this war was managed, & how this flourishing kingdom by the madnes of the Hungarians came into the Turks hands.

This *George* was born in Croatia, and brought vp from his youth in the house of king *Iohn*, where vertue and industry neuer wanted relief: when as he vnadvisedly before had entred into the orders of a monasticall life, and weary too late of the streitnes therof, had forsaken his profession. Wherefore being of a very pleasing nature, and still following King *Iohn* driuen out of his kingdom, and long liuing in exile, he won such credit and commendation for his fidelity, integrity, and ready counsel in the kings most doubtful & dangerous affairs, that after *Sabac* that worthy bishop was by the trechery of *Aloysius Gritius* slain at Baxovia, he obtained the great Bishoprick of Veradium. After that, when he had strengthened his credit with great wealth, he always as a faithful counsellor swaied and happily ruled both the court and kingdom, to the profit of the king. But he was of such a diuers and pliant nature, that performing in all actions all the parts of a most ready and excellent man, he seemed to be made of contrary qualities, and born to do any thing for in saying of his priestly seruice, and performing the other ceremonies of the Christian Religion, he shewed, or at least counterfeited such a contrition in his deuour countenance and speech, that a man would haue thought it could not possibly be the same man, who in the most weighty affairs both of war and peace, did most stoutly shew the wonderful force of a pregnant and couragious wit: for he vied to keep whole companies of most excellent & ready horsemen, and would oft times come forth into the battel armed: he would with often banquets and rewards win the hearts of the soldiers, and after the manner of great chieftains, maintain the honor and credit of his name, both with punishment & reward, as occasion required. Beside that, no man looked into the wealth of the kingdom more diligently than he: no man did to more profit let to farm the customs, old mines, feedings, and salt pits: no man could deuise finer means to raise money, of all others the readiest way to credit: in so much as King *Iohn* would confesse himselfe to reigne by the special industry of that one man. And King *Ferdinand* would many times say, that he envied at King *Iohn* for nothing he had, but for one hooded fellow which was better for the defence of a kingdom than 1000 with helmets on their heads. Wherefore this Bishop hauing taken vpon him the tuition of the yong King, was still busied in all the weighty causes of the kingdom, both ciuill and martial. He labored with great care, that the Hungarians should agree together in loue and vnity, and did what he might, providently to foresee, that no tumult or rebellion should any where arise, whereby the beginning of the kingdom, yet but weak, might any way be troubled. But king *Ferdinand* hearing of the death of king *Iohn*, thought it now a fit time for him to recover againe the kingdom of Hungary, which he had so long desired. Wherto he was also

Embassadors  
sent to Solyman  
out of Hungary

A yong child  
crowned king  
of Hungary.

George Bishop  
of Veradium a  
noble man.

The Hungaria  
fugitives per-  
suade K. Fer-  
dinand to re-  
vade Hungary.

the more prick forward by the persuation of *Alexius Torso*, *Ferentius Gnarus*, *Petrus Bachitius*, *Balthasar Pamphilus*, *Francus Capolnates*, *Lamus Castellamphus*, and *Casparus Sereus*; all Noblemen or gentlemen of great account in Hungary, who in the former troubles following the part of *Ferdinand*, That now or neuer was the time wherein they might againe be restored vnto their country with honor; and that the war might that Autumn be dispatched, if hee would make haste, forasmuch as Winter comming fast on, would stay the comming of the Turks, and such Noblemen of Hungary as took part with the Queen did not very well agree together, being vnwilling to be commanded by *George* the Apostata Monk, who (as they said) with great cunning and dissimulation seducing the Queen, and possessing the treasure, enioyed all alone the power of a King; and that they, which for taking part with the right, had long liued as banished men, might now safely return into their country, &c be honorably preferred by the queen; the Bishop (which all commanded) assuring them therof, if they would return vnto the young Kings court, vnto their friends and ancient houses. But they had (as they said) before given their faith vnto him, as to a vertuous and faithfull prince, whom they had preferred before one that was a natural Hungarian born; wherefore he should do both vnadvisedly and vnkindly, if letting slip the occasion presented, he should defer to make war. For, what could be more dishonorable to him so great a King, and also Emperour elect, than by shameful delay to forsake them, being noble & valiant gentlemen, which had followed his part, and were then ready with strong troupes of horsemen to do him the best seruice they could.

The German captains in like maner persuated him to take the matter in hand, who as martial men, expecting some one preferment, some another, in the Army, were desirous of honor, pay and prey, the chief comforts of their trauell and peril.

But *Lascus* the Polonian (who in matters concerning peace and war saw more than all they, as he that knew the dispositions of many Princes, and had seen the manners and fashions of diuers Nations, having trauelled thorow a great part of the World, and oftentimes been an Embassadour in the Courts of the greatest Princes) was of a contrary opinion, and told King *Ferdinand* plainly, That the Kingdome of Hungary was to be obtained rather by policie than by force, by crauing it at *Solymans* hands, to hold it of him as his Tributary, as King *Iohn* had don.

Lascus per-  
suades K. Fer-  
dinand to re-  
quest the King-  
dom of Hunga-  
ry of Solyman,  
rather than seek  
it by force.

For (said he) that may by petition and fair entreatance be easily obtained of that herpical Prince (who in his vain humor oftentimes fondly seeketh after honour) which will neuer be got from him by force of arms. I know (said he) *Solymans* haughty mind, and the proud disposition of his Bassa's: hee contemneth wealth, and is cloyed with so many kingdoms. But they upon their unsatiable covetousnesse and great pride, desire nothing, nor perswade him to nothing more than war. Wherefore it is good to beware, that that with the noise of this sudden war you stir not up the Turks, which lie ready as it were expecting such an occasion, which cannot be withstood but by the united forces of the Christian Princes; which might by their general consent be done, but that their eyes blinded with full darkness, cannot see it, and the vnwise of the Christians now desperat, stemeth by God restrained for some better time: seeing that of late the Christian Kings are fallen off, and cannot agree upon the long expected peace. Is not (said he) the French King deccined of his hope, and as he would haue it thought, greatly dishonored with this late unkindnes which renning the old wound, will reuele in him an endlesse hatred. Away with all dissimulation, enemy to grant counsels, and let plain truth, although vnpleasant vnto princes ears, present flattery. Vndoubtedly, he being a Prince of no base courage (as it oftentimes falleth out with men thoroughly grieved) will in his anger as an enemy pour forth this gold, whereof he hath great store, to cross the Emperors desires, so trouble the assemblies of the States of Germany, so withdraw the minds of the Princes; and with bountie to gain them to himself: who envying mightily at the Imperial dignity, wont to be indifferently given to them that best deserved the same, so be as were possessed in the House of Austria, which in this perpetual succession of so many Emperors hath as it were got a right by long custom. Wherefore they will secretly conspire together, and as notable lingers by nature, will either give no help at all, or else so late, at such time as the Turks Garisons shal come flying to succor the young king. Neither is there any cause for any man to think that the gouernors of the Turks countries were kind, will for the approach of winter be slack in this cause: for they vndoubtedly making an honest and honorable shew, will take upon them to defend the fatherlesse child and

Widow;

A widow; of purpose to make an entrance to the secret desire they haue to gain the kingdome to themselves: for if you shall once ioyne with them in battell, if the best happen, and fortune favor our first attempts, truly you shall haue war without end, with such an enemy, who will bring with him wealth neuer to be spent, power not to be overcome, and courageous soldiers sworn to our destruction. So will it come to passe, and I pray God I be a false Prophet, that in seeking for the kingdome of Hungary by war, you shall at length be driuen to fight for Austria it self, and your own kingdome also.

This speech so mooued King *Ferdinand*, that although he purposed to go on with the war, yet he thought it good by an honorable embassage to proue *Solymans* mind & purpose also: which to do, no man was thought fitter than *Lascus* himself, author of that counsel, being vnto him very well known, and familiarly acquainted with all the great Bassa's of the court. Which seruice *Lascus* refused not, but being furnished with all things needful for such an embassage, departed from Vienna toward Constantinople.

Lascus sent an-  
bassadour from  
K. Ferdinand to  
Solyman.

Yet for all that, King *Ferdinand* persisting in his former purpose, made with all preparation for wars, trusting vpon the aid of the emperor his brother, and the comming ouer of the Hungarians, who euer thought it cause honest enough for them to reuolt, if it so stood with their present profit. But before he would enter into open wars, he sent *Nicolas* Countie of Salma to the Queen, to shew her the instruments of the last league betwixt the king her late husband and him, & to exhort her to yeeld vp the kingdome, which by the late league was another mans right, and not by delaying the matter to hurt both her self & her son. For King *Ferdinand* offered to giue vnto the child the prouince of Sepusia, as was before agreed betwixt the two Kings expressly in the league: and to the queen a greater reuenue, and whatsoeuer els she had in dowry. But if she should forget that lawful league, he threatened, that neither the Emperor

K. Ferdinand  
by his embassa-  
dour demandeth  
the Kingdome of  
Hungary of the  
Queen.

*Charles* his brother, nor he, wanted force wherewith to recover by strong hand the kingdome, annexed to the house of Austria both by ancient right, and the new consent of most of the Hungarian nobility. The Countie of Salma being receiued at Buda, hardly obtained to be admitted to the presence of the queen: for *George* the Bishop, and *Vicche*, mistrusting her womanly courage, said she was not to be spoken withall, for that she was so full of heauines and sorrow; & that they were of authority as the kings tutors, & ready to giue him both audience & answer. Which opinion of her weaknes and want of iudgment, the queen, being a woman of an

D heroical and royal spirit, took as tending so much to her disgrace, that she said she would kill her self, if the Embassadors were not permitted to come into her chamber, which was a dark room hanged with black, as the maner is, and she sitting vpon a low pallet, negligently attyred as one that had no care of her self, wan and pale coloured, but as then shedding no teares, but with voice and countenance so heauy, as might shew her tears to be rather dried vp with long mourning, than that her sorrow was any thing abated: for the desire of rule had now so possessed her mind, that she contemned all the dangers of imminent war, and for defence of her soveraigny resolved with her self to call in the Turks. After the Countie admitted to her presence, had with due reuerence and great protestation deliuered his message, she demurely answered, That such was the fortune of her sex and years, that being bereft of the King her husband, and perplexed with the daily griefs both of body and mind, she could neither take nor

The queen an-  
swers to the em-  
bassadour.

E band, and perplexed with the daily griefs both of body and mind, she could neither take nor giue counsel; but purposed in so weighty a cause to vse the aduice of *Sigismund* her father, whose integritie and justice was such, that King *Ferdinand* needed no other judge or arbitrator to decide that controuersie. Wherefore she requested a conuenient time and space wherein the might ask counsell of her father; to whose iust iudgment she said she would stand, as she thought the Nobility of Hungary would do also. Which small time of delay if it should be denied, and that they would needs make war vpon her; she said that the Emperor and King *Ferdinand* his brother should surely win no great honour, if they should come to oppugne her a widow, consumed with tears, and a young child yet crying in his cradle. The Countie being so sent away, when he was returned to King *Ferdinand*, told him, That the Queen was altogether in the power of the Bishop, and could neither say nor do any thing but what she had before receiued from him: for he only (as he said) commanded al. As for the rest of the Nobility, they shared amongst them the honours and preferments of the realme, and as men desirous of gain, had rather be the gouernors of the young prince, than the seruants & waiters of a great and mighty forreign King. At which, he said, he had both heard and seen. Wherefore all

the hope was in war, wherein such speed was to be used, as that the Queene with her son vnprovided, and expecting the euent of their embassage from Constantinople, might be driuen out of Buda before they could take vp arms, or wel aduise themselves what to do. And that the Queene sought delay but to make her selfe the stronger, and in the meane time to call in the Turk, and so to make a more dangerous war. Wherefore if euer he purposed to reign in Hungary, he should forthwith cast off all other cogitations, and make ready his forces with all speed possible.

Herupon King *Ferdinand*, furnished with mony from *Charles* the Emperour, without delay raised a great army, which he sent down the riuer Danubius to Strigonium, which City had all the reign of king *Iohn* continued faithful to king *Ferdinand*. The General of his army was *Leonardus Velsius* a Nobleman of Rhetia, who for many causes thought it expedient, first to open the way to Buda; for almost in the middle of the way stood Vicegrade, with a goodly castle vpon the top of a hill by the riuer; which town, but not the castle, *Velsius* after nine dayes siege took, with the losse of about 200 of his men, all the garison soldiers therein being either slain or taken prisoners, with *Valentinus Litteratus* their Captain. From Vicegrade he passed ouer the riuer Danubius to Pesth, which he took, being forsaken of the enemy. With like successe he took the city of Vacia without losse. And remouing thence, and crossing againe the Riuer with his fleet, came and incamped before Buda, so to terrifie the Citifens, and to discouer as far as he could, the purpose of the queen. Where *Perenus*, *Stephanus Rascinus*, and *Franciscus Francopines* Bishop of Agria, all men of great nobility among the Hungarians, reuolted from the Queen to king *Ferdinand*. The Bishop was reputed a man of great integrity, & vpon meer conscience went ouer to K. *Ferdinand*; yet was he by letters from *George* the kings tutor, challenged to haue reuolted, in hope by means of *Charles* the Emperour to be made a Cardinal. *Velsius* lay with his army at the hot baths, about a mile and a half from the city, as if he would rather besiege it than assault it. The Germans lying there did fetch in booty round about the country: which was taken in euil part by the Hungarians on their side, who seeing their own cattell or their friends driuen away, the villages burnt, and the poore husbandmen bound and taken prisoners, fel together by the ears oftentimes with the Germans. On the other side they of Buda sending out their troupes of horsemen, skirmisht with the Germans, if they did but stir out of the camp, and wel defended the villages from the injury of the enemy. For *Valentinus Thuracius* General of the Queens power, had taken into the city a wonderful number of light horsemen. Whilst the army lay thus incamped, it fortuned that *Balthazar Pamphilus* a Noble Hungarian, straying out of the camp euen vnto the gates of Buda, desired the Warders at the gate to giue him leaue to talk with *Valentinus* their Generall, for that he desired to see his old friend, and to confer with him of certain matters concerning the good of the common state. Which thing being granted by the General, he was immediatly receiued into the City with his troupe of horsemen. Shortly after returning againe into the camp, he reported how hee had bin entertained by his old acquaintance in the city: where viewing the garison, the great Artillery, and fortification of the city, he perceiued it was not to be taken without a greater power, and in a more seasonable time of the year. Which thing so moued *Velsius*, by nature suspicious, and doubtful of the fidelity of a stranger, that he commanded him in anger to auoid the Camp, because he had without his leaue gon into the city, and vpon his owne insolencie had conference with the Enemy, and by amplifying their strength, to haue discouraged the Army, by putting them out of hope of victorie. Wherefore *Velsius* neuer attempting to assault the City, returned againe to Vicegrade, to besiege the higher Castle (wherein the ancient Crown of King *Stephen*, wherewith the Hungarian Kings were euer after him crowned, was kept) which Castle he also took with something lesse losse than he had don the lower Towne. Not long after, he marched with his Army vnto Alba-Regalis, the City where the Hungarian Kings were vsually crowned and buried: which town by the means of *Perenus* was deliuered vnto him, and a Garrison put into it for King *Ferdinand*. These things thus done, *Velsius* retired againe to Strigonium: which he did the rather, because the Germanes and Hungarians, two rough Nations, could by no meanes agree together; insomuch as that *Velsius* the Generall in parting them was wounded in the thigh, and *Perenus* was hurt with a stone. Besides that, Winter was now come faron, and the Souldiours cried out for want of pay. For which causes *Velsius* (being also sick of the Stone) billeted his Souldiours for that Winter about

K. Ferdinand  
inuaith Hun-  
gary.

Vicegrade  
taken.

Left & Vacia  
taken.

Buda besieged.

The kings army  
departeth from  
Buda.

Alba Regalis  
yielded to king  
Ferdinand.

A about the country. Yet before that, he new fortified Pesth, and left therein a garison, because it was reported, that the Turks vpon their frontiers were making preparation to aid them of Buda.

At such time as King *Ferdinand* was leuying his forces for the inuasion of Hungary, the Queen by the counsell of the Bishop had in good time craued aid of the Turks lieutenants in the countries bordering vpon Hungary; especially of *Vstref* gouernour of Bosna (a very aged man, and of great honour, who had married one of the daughters of *Bajazet* the old Emperour) as also of *Mahometes* Gouernour of Belgrade, and *Amurathes* who had the charge of the frontiers of Dalmatia. From whom she receiued one answer, That they might in no case without expresse commandement from *Solyman* depart from the places committed to their charge. Be-

B sides that, *Mahometes* was by rewards ouercome by *Lascus*, as he passed by Belgrade to Constantinople, nor to stir or aid the Queen. Wherefore she, rejected by these great Captains, certified *Solyman* by her Embassadors, in what danger her self, her son, and the kingdom was, crauing his speedy aid. *Lascus* was not yet come to Constantinople, being faine sick by the way; but had sent before *Ptolemus* his physitian to the great Bassa's, and especially vnto *Luthe* his old acquaintance, vpon whom he had bestowed great gifts, and was in hope by him to haue obtained what he desired, but all in vain: for *Solyman*, who thought it much for his honour to defend his own right, and that he had before giuen vnto King *Iohn*; thought also that it would redound both to his great profit and glory, if he should as it were vpon charity take vpon him the protection of the widow and fatherles child, in their so great distresse and danger. Where-

C fore calling to him the Embassadors, the three great Bassa's standing by, he said, That he had of his meer bounty before giuen the kingdom of Hungary vnto King *Iohn* deceased, to descend to his posterity, so long as they should retain the kind remembrance of so great a benefit. Wherefore to declare his constancy, inseparable from his bounty, hee said he would take such a course in the matter, as that the Germans his enemies should not long reioyce of the wars they had begun. And in token of friendship, and that he had taken vpon him the protection of the yong King, he caused to be deliuered vnto the Embassadors a royal robe of purple and gold, a buckler with the bosse most curiously wrought, a horseman's mace with a handle of gold, and a scimitar with the scabbard richly set with stones. And afterwards wrote effectually to *Vstref* and *Mahometes* his lieutenants, That they should without delay giue aid to the Queen, and not to make excuse because it was winter: threatening them, That if she took any harm through their default and negligence, it should cost them their heads. The Queens Embassadors glad of their good dispatch, were scarce departed from the Turks Court, when *Lascus* came to Constantinople, and vnderstanding by his physitian the successe of the Hungarian Embassadors, proceeded for all that in his business, and deliuered his message, and vpon reasonable conditions requested the kingdom for king *Ferdinand*. But when hee in speaking had oftentimes made mention of *Charles* the Emperour, as if hee would with all the power of Germany aid his brother, *Solyman* was so moued therewith, that he was presently taken away and committed to prison; the great Bassa's, but especially *Rustan*, *Solyman's* son in law, a proud and furious young man, chiding him, and shaking him vp as worthy of death, for offending

E with his liberty of speech the majesty of so courteous a Prince, and as it were mocking the king of kings; requiring friendship, when in the mean time his master most impudently made wars in Hungary.

*Vstref* and *Mahometes* the Bassa's aforesaid, hauing receiued such streit commandment from *Solyman*, assembled their dispersed souldiers, and by shipping brought them down the riuers *Savus* and *Dranus*, into Danubius. For it is a hard matter to perform any great thing by wars in Hungary, without the helpe of a great fleet, for conueying of the great Ordnance; vnto all, and other such necessities of the army, from one side of the great riuers to the other, as occasion requireth. But as then being the midst of winter, and the North wind blowing hard, Danubius was so frozen on both sides, that the middle of the riuer was scarce open; so that the Turks not able to passe for the extremity of the weather, nor daring to return for the streit command of *Solyman*, were enforced in their Tents there to abide the hardnes of Winter, to shew their readines. It is almost incredible to be spoken, with what patience and resolution the soldiers endured all the extremity of the time in so bare a place, their horses, which of all other things they hold most dear, staruing for cold and want of meat.

The queen cra-  
ueth aid of So-  
lyman.

Solyman pro-  
misseth to pro-  
tect the Queen  
and her son, a-  
gainst Ferdi-  
nand, & sende  
presents to the  
yong King.

Lascus K. Fer-  
dinands Em-  
bassdor impris-  
oned by Soly-  
man.

1541. The Spring at length comming on (right welcome both to the Turks and the queen) *Ma-hometes* with his Turks and wild Illyrians, and *Vstref* with his souldiers of Bosna, entred into Hungary, with whom *Valentinus* General of the Queenes forces joined also, with an Army of Hungarians brought from Buda. And the Queen to further the matter, sent presents to the Turks Generals, victualled the camp, and furnished them with great Ordnance for the besieging of such Cities as were holden by King *Ferdinand* her enemy. They passing over Danubius, took the city of *Vacia* (being but badly defended for King *Ferdinand*) and putting many to the sword, after the manner of their barbarous cruelty, burnt the City. From thence they removed to *Pesth*, which was so valiantly defended by *Barocius* and *Fatisca*, the one of them an Hungarian captain, the other a German; that the Turks despairing of the winning of the city, and not well relieued with victual from the Queen then, fearing future want, passed again ouer Danubius, & faithfully restoring the great ordnance without any more doing, returned again into their own countrie. But in their retyring, the Hungarians by the leading of *Perennis* slew many of them, among whom was one *Achemates*, one of their best and valiantest captains.

*Pesth* in vaine  
besieged by the  
Turks.

K. Ferdinand  
sends the Lord  
will. Rogendorff  
with an Army  
into Hungary.

Buda besieged.

Rogendorff  
threateneth  
the Queen.

The Bishop  
is  
sent to  
Rogendorff.

King *Ferdinand* aduertised of the Turks departure, returned again to his old hope of recovering the kingdom: perswading the Emperor his brother, not to giue ouer the war so fortunately begun, especially now that the Turks hauing forsaken the Queen, were departed & gone. Wherefore the new forces lately before raised in Austria, Bohemia, Silesia, and Moravia, for a new supply of *Velsus* his army, were presently sent into Hungary, vnder the leading of the lord *William Rogendorff* Steward of the Kings house, who was then gon as far as *Possionum*, to haue relieved them of *Pesth*, vnto whom, as a more ancient and honourable General, *Velsus* gaue place. He, furnished with these new supplies, three months victuals, and great Artillery from Vienna, joining with the old Army, marched directly to Buda and besieged it. Over against the stately castle of Buda, wherein the Queen lay, was a great hill called *S. Gerrards* mount, so high, that the middle thereof was equall with the highest place of the castle, and from the top thereof they might look into the streets of the City: betwixt which hill and the Castle was a great valley and deep ditch. Vpon this hill, *Rogendorff* to beat the Castle, and to terrifie the Queen, planted his battery, and so shook a new built tower thereof, that it was thought that it would haue suddenly fallen: which if it had, yet was it supposed a dangerous matter to haue assaulted it, because it was walled about with a treble wal. But the sumptuous towers and the princely galleries of the Kings palace in the Castle, which every man saw *Rogendorff* might haue beaten down with his great ordnance, he spared: but whither of himself, or else commanded by the King (as loth to destroy such goodly buildings as could not without great charge be in long time again repaired) was vncertain. Wherefore by diuers heralds sent to the queen, he wished her to breake in sunder those gyves and fetters wherein the Bishop vnder colour of protection had fast bound her son and her, and to accept of K. *Ferdinands* offer, who was ready to bestow vpon her a goodly feignory, wherein she might most honourably liue in quiet, and bring vp her son in safety. Which thing if she as a simple woman ignorant of her owne danger, should refuse, and obstinately condemn the peril wherein she stood, he would forthwith in most terrible manner beat down the palace about her ears. Whereunto the Bishop in the queens behalf answered, That she was not such a fool to exchange the kingdom of Hungary for the principality of *Sepusia*: and that she thought *Rogendorff* a very doting and mad old man, who being once before wel beaten in those ditches, came now again like a fool to receiue his vtter destruction in full guerdon of his rash folly. Wherefore hee should cease to terrifie valiant men, fighting with discretion for their natural King and country, against his drunken company; for that they were nothing troubled with the noise of his great thor. But yet he said, that he would aboute all the rest, by way of priuat curtesie, gently request *Rogendorff* to discharge his pieces with a little lesse noise, because he had a sow at home great with pigs, which terrified with the thundring of his guns, would farrow he doubted before her time, to the grief of his guests. For the Bishop was of a sharpe and taunting spirit; and such a contemner of the Germans, that when two of them were taken in the Kings orchards, burning certain orchards, he in derision caused two hogs to be hanged vpon the same gallows with them. Not long after, *Rogendorff* removed his camp from *S. Gerrards* mount, to a more conuenient place for the battering of the City, called the *Iewes Graues*, neere vnto the Gate called the *Iewes Gate*. Which

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A Which thing the Bishop seeing, after his quipping manner requested of *Rogendorff* to pardon him, in that he had of late wrongfully called him a doting old man, for that in remoouing his camp into a more commodious place, he seemed to be a proper wife man, and of good discretion, now that he had pitched his tents in a most fit place amongst the dead, both for himself being an old man, and almost worn with vain labor; and for his army condemned to dy there with him. *Rogendorff* thus incamped, began in two places to batter the wals: *Perennis* with the Hungarians and the Bohemians neer vnto the gate called *Sabatina* in one place, and hee himself with the Germans betwixt the *Iewes* gate and the Castle in another: which was done with such violence, that a great part of the wal was beaten down; and another part thereof ouercharged with earth, which the defendants had cast vp on the inner side for the strengthening thereof, was at the same time born quite out and so fel downe, to the wonderfull dismaying of all that were in the city. Which fair opportunitie to haue taken the city *Rogendorff* let slip, either not well aware thereof, by reason of the great smoke of the artillery on both sides, and the dust arising with the fall of the wall, which covered all; or els according to his natural disposition, doing all things leisurely and suspiciously; so that a little delay bereft him of the present apprehension of so sudden a resolution: and the Germans, vfed more to standing battells than to assaults, were not to be so easily brought on to assault the breach vpon the sudden, as were the Spaniards, Italians, or French. The wall was opened in that place almost two hundred paces in length, yet standing almost the hight of a man, which might easily haue bin scaled with short ladders: but night was comming now fast on, wherein the Germans would not attempt any dangerous matter, so that the assault was deferred till the next morning. Whereas they of Buda in the mean time taking advantage of the enemies delay, with incredible diligence and labor in that night raised vp a new rampier in stead of the wal that was fallen, euery man without exception putting his hand to the work. In the morning the Germans comming to the breach, gaue such a fierce assault vnto the new made rampier, that *Orho Fatisca* desperately entred into a shattered house which ioyned vnto the wall, and certain other companies, one soldier helping vp another, had almost recovered the top of the rampier, and were there ready to set vp their ensignes. When they of Buda with wonderful constancie and resolution withstood the assailants, *George* the Bishop encouraging them, and fighting amongst them: who hauing laid aside his hood, was now to be seen with his helmet on his head, running to and fro as need required all alongst the rampier. At length the Germans seeing themselves to strue in vain against resolute men, were inforced to retire. In this assault *Rogendorff* lost about 800 men. *Perennis* was also in like manner, but with lesse losse, repulsed at the other breach he had made at the gate *Sabatina*. After that, *Rogendorff* attempted by vndermining to haue taken the city, but was by countermines disappointed of his purpose. Yet for al this, they in the city began to feel the want of many things, so that it seemed they were not able to endure any longer siege: the common people pinched with hunger, crying openly out in mutinous sort, that it was time to yeeld and make an end of those common miseries. But such was the authority of the Bishop, with his prouident foresight of all vrgent euent, that once shewing himself in the market place as if he would haue preached, he could turn the peeuish minded people which way he pleased.

A great breach  
in the walls of  
Buda.

The Germans  
assaulting the  
breach are re-  
pulsed with  
loss.

*Bornemissa* pro-  
poses to be-  
tray Buda.

After all this it missed but a little, but that this City which could not by enemies force be won, had by shameful treason bin lost. There was at that time in Buda one *Bornemissa* a lawyer, who had in former time bin Maior of the city: this *Bornemissa* exceedingly hated the Bishop, for taking part with a bankrupt Iew against him, and being full of malice, and desirous of reuenge, promised to *Reualius* (Marshal in the enemies camp) to deliuer to him the blinde postern in *S. Maries* churchyard, whereby he might enter the city: which gate serued the Citizens in time of peace to go thorow to the river. *Rogendorff* the General made acquainted with the matter, so liked thereof, that he himself thought it not good in a matter of so great importance to vse at all the seruice of the Hungarians. Quite contrary to that *Bornemissa* had requested of *Reualius*, who desirous to haue the matter brought to passe without the slaughter of so many guiltlesse people as was by him to be betrayd, would haue had it altogether performed by the Hungarians, who he was in good hope would shew mercy vnto their Country men and kinsmen, and vse their victory with more moderation than the Grmanes, who prouoked with many despights, and comming in by night, were like enough to make great effusion of blood.

But

But *Rogendorff* after the maner of his Nation, to be counted politike, vsed to keepe promise with no man; and hoping by excluding the Hungarians, to haue all the glory of the conceiued victory to himself, made as if he would haue vsed only the Hungarians, and glozed with *Reualius*, whose son for the more assurance he took as pledge. For against the appointed hour, which was about midnight, hauing before giuen streit charge that no man should stir in the camp, he sent four select companies of Germans with great silence vnto the postern, at which time his son *Condi* stood with a strong troupe of horsemen ready to haue entred, as such time as the Germans, receiued into the city, should breake open the great gate, as was before agreed. Neither did *Bornemissa* fail to perform what he had as a traitor promised; but opening the postern we spake of, had with great silence receiued in most part of those Germane Companies. But when he stil asked softly of them as they came in, for *Reualius*, and heard them answer nothing but in the German language, although he was otherwise a man of a bold spirit, yet then surprised with a sudden fear (as it oftentimes chaunceth in such actions, to men deceiued of their expectation) he stood as a man amased, that knew not what to do, and forgot to conduct the Germans: who altogether vnacquainted in the city, knew not which way first to goe, and stealing on softly in the dark, went on with no great courage, for fear of treason; stil asking of them that followed, for him that should direct them. The Germans could not go so closely, but that by the clattering of their Armor and the light of their matches they were descried by the Watch: who asking for the word, and they not giuing it, presently raised an Alarm; but now all too late, the City being as good as half taken, had the Germans well conducted, resolutely gon on with the matter to wel begun: but they ignorant of the way, and now descried and chased with their own fear, ran backe againe to the postern in such haste, that one of them miserably wrung another, in striuing who should get out first: and their passage was much letted by the pikes and weapons which they which fled first had cast crosse the way, to run the lighter into the camp. The first that set vpon the Germans was *Bacianus*, who had that night the charge of the Watch; and after him *Vicche*, who kept the Court of gard in the market place, and hearing the alarme came thither with a strong company both of horsemen and footmen. Many of the most valiant Germans, who comming in first, were in flight become last, were slain or taken, and amongst them many of *Bornemissa* his familiars and friends (as for himself he was got out among the foremost) from whom the Bishop by exquisite torture wrung out the whole plot of the treason, and afterwards caused them to be severally executed to the terror of others. *Reualius* in the mean time complaining in the Camp, That he was deceiued by the General: and *Bornemissa* wofully lamenting, That hauing worthily got the name of an infamous Traitor, he had thereby lost all his substance, and vndon his friends & kindred. The Generall *Rogendorff* (condemned euen of the common soldiers for his foolish arrogancie and pride) was hardly spoken of thorow all the camp, as he that by too much insolencie had ouerthrown the fairest occasion of a most goodly victory. Wherefore from that time hee attempted no great matter, but set himselfe downe by long siege to tame his enemies, and so to win the city.

*Solyman* vnderstanding of the Queens distresse in Hungary, and with what desire *Ferdinand* (supported by the Emperor his brother) thirsted after that kingdom; consulted with his Bassa's, of the purposes and power of his enemies both there and elsewhere: and politickly resolved at one time, with his diuided forces, to withstand their attempts in diuers places, & those far distant one from another; whereby the greatnesse of his power is well to bee perceiued. First, he sent *Solyman Bassa* an Eupuch to Babylon, to defend the Countrey of Mesopotamia, and the frontiers of his Empire alongst the riuier Tygris, against *Tamas* the King of Persia. *Mahometes* another of his great Bassa's he sent into Hungary to relieue the besieged Queen. And after him *Vpres Bassa* (which was the fourth of his chiefe Bassa's) with another Army to stay at Belgrade, in readinesse to aid the other great Bassa sent before him, as occasion should require, if he should find his enemies too strong. Vnto *Barbarossa* hee committed his Navy, for the defence of Grecia and Epirus against *Auria*; who but a little before (aided by the Gallies of Sicilia and Naples) had driuen the Turks and Moors (which took part with the Turks) out of Clupea, Neapolis, Adrumentum, Ruspina, Tapus, and all alongst that coast of Africke which the Moores call Mahomedias, except the City of Leptis; and caused those Cities to submit themselues vnto the gouernment of *Muleses* King of Tunes. These

*Bornemissa* receiued in the Germans by a postern, supposing them to haue bin Hungarians.

The Germans not conducted, are discovered & distressed.

*Solyman* maintains wars in diuers far distant places of the world at once.

A These cities are at this day called Calabia, Sufa, Mahometia, Monasterim, Sfaxia, and Africa. And because *Solyman* vnderstood, that *Malyat* the Vayuod of Transylvania tooke part with King *Ferdinand*, he sent against him *Achomates* gouernor of Nicopolis, and commanded *Peter* of Moldavia, Prince of Valachia, to aid him, who afterwards accordingly came vnto him with 30000 horsemen. He himself also doubting the purposes of the Christian princes, and especially of *Charles* the emperor, more than he had need, came to Hadrianople, and in the countries therabouts raised a third army, to aid the two Bassa's sent before him into Hungary, keeping with him his son in law *Rustau*, whom he had made one of the four great Bassa's of his Counsell, hauing thrust out *Lufisbeius*, whom the Turks call *Lutzius*, his brother in law, and exiled him into Macedonia for euil intreating and striking his wife, which was *Solyman's* sister, as is before

B said, but was at this time don.

*Mahometes* the Bassa desirous to do his great master the best seruice he could, entred into Hungary with his Army about the middle of Iune, in the year 1541, taking with him in his way the other *Mahometes* gouernor of Belgrade, who gaue the Christians that shameful overthrow not farre from Exek, ioyning also with him the power of Bosna, now commanded by *Vlemas* the Persian, for that *Vpres* the old Bassa was lately dead. The captains of the Christian army hearing of the comming of the Turks, entred into counsell, whether they should continue the siege, or els go and meet them by the way and giue them battel. But the period of the Hungarian kingdom drawing fast on, and the inevitable destiny therof so requiring, the opinion of *Rogendorff* preuailed against the rest for continuing of the siege; he seeming more

C willing to die, than to crosse ouer the riuier to Pesth, or to retire to Vicsgrade or Strigonium, as diuers would haue perswaded him. Wherefore he removed from the place where he lay before, and incamped his army on the further side of the city, at the foot of *S. Gerrards* Mount; where the hill lying between Buda & the camp, & departing from the riuier, leaues a fair plain toward the East; of purpose that the Turks (whom he knew would not go far from the Riuier and their fleet) should be enforced dangerously to passe by the mouth of his great Ordnance, which he had aptly placed vpon the front of his trenches: for such was the nature of the place that the camp lay defended on the right hand with the steep hill, on the left hand with the riuier, and behind toward the city with a strong bulwark. Vpon the right hand, vpon a little rising ground he placed the lesser camp, wherein were the Hungarians which fauored king *Ferdinand*, and then followed his ensignes. He made also a bridge from his camp into a little Ile which lay in the riuier, and with a fort well planted with ordnance commanded both the Riuier and the plain, so to beat the enemies fleet comming vp the riuier, and themselues also as they should march alongst the plain. Hee was about also to haue made a bridge of lighters and boats quite ouer the riuier from his Camp to Pesth; and in this order to expect the comming of new supplies from king *Ferdinand*, and to repel the enemy who was comming, and with long siege to weary them in Buda: for there was such store both of victual and all other warlike provision in Pesth, as would well haue sufficed his army vntil winter had bin spent. As soone as the Turks were come nigh the city, *Valentinus* as an Ambassador from the Queen, met them with two thousand horse, and fully instructed both the *Mahometes*, what the Christians did, what strength they were of, and how they might most conueniently incamp their army: wherefore the Bassa marching on boldly forward, came within half a mile of the Christian Camp, where he quickly intrenched himselfe round with a strong trench, filling a great part of the plain with his Tents. But the other *Mahometes* Gouernor of Belgrade, a most politick captain, took the higher ground towards the rising of the hill, neerer vnto the tents of the Hungarians than of the Germanes. Vnto these two Armies thus incamped, belonged also two fleets; the Christian fleet consisted of four and twenty Gallions, about fourescore smal pinnaces, and little lesse than 100 ships of burthen, and other great boats. Whereas the Turks fleet was not thought to be past half so great. Neer vnto the little Island, joined as we haue before said by a bridge to the Christian Campe, beneath in the riuier had the Turks taken another

F Island called *Cepellia*, ouer against their own Camp, where casting vp a great bulwark in the vppermost end therof, and planting it with great ordnance, they from thence shot at the fort which the Christians held in the little Island, and at their Vessells passing to and fro in the Riuier, as the Christians did at them likewise. This Island of *Cepellia* lieth somewhat more than forty miles in length in the riuier of Danubius, full of country villages, so commodiously,

*Mahometes* Bassa comes with an army to relieue Buda.

The order of *K. Ferdinands* Army.

The Bassa's Army intrencheth within halfe a mile of *K. Ferdinands* army.

that

that if *Rogendorff* had at the first taken it, and fortified it before the comming of the Turks, as the Hungarians persuaded him to haue don, the Turks could by no means haue incamped in the plain, but must needs haue forsaken their fleet, fetching a great compassse about more toward the West, farther off from the riuer, which would haue turned to the Turks great disadvantage. But no man is so wise as to foresee all things, when as the euill successe, be the plot neuer so well layd, shal of it self, besides the losse, leaue vnto the unfortunate man the note of the want of prouident foresight and discretion. But *Rogendorff* was not willing to diuide his forces vntill he had some new supply from King *Ferdinand*. Whilst the armies lay thus neer one to another, there were some light skirmishes made every day, either by the horsmen or footmen, and somtime one braue man challenging forth another hand to hand, whom he thought by his armour, or some other signe of his worth, to be like to himself: which was so pleasant a sight to behold, that both the armies vpon a military curtisie, as if it had bin so agreed, would many times for certaine hours forbear to shoot any shot, of purpose to see those gallants, with true prowesse to proue their valor and manhood one vpon another with their spears and swords only. In which light skirmishes the German horsmen were oftentimes put to the worst, who mounted vpon heauy horses, fitter for a set battell, could neither so readily charge the enemy, nor pursue him in his flight, as could the Turks with their nimble ready light horsmen, so well acquainted with that manner of flying fight, that they would with wheeling about easily frustrate the first charge of the heauy horsmen, and by and by come vpon them again with a fresh charge, and so often retyre and come on again, vntill they had either wearied or ouerthrowen them. But the Hungarians acquainted with that manner of fight as well as they, and also better armed, did easily encounter the Turks and foil them, although they were in number more.

*Rogendorff* being  
forerown of his  
son slain by the  
Turks, suddenly  
fell down.

There was amongst the German captains a nobleman called *Eckius Rayschachius*, whose son (a valiant yong gentleman) being got out of the Army without his fathers knowledge, bare himself so gallantly in fight against the enemy, in the sight of his father and of the army, that he was highly commended of all men, but especially of his father, who knew him not at all: yet before he could cleer himselfe he was compassed in of the enemy, and valiantly fighting slain. *Rayschachius* exceedingly mooued with the death of so braue a man, ignorant how neer it touched himself, turning about to the other captains, said, This worthy gentleman, whatsoever he be, is worthy of eternal commendation, and to be most honorably buried by the whole army. As the rest of the captains were with like compassion approving his speech, the dead body of the vnfortunat son refused, was presented to the most miserable father, which caused all that were there present to shed tears: but such a sudden and inward grieve surprised the aged father, and strook so to his heart, that after he had stood a while speechles, with his eyes set in his head, he suddenly fell down dead. From that time the General commanded, That no man should vpon pain of death go out of the army to skirmish with the enemy without leaue: wherein he was so seuer, that he hanged vp one or two that presumed to transgresse his commandment. Which thing much discouraged his own men, and so encouraged the enemy, that they would somtime braue the Christians vpon the top of their own trenches.

Many daies had now passed since the comming of the Bassa, the Turks and they of Buda daily increasing both in strength and courage, when as on the other side, faint courage, weak strength, troubled counsell, vncertaine resolution, the ominous signes of an vndoubted overthrow, were easie to be seen: and hope it self, the stay of all human actions, especially of martial affairs, almost lost: the only things which vpheld their fainting hearts, were, the often Letters of King *Ferdinand*; and the firm opinion they had conceiued, That *Charles* the Emperour would not in so great a danger fail to aid his brother both with men and money: and last of all, the firm resolution of a General, which far passed all reason, the sooner to draw him to his end. The armies lying in this order, the Turks from the higher ground and out of *Cepellia*, perceiving the Germans in the little Island as carelesse men to keep but slight watch, agreed amongst themselves, at one instant out of both their Camps to assaile diuers of their forts: and so by break of the day landed with their fleet so closely and suddenly to the Island, that they had slain almost 800 of the Germans before they were throwly awake or could wel arm themselves. Wherwith the rest were put in such a fear, that they fled to the Campe in such haste, that many of them fel beside the bridge, and were drowned in the Riuer. All the Camp was wonderfully troubled with the suddennes of the matter, the Turks with their hideous cries raising

The Turks suddenly assailed the Christians in the Island.

A raising the alarm in diuers places at once: yet for all that, certain German Companie in one of the forts neere vnto the riuer, and the soldiers in the fleet, wel declared their present resolution and valiant courage, in recouering again of the Island. For *Herbstulius* the Campmaster persuading them not to suffer the Christian ensignes and great ordnance to be so shamefully carried away by the Turks, & *Marius* the Admiral at the same time landing diuers companies in the Island with his pinnaces and great boats; they so courageously charged the Turks, then busied in spoiling the dead bodies, and drawing away of the great ordnance, that they draue them again to their boats, leauing vnto them as victors both the Island and Ordnance; hauing before their departure receiued no lesse losse themselves, than had the Germans before.

B It was reported, that the Turks fleet might that day haue bin quite ouerthrowen, if the Christians vying the victory, and holpen with the course of that swift riuer, had courageously pursued them and landed with them. But many things after a matter is don are easily seen, which in the very heat and hure of the danger cannot be foreseen; forasmuch as sudden accidents attended with great peril, do oftentimes dasle the minds of right wise and valiant captains: yet four of the Turks pinnaces were funke, and three taken, and many of the Turks slain or drowned in the riuer. Shortly after, the Turks more and more encouraged with the multitude of themselves, and the fearfulness they perceived in their enemies, did at sundry times so insolently trouble and assaile the camp of the Christians on euery side, that they left them almost no time of rest, one company stil succeeding another; so that they were almost in despair to be able long to defend their camp, the enemy stil growing both in strength and courage. For the Bassa that lay at Belgrade stil taking vnto him the sick and wounded soldiers, sent continually fresh men in their stead: and *Valentinus* taking to him a company of the Turks harquebusiers, had driuen *Perennus* with the Hungarian horsmen out of the vpper camp. So that they in the nether camp were now hardly beset by their enemies on euery side: yet were they well holpen by the great Artillery from Pesth, which much troubled *Valentinus* and his horsmen in assailing the camp on that side.

Some report, that *Valentinus*, not greatly angry with the Hungarian banished men, but with the Germans, did by the way of priuat curtisie or friendship, by a faithful souldier with *Perennus*, speedily to prouide for the safety of himselfe and of the Hungarians with him; for that there was a great beast comming which would at one morcel deuour them all. For *Solyman* aduertised of the doings of the Emperour and King *Ferdinand*, thinking that they would haue come down to Buda with a puissant army, was resolved to be present himself at so notable a battel, and was therefore comming thither with his Army in all hast. Wherefore *Perennus* thus forewarned, said plainly to *Rogendorff* and the other captains, that except they would presently rise with the army and depart, he would now whilst he had yet time make shift for himself and his countrymen. Their opinions diuersly deliuered, at last they all agreed, that it was best the next night to passe ouer the riuer to Pesth. Only the General by fatal obstinacy said, He would not without King *Ferdinand*'s commandement depart from Buda: and therefore sent County *Salma* with a swift pinnace vp the riuer to Vienna, to know his pleasure therein. In the mean time vrged with fear, *Perennus* fretting at their long stay, it was resolved vpon, that they should the next night, after the Moon was downe, passe ouer the riuer with four conuoyes to Pesth. In the first were to passe ouer the Hungarians with their great ordnance. In the second the German and Bohemian horsmen; and in the other two, the footmen and baggage of the army: for it was not so easie a matter to make a bridge ouer Danubius, as they had at first supposed: for after they had begun it & almost planked it, there rose such a wind and tempest, and the violent riuer became so rough, that the timber wherewith the bridge was fastned together was broken, the joints vnloosed, and many of the boats wherof the bridge was framed, their cables being broken, were carried away by the force of the stream. The first and second conuoy fortune so fauored that they wel passed ouer; for although they of Buda and the Turks, seeing in the day time from their high places their fleet drawing together into one place, might haue some suspicion of the matter, some ghesing one thing, and some another, yet could they foresee nothing of that sudden departure of the enemy. But that multitude of ships and boats now passing to and fro, could not long be hid from the attentive and vigilant Enemy; and so much the lesse, for that two fugitiue Hungarians euen then discovered to the Bishop,

*Valentinus* the  
queens general  
cousin  
of *Solyman*  
was comming

The Christians  
depart by night  
from Buda.

The Turkes  
afflict the  
Christians in  
their camps at  
their departure

A mischievous  
practice of the  
Turkes

Great laugh-  
ter of the Chris-  
tians

the flight of the Germans; who presently certified the Bassa, and the other *Mahometes* thereof, which without further delay came almost with all their power to assault the Christians in their camp: the great ordnance was brought forth, and after the Janizaries and other footmen, followed the horsemen, dismounted from their horses to do the better service; who all with a horribly cry assailed the trenches. Then began the Germans to quail, their flight being now discovered; yet did they with the Bohemians for a while notably resist the enemy. All the campe was filled with tumult and confusion, and especially at the river side, every man in that great feare striving to get aboard, without regard of order or shame: for the dead time of the night then covered with darke and thicke clouds, made all things more terrible, even vnto them which were of best courage: the authority of *Rogendorff* the General (in the darknesse of the night, and so great clamour both of his owne people and of the enemy, and the thundring of the ordnance) was as nothing: he (besides that he was then sick in mind) lay in his bed wounded, by a wonderfull and fatall chance: for as he was writing letters to the king, a faulcon shot out of the enemies camp falling in his tent, and striking in sunder a chest which stood there, wounded him grievously in the left shoulder with a splinter of the same. The other captaines of the footmen enuying that the horsemen were so well escaped, stood as men more carefull of themselves, than of the common danger, faintly resisting the enemy. The vpper tents wherein *Perennis* lay, were first taken by *Mahometes* of Belgrade, and *Valentinus*, & the German footmen chased all ouer *S. Gerrards* mount. They of Buda also sallied out, and entred the camp on that side which was next vnto the City, and with wild fire burne the Tents, a little before forsaken by the Germans. And the Bishop at the same time caused a great sticke of straw standing by the kings stables, neer vnto the riuers side, to be set on fire, which gaue such a light that a man might haue seen all ouer Danubius vnto the wals of Pesth, as if it had bin light day: whereby the great confusion of the Christian army, by land, as well as the shameful flight by water, was of the Turkes plainly discovered. Then was the great artillery on euery side discharged vpon the flying fleet, as well from Buda, as the Turkes Campe. And to increase the feare, *Casim* the Turkes Admirall rowing with his light boats against the stream, set vpon the ships crossing the river to Pesth, where he took certain boats loded with souldiers, and his great ordnance sunke diuers others: so the river was filled with dead bodies, and the miserable company of mariners and soldiers, laboring to saue their liues by swimming: for at such time as the Janizaries hauing slain the first companies, were broken into the lower Campe; and the rest of the Germans flying ouer the bridge into the Island, were there slain without mercy, by the Turkes pursuing them, many of them leapt into the river and there perished. Three hundred sail of one sort of ships and other were so mingled together, that Danubius seemed that night to be covered ouer as if it had bin with a great bridge. But the Christian fleet seeing all lost, cleered themselves so soon as they could of the Turkes; and so beating them backe with their great ordnance out of the poulders of their ships, got vp the river to Comora. The rest of the Forces endured the same fortune by land in the Campe, of whom the Bohemians died most honourably, slain by the enemy in fight. Many falling into the hands of them of Buda, were saued or slain, as it was their fortune to fall into the power of a mercifull or mercilesse man. But the Sunne rising, plainly discovered the slaughter of the Christians, and the victory of the Turkes, not so well before known. There was about 3000 men of one sort and other, who in warlike maner had taken a little hill by *S. Gerrards* Church, and there stood vpon their guard, vntill such time as more than two thousand of them were slaine: the rest casting away their weapons, yielded, in hope of life, and were referred for a spectacle more grievous than death it selfe.

At the same time *Casim* with his victorious fleet comming to the shore of Pesth, brought such a fear vpon them that were escaped thither, and might easily haue defended the Walls, (only with the cry of his souldiers, and thundring of his artillery) that the horsemen for hast to get out, were like to ouer-run one another. The Germanes had at that time so much forgot their wonted valor, and so trembled at the name of the Turkes, that as soone as they saw their white caps in their ships they ran away as men dismayed, unarmed, leauing behind them their plate, their carriages, and whatsoever good thing they had els. Yet some Hungarian horsemen, more desirous of the spoile, than afraid of death, staid behinde rifling the merchants shops; for Pesth was become a very rich mart town for all kind of merchandise, merchants resorting thither

A thither from all other places of the troubled country, as to a strong and commodious city, and of more safety than the rest. But *Casim* now entring without resistance, slew some of those greedy Hungarians, and ran thorow the towne with such barbarous cruelty and thirst of the Christian bloud, that he spared neither man, woman, nor child, except some few, which either for their beauty or strength of body were referred for the Turkes beastly lust, or slauiish labor: so that in this war it is reported, more than 20000 Christians were one way and other by diuers chances slaine. There were taken at Pesth, in the campe and in the Island, 36 great pieces for battery, of wonderfull beauty; and of lesser field pieces 150. As for shot, powder, armor, weapons, and victuall provided for Winter, such store was found, that the Turkes accounted it for the greatest part of their victory. *Rogendorff* the vnfortunat General, at such time as the Turkes hauing won the trenches, were fighting in the midst of his camp, desiring rather to be slaine in his tent, than to liue after so great an overthrow, was against his will by strong hand carried aboard a little pinnace by his physitian and chamberlaine, which would not leaue him as he lay, and was so conueighed vp the river to the Island of Comora; where he shortly after, partly for the painefullnesse of his wound, but more for griefe of minde, died in a little country village called *Samarium*, leauing vnto the Germans a wofull remembrance of his accursed obstinacy and pride. *Solyman* still doubting the comming of *Charles* the Emperour and King *Ferdinand* to Buda, was comming with his army from Hadrianople in such hast, that he caused the Janizaries, his best footmen, contrary to their manner, to march as fast as his horsemen; but vnderstanding by the way, of the late victory obtained by his captaines, he tooke more leisure, and came with a great power to Buda in August, and there incamped on the other side of the city, to auoid the noisome saueur of the dead bodies, which lay yet vnburi'd. Where calling vnto him the other army, and making one huge campe of both, he highly commended all his captaines, but especially the two *Mahometes*. And vnderstanding that the victory was especially gotten by the means of *Mahometes* Gouvernour of Belgrade, he made him General of all his European horsemen, one of the most honourable preferments of the Turkish Empire: the other captaines he rewarded according as they had deserved, and withall augmented their pay.

After that, he caused the prisoners, in number about eight hundred, to be brought out, who bound in long ropes, were in derision led all alongt the army, ranged in order of battell, and afterward by his commandement slain by his yong soldiers: saying with seuerer countenance, that they were worthy of such death, which by Embassadors dissemblingly entreating of peace, had in the meane time craftily waged war. Amongst these prisoners was one souldier of *Bauaria* of an exceeding high stature; him in despite of the German nation, he deliuered to a little dwarfe (whom his sonnes made great account of) to be slaine, whose head was scarce so high as the knees of the tall captiue; with that cruell spight to aggravate the indignity of his death, when as that goodly tall man, mangled about the legs a long time by that apish dwarfe with his little scimeter, as if it had bin in disport, fell downe, and was with many feeble blowes hardly at last slaine by that wretch, still heartened on by others, to satisfie the eyes of the Prince, beholding it as their sport.

This barbarous and cruell execution done, *Solyman* sent his Embassadors with presents to the yong king, which were three beautifull horses, with their bridles of gold, and their trappings richly set with pretious stones, and three royall robes of cloth of gold, & vnto the chiefe of the nobility he sent rich gownes and chains of gold. The embassadors which brought these presents, in courteous manner requested of the Queene, to send the yong king her son, attended with his nobility, into the campe, and without all feare, to hope that all should go well both with her and her son: for that *Solyman*, who exceeded all other kings, not in power and fortune only, but in vertue and vpright dealing also, was of such an heroicall disposition, that he would not onely defend the child, whom in the right of his father he had once thought worthy his protection and fauor, victory confirming the same, but would also augment his estate, with the largest bounds of his antient kingdom. Wherefore he was desirous to see the yong king, and to behold him in the representation of his father, and with his own hand to deliuer him to be embraced of his sons; that of his protection renewed, so happily begun, might be grounded a firme and perpetuall friendship with the *Othoman* kings; and that he would alwaies account of her as of his daughter. But the cause why he came not to see her, which he did in currecie de-

Pesth taken by  
Casim, Admirall  
of the Turkes  
fleet.

*Rogendorff* a  
knight he will  
carried away by  
his physitian &  
chamberlaine, to  
Comora, there  
died.

*Solyman* com-  
ing to Buda.

Turkish cru-  
elty.

*Solyman* sends  
for the yong  
King into the  
campe.

fire, was for that by ancient custome the *Othman* Kings were forbidden that point of civility, to visit other mens wiues in their houses. Besides that, *Solyman* (they said) was not so forgetfull of his modesty and honour, as to receiue into his pavillion the daughter of a King his friend and allie, and the late wife of a King his friend and tributary, and the faire young mother of a sonne, growing in the hope of like regall dignity, for feare he should draw into any suspicion the inuiolate name of her chastity, which in *Queenes* was to be guarded with an especiall and wonderfull care. Whereunto the *Queene* (a manifest feare confounding the tender fences in her motherly affection) answered very doubtfully; but the *Bishop* perswading her, and instantly requesting her, not to give the *Turks* occasion to suspect, that she had them in distrust, by her little and vnprofitable delay; sent her young son in Princely swathing clothes, in a rich chariot, with his nurse and certaine great ladies vnto the campe, attended vpon with almost all the nobility to whom *Solyman* had sent Presents. In his comming to the campe, he was for honours sake met vpon the way by certaine gallant troupes of the *Turks* braue horsemen: and all the way as he passed in the campe, orderly stood the *Ianizaries* of *Solymans* guard. As soone as he was brought into the campe, *Solyman* courteously looked vpon him, and familiarly talked with the nurse, and commanded his sons there: present to take him in their armes, and to kisse him, in certaine tokens of the loue they would beare him; whom they were in time to haue their friend and tributary, when he was growne to mans estate: these were *Selymus* and *Bajazet*, begotten of his faire concubine *Roxolana*, bearing the names the one of his grandfather, the other of his great grandfather. As for *Mustapha* his eldest sonne by his Circassian wife, he then liued in *Magnesia* a great way off; who though he was a Prince of so great hope, as neuer any of the *Turkish* kings had a sonne of greater, and was therefore exceedingly beloued of the men of war; yet was he not so well liked of his father, brought out of fauour with him by *Roxolana*, as if he had traiterously gone about to take the Empire from him, yeeliuing; as did *Selymus* his grandfather from *Bajazet*: for which cause *Solyman* secretly purposed to take him away, as afterwards he did, and to appoint *Selymus* for his successor, as hereafter shall appeare.

The *Queene* sendeth the young King be- son to *Solyman* in the campe, attended with the Nobility.

*Solyman* curiously receiueth the young King.

*Solyman* craftily taketh the city of *Buda*.

But *Solyman* at such time as the Noblemen of *Hungary* were dining merrily with the *Bassas*, had commanded certain companies (to whom he had before giuen instructions what he would haue done) vnder the colour of seeing the city, to take one of the gates called *Sabatina*, and the chiefe streets: which was done so quietly and cunningly, that a wary watchman standing there, and beholding the manner of the *Turks* comming and going too and fro, could hardly haue perceiued how the gate was taken, vntill it was too late. For many of the *Turks* walking faire and softly by great companies into the city, as if it had bin but for pleasure, to haue seen it; and other some to colour the matter, walking likewise backe againe, as if they had sufficiently viewed the city; by that meanes they without any tumult or stirre quickly tooke the appointed gate, with the market place and chiefe streets of the city. Which so finely done, the capitaine of the *Ianizaries* caused proclamation to be made in all parts of the city, That the citifens should without feare keepe themselves within their houses, and forthwith, as they would haue their liues, liberty, and goods saued, to deliuer all their weapons: which they seeing no remedy, did: and hauing deliuered their armes, and taken the *Turks* faith for their security, they receiued them into their houses as their vnwelcome guests. But such was the quietnes and modesty of the *Turks*, by reason of the severity of their martiall discipline, that no citifens which tooke them into their houses, was by them wronged by word or deed. *Solyman* vnderstanding that the city was thus quietly and without resistance taken, sent the childe backe againe vnto the *Queene*, although it was now almost night, but the chiefe noblemen he retained still with him: these were *George* the *Bishop* and *Treasurer*, *Petrus Fische* the young Kings nigh kinsman and one of his Tutors, *Valentinus Turacem* Generall of the *Queens* forces, *Stephanus Verbetius* Chancellor, and *Bacianus Vrbanus* Gouvernour of the city of *Buda*. This sudden and vnexpected change exceedingly troubled all their mindes, and so much the more; for that the great *Bassa*'s with changed countenance began to picke quarrels with them, and as it were streightly and impudently to examine them, and to call them to account for all that they had done. The *Queene* seeing the city so craftily surprisid, and the nobility injuriously detained in the campe, troubled with feare and griefe, by humble letters requested *Solyman* not to forget the faith he had long before giuen vnto her, and euen of late confirmed by

*Solyman* detaineth the Noblemen of *Hungary* in his campe.

A by his Embassadors; but mindfull both thereof, and of his wonted clemency, to send backe vnto her the Noblemen, who for their fidelity and valiant seruice had well deserued both of him and her: this he did by *Rustemes Bassa*, whom he had loded with gifts, and amongst other things of great price, had sent him a faire coronet of her owne, and a goodly jewell set with rich stone, to send vnto his wife (*Solymans* daughter) for a Present.

After that, *Solyman* consulted with his *Bassas* foure daies, what order to take concerning the kingdom of *Hungary*: in discourse whereof his great *Bassas* were of diuers opinions. *Mahometes* aduised him to carry away with him to *Constantinople*, both the young childe and all the Nobility, and to leaue such a gouernour in *Buda*, as by his wise and moderate gouernment, rather than by rigour, might put the people out of feare of seruitude and bondage, by defeating them from wrong, and yet by little and little lay vpon them the yoke of the *Turkish* gouernement. But *Rustemes Bassa* (before corrupted, and a man in greater fauour than the rest, because he was *Solymans* Son in law, and therefore further from all suspicion of flattery; stood altogether vpon rearmes of honour: saying, That nothing could be more dishonourable vnto so great and mighty a Monarch, who neuer had at any time with any spot or stain blemished the glory of his name, than after victory, against all right and reason to breake his faith at once with a weake woman and silly infant, whom he had before taken vpon him to protect and defend. On the other side, *Mahometes* Gouvernour of *Belgrade* (an old mortall enemy of the Christians, of all the rest best acquainted with the state of *Hungary*, and for his great experience and approved valour, then extraordinarily admitted by *Solyman* into counsell among the great *Bassas*) disliked of both the former opinions, as too full of lenity: and beeing asked his owne, deliuered it in this mischieuous manner as followeth:

The great *Bassas* see of diuers opinions for the disposing of the Kingdom of *Hungary*.

I know (said he) most mighty *Solyman*, that he which in consultation of matters of so great consequence is to deliuer his opinion last, shall if he dissent from the rest, be subject to enuy and reprehension. And therefore it cannot be, but that I being of a quite contrary opinion to them that haue before spoken, my speech must also be vnto your eares both vnpleasant and tedious. But I refuse not be counted by my selfe, yet, and presumptuous, if you will so haue it, rather than a smoother vop of other mens sayings, as one of no judgement; whilst I recount those things, which as the present case standeth, may vnder all profit D your desires and the Imperiall state: for of right I may desire you to yeeld a little to my yeares, and (if I may by your good fauour so say) to that I haue already done: when as I, now growne an old man in wars against these *Hungarians*, haue by experience learned those things of the state and strength of this kingdom, and the disposition of the people, which being here laid downe, may much auail for your better determination of this so weighty a cause as admitteth no repentance if you shall now be ouerseene therein. You haue now within the space of these twenty yeares come in wars your selfe in person five times into this country, when as I no obscure capitaine or souldier, was in all those warres and battels euer present, of purpose, as I suppose, to reuenge your injuries, to enlarge your empire, and in brieft to assure you of a good peace, which could neuer be but by force of armes and victory. And therefore you valiantly won *Belgrade*, the infamous dwelling place and receptacle of most outrageous theues and robbers, and in former time famous E for the vnfortunat attempts of your ancestors: when as from thence the *Hungarians* in time of peace had at their pleasure, whilst your father was then occupied in the Persian war, spoiled the borders of *Serua*, and *Illyria*. The same *Hungarians* about five yeares after, for that they had in cruell manner slaine your Embassadors, you ouerthrew in battell, and slew their King: and possessed of *Buda*, to manifest and make knowne by a notable demonstration, the magnificence of your heroicall minde, euen vnto the most enemie of our name, did chuse out of the reliques of that vanquished Nation, one whom you might grace with the honour of the regall Crowne, although not borne of Royall blood, or vnto you knowne for any other desert, than that he was a little before both your publike and priuat enemy; and comming against you with a strong power out of *Transilvania*, he had in the meane time lost his brother, a better man than himselfe, slaine with our sword. After that, rose up the *Austrian* King, a new enemy, to expulse this *Hungarian*, reigning by your courtse, and so you tooke in hand the third warre against the *Germanes*, which you so effectually prosecuted, this hauing forthwith restored the King, you carried the terrour of your selfe not onely to the walls of *Vienna*, but into the very heart of *Germany*. But two yeares scarcely past, the same King (neuer long comended with peace or warres) supported by the power of his brother *Charles*, and

The oration of *Mahometes* of *Belgrade*, to *Solyman*, concerning the disposing of the Kingdom of *Hungary*.

in vaine besieging Buda, defended by your garrisons, stirred you up againe to reuenge the injury, slaughter, and spoile by his souldiers done: for that you thought it to stand with your honour, to protect him with your power, whom you had of your rare bounty made a King, and then desired about all things, to fight a noble battell with the two brethren for the Empire of the West. But they at such time as you with fire and sword ran thorow their ancient kingdomes, endured not the noise of your comming. After that, ensued a peace betweene the Hungarians and the Germans, your Majesty permitting and approuing it, at such time as you made haste to goe against the Persians: but the German King so broke that peace, that had not I in good time reuenged his treachery, by the overthrow of a great army of his at Exec, you must of necessity haue bene sent for from Babylon your selfe, as but now you were glad to come in haste, by long and painefull Iournies from Constantinople, to aid vs in time, and as I verily hope to make an end for all; that all things set in firme order in Hungary, the inconueniences of so many labours and so great charge, sue times vnder taken for another mans profit, might now at length take end: except (as I see some wish) you be in minde neuer to giue ouer the protection of the childe and widow, a matter full of infinite labour and perill, not to be counteruailed with that glorious shew of honour, which by these (in my opinion) too too wise men is pretended to your haughty minde, ener desirous of honour and fame. But I as a blunt man vnderstand not this high point of wisdom, abounding with glory, which in the very courtesies of cuncties in sunder the sinewes of victory, and is neuer by politike Generals admitted into their camps. In which doing, as I wish you more fortunate than your ancestors, who haue vniued eighteene kingdomes to this your Empire, so would I not haue you more wise than they: for what can be a more unwise part, than alwaies to play the unwise man? that is to say, alwaies to be carefull of other mens affaires, and in the meane time oftentimes to indanger his owne estate, his health, his wealth, his honour. You haue satisfied, and that (in my opinion) plentifully the duties both of charity, fidelity, and if it must needs be so, of honor and glory also; if it be to be gotten rather by courtesie, clemency, and lenity, than by the inuincible strenght of wise policy, and the constant resolution of a martiall mind: for by those instruments, and none other, hath worthy vertues alwaies promoted and supported the Othoman kings. Wherefore let those vaine shewes (as seemeth vnto me) of counterfeit honour delight the minds of idle and slothfull kings: assuredly they neuer pleased your armed ancestors; but after the enemy was quite overthrowne, the triumph made, and the trophies of victory erected. But let this be as best pleaseth your high wisdom and judgement, whereunto the greatest wits giue place. Truly I (if I well foresee the chances of war, and the assured euents of things) will not follow that manner of counsell which the pleasure of my mind perswadeth me vnto; when as necessity, which ruleth all things, presently forceth me & sheweth me a far better course. The Hungarians about all other things notably warne vs not to trust them, who infamous for their inconsistency, after reuolt and treachery, are still at variance amongst themselves; and their banished men are continually setting on the Germans to inuade the country, and the weak power of the Queene and the childe is not such as may withstand so nere and so mighty an enemy: so that another mans kingdome must of necessity be defended by our helpe, which may not be lesse than a strong army, without our great perill. To be brieft, euery yeare to take in hand so long an expedition of so great labour and trauell, with an army furnished with horsemen, footmen, artillery, and a fleet of ships for the defence of another man, as commonly we do seemeth vnto me mere madnesse: neither do I thinke it to stand with the Majesty of the Othoman Emperors, thus to be moued euery yeare at the request of a pining woman, crying for helpe: except you thinke it more profitable and honourable to maintaine a defensive than an inuasive war: Wherefore (in my opinion) it is best to turne this kingdome (so often conquered and defended by law of Armes) after the manner of your ancestors, into the forme of a province: the Queene I would haue sent to her father, and the boy her sonne brought up in your courts at Constantinople, and there instructed in our religion: the nobility of the country I wish to be slaine, and their castles rased, and the notable families which bare the bruest minds, to be carried away out of all parts of the country into Asia: as for the base multitude, I would haue kept vnder with good garrisons, to till the ground, and inhabit the cities. By this only means (mighty Solyman) shall both the Hungarians perceine themselves conquered, and the Germans glad to forbear comming into Hungary, vntill they will rashly and unfortunately hazard both Syria and Austria.

Mis. lib. num.  
counsell.

Solyman en-  
treth Buda the  
30 of August  
1541. & there  
first sacrificeth  
after the Mahe-  
metan manner.

But Solyman thinking it good to doe sacrifice before he would resolutely determine of so great a matter, entred into Buda with his two sonnes, Selymus and Bajazet, the thirtieth of August in the yeare 1541: and there in the Cathedrall Church dedicated to the Virgin Mary (being before by his priests purified after the manner of their superstition) sacrificed the first

Maho-

A Mahometan sacrifice in Buda. Shortly after, he as it were moderating the opinions of his great counsellors, prouided out of them all both for his owne security and honour, and published a decree, the fatall doome of that flourishing kingdome, where vnder it yet groaneth at this day; That Buda should from that day be kept with a garrison of Turks, and the kingdome conuered into a Province of the Turkish Empire; and the queene with her yong son should presently depart the City, and liue in Lippa, in a fertile and quiet Country beyond the riuier of Tibiscus, which something to comfort her, was neere vnto the borders of her father Sigismund his kingdome, to be safely conducted thither with all her wealth and jewels by his Iandaries. Wherefore the Queene and her Son, according to this Decree, with teares and mourning, detesting in her heart the Tyrants perfidious dealing (which necessity inforced her then to dissemble) departed from Buda, constrained by the Turks to leaue behind her all the ordinance in the castle and city, with all other the warlike prouision and store of victuall. The Nobleman went with her also, who although they went sorrowfull for this wofull and v unexpected change of things, yet were they very glad of their liberty and safety, whereof they had for the space of three daies dispaired. Only Valentinus was kept in safe custody in the campe, because he was a martiall man of greatest power amongst the Hungarians; and besides that, much hated of the Turks for the hard pursuit of Cason and his horsemen, slaine at Storamberg in Austria. Thus the royall city of Buda fell into the hands of the Turks, whereupon not long after ensued the final ruine of that kingdome, sometime the strong Bulwarke of Christendome; but lost to the great weakening of the Christian Common-weale; which may justly be imputed to the pride, ambition, and dissention of the Hungarians amongst themselves, and the calling in of the common enemy: the due consideration of whose onely comming, might well haue sufficed to haue set them agreed.

The doome of  
Hungary.

The Queene d-  
parteth out of  
Buda with her  
Sonnes.

Whilest these things were doing at Buda, King Ferdinand expecting the euent of this war at Vienna, & hearing of the shamefull losse of his army, and that the Generall deadly wounded was fled to Comara, and that Solyman (same increasing the euill newes) was comming towards Vienna, sent Leonardus Velsus (who neuer liked of the siege of Buda) to Comara, to stay the further flight of the soldiers, and to gather together so well as he could the dispersed reliques of the scattered army, and to comfort againe the discouraged men with the hope of new supplies and of pay. And somewhat to stay Solyman, who as it was thought would suddenly come to Vienna, he sent Country Salma, and Sigismund Lehestaine, a noble and graue counsellor, his Embassadors, with Presents and new conditions of peace to Solyman. The presents were a high standing cup of gold after the German fashion, curiously set with stones: and a wonderfull globe of filer of a most rare & curious deuise, daily expressing the houely passing of the time, the motion of the planets, the change and full of the Moone, the motion of the superiour orbis, euery mouing by certaine wheelles or weights curiously conueled within the same, and exactly keeping due time and motion; liuely expressing the wonderfull motions and conuersions of the coelestiall frame. A most curious and strange piece of worke, deuised and perfected by the most cunning Astronomers for Maximilian the Emperour, whose noble minde neuer spared for any cost to obtaine things of rare and strange deuise. The Embassadors passing downe the riuier of Danubius, were at their landing first receiued by Cason the Admirall of Solymans fleet, and by him brought into a rich tent, the ground vnder their feet being all couered with rich carpets: to whom Ruslan Bassa sent such good cheere as the campe afforded, but especially most excellent wine, no lesse forbidden the Turks by their law, than desired of the Germans. The next day after, the great Bassas feasted the Embassadors, Solyman himselfe dining not far off in his pauillion: at which feast the Bassas for the more courtesie dined with the embassadors, not sitting with their legs gathered vnder them flat vpon the ground, as their manner was, but sitting in chaires at a high table, after the manner of the Christians: only Mahometes Governour of Belgrade, for his age and valour an extraordinary guest, sat downe vpon a cushion beneath the Bassas. Their cheere was only Rice and Mutton, and that so plainly and sparingly dressed, as if they had thereby nored our gourmandise and excess; who measure not our cheere by that which nature requirereth; but that which greedy appetite desireth, as if therein consisted the greatest nobility: and the drinke for the great Bassas themselves, right easie to be had, was faire water out of the riuier Danubius. After dinner the embassadors were brought in vnto Solyman, each of them led betwixt two Bassas holding them fast by the

K. Ferdinand  
sends his Embas-  
sadors and pre-  
sents to Solyman.

The Pagan  
cheere of the  
Turks.

armes as it had been for honours sake, and so brought to kisse his hand. For the Turks suffer no stranger otherwise to come vnto the presence of their suspicious Emperour, but first they search him that he haue no weapon about him, and so clasping him by the armes vnder the colour of doing him honour, dissemblingly bereaue him of the vse of his hands, lest he should offer him any violence: yet hath he alwaies as he sitteth in his Throne, lying at hand ready by him, a targuet, a scimiter, an yron mase, with bow and arrowes. The great Globe was also brought in by twelue of the Embassadors seruants, which with the strangeness thereof filled the minde of *Solyman*, and the eyes of his Bassaes with admiration: for *Solyman* was of so sharpe a wit, that he was not learned onely in such bookes as contained the lawes and rites of the Mahometane superstition, but had also curiously studied Astronomy, and especially Cosmography, in which profitable and pleasant study he much recreated himselfe as his leisure ferued. The Embassadors desired that he would giue the kingdome of Hungary to King *Ferdinand*, almost vpon the same conditions that *Lascus* had before required it for him at Constantinople, paying him such yearly tribute as King *John* had vsually paid, and promising farther to draw *Charles* the Emperour his brother into the same league: so that *Solyman* deliuered of all feare that way, might at his pleasure turne his forces vpon the Persian, which it was thought he most desired. Besides that, they said he should deale neither honourably nor indifferently, if he should prefer the young child before King *Ferdinand*, who beside his ancient right vnto that kingdome, (which they were not now to vrge, as oppressed by his happy victories, but might in time be reuiued) had also a late interest by a league betwixt him and King *John*, wherein he had expressely covenanted by the solemne consent of the greatest part of his Nobility, that King *Ferdinand* should succede him in the kingdome. Whereby they excused him of the late war, as justly taken in hand against the Queene and her Son vsurping vpon his right; which King *John* knowing to be good, and moued with conscience, had by his solemne act acknowledged, though to the great offence and prejudice of *Solyman* his fetter vp and defender, as also to the touching of him (else in honour, to haue so vnthankfully and fraudulently dealt with his Patron, to whom he was by the oath of obedience bound. Wherefore they requested, that sith he being a Prince of all others most mighty and magnificent, standing vpon his vpright dealing both in peace and war, had so lightly regarded the sly dealing of so vngratefull a man: he would rather accept of King *Ferdinand* so many waies injured, as his friend and tributary, than to haue him his perpetuall enemy. Concluding, That nothing could be vnto him, for the good report of his justice more commendable, or for the assurance of a perpetuall peace more profitable, or to the immortal praise of his bounty more honourable, than to call a King of a most ancient descent, famous for his vertue and fidelity, chosen for a king by the Bohemians, desired for a King by the Hungarians, Emperour elect of the Roman Empire by the Germans, and the natural brother of the great Emperour, his tributary King of Hungary. *Solyman* with cheerefull countenance, accepting and commending of the Presents, answered them two daies after by *Rufan* the Bassa his son in law, that this was his resolute condition of peace and friendship; If King *Ferdinand* would forthwith restore all the cities, townes, and castles, which were before belonging to King *Lewis*, and for euer after abstaine from Hungary: and whereas he had beene so often provoked by him to wame, and had therein bestowed so great charges, and taken so much trauell, he could for that be content with an easie paine (which should be for his great honour) to impose an easie tribute vpon Austria: vpon which conditions he was content to enter into league with them; but if so be that those conditions seemed vnto them too heauy, and that they would rather make choice of war than peace, he would bring to passe by continuall war, that such things as they had taken from the kingdome of Hungary, should be requited with the destruction of Austria. But the Embassadors, although they were much moued at the proud demand of tribute for Austria, as that wherein the two brethren of mighty power, *Charles* the Emperour and King *Ferdinand* were disdainfully abused, to keepe the best course of their negotiation, and to win some time in so hard estate of things, required a truce vntill such time as King *Ferdinand* and the Emperour his brother might be made acquainted with the matter. Which their request, the Turke (perceiuing their drift & purpose) would in no case grant, for Winter was now fast comming on. It was lawfull for the Embassadors all the time they were in the Turks campe, to view euery part thereof, *Rufan Bassa* conducting them from place to place: where aboue all things,

The requests of  
the embassadors  
in the behalf of  
King Ferdinand

Solyman stand  
answer to King  
Ferdinand his  
Embassadors.

A they most wondred at the perpetuall and dumbe silence of so great a multitude, the souldiers being so ready and attentive, that they were no otherwise commanded but by the becking of the hand, or a nod of their commanders: they marvelled also at the exquisite order and sweetness of the Turks campe, finding therein nothing disordered or noysome; so that it seemed not the campe of such a rude and barbarous nation, but rather of them which were the authors of martiall discipline. The Embassadors being rewarded and so sent away, *Solyman* commanded the old Gouvernor of Belgrade to spoile the borders of Austria all alongst Danubius: *Casim* also Generall of the voluntary horsemen, he sent into Moravia for like purpose; who neither of them did any great harme, by reason of the sudden rising of the great riuers, with the abundance of raine then falling in Autumne. After that, *Solyman* appointed one *Solyman* an Hungarian (who taken prisoner in his youth by the Turks, had from that time followed the Mahometan superstition) Gouvernor of Buda: who by the vpright administration of justice, and the courteous vsing of the people, with *Verbatim* the old Chancellor, should do what was possible to put the people in hope of long peace and tranquility. Which things done, after he had staid about 20 daies at Buda, he determined to returne againe into Thracia, because the rain of Autumne & the cold of Winter was now come in: and was also in doubt to be shut in with the rising of the great riuers, wherewith the country of Hungary is in euery place so watered, and on euery side so compassed, that it is a hard matter to passe. By the way he set *Lascus*, King *Ferdinand*'s embassador, again at liberty, whom he had left in prison at Belgrade: but he long ioyed, not that benefit: for shortly after returning into Polonia, he died of the flux; which caused many to suppose, that he was poisoned by the Turks. A man for his vertue and learning, famous, worthy of a longer life, whose death the King himselfe much lamented.

C As *Solyman* was returning into Thracia, and was come to the riuier Dranus, it was told him, That *Stephen Maylat*, Vayvod of Transylvania, who tooke King *Ferdinand* his part, a professed enemy of the Turks, was taken, by the cunning of *Peter* of Moldavia, and Prince of Valachia; and that all the country of Transylvania was well pacified, and yielded to his obedience. Of which newes *Solyman* was passing glad; for he exceedingly hated *Maylat*, a martiall man of a froward nature, desirous of rule, and ready vpon any occasion to reuolt; forasmuch as he remembered *Gritius* his Legat, and the Turks by him slaine, and knew also, that the Transylvanians, an inuincible people, borne to trouble, and more delighting in vncertain war than assured peace, was by him stirred vp, when he wished rather by gentleness to appease, than by force of armes and strong hand to subdue. But because we haue oftentimes before made mention of this *Maylat*, of whose taking *Solyman* so much rejoyced, it shall not be amisse in few words to declare in what fineness he fell into the hands of this treacherous and bloudy man, *Peter* of Moldavia.

D This Moldavian by the commandement of *Solyman* (as is aforesaid) had joynd his forces with *Achomates*, Gouvernor of Nicopolis, against *Maylat*; which being united, were in number 50000 horsemen beside footmen; which after the manner of those countries, were not many, euery man almost in the country, be he neuer so poore, keeping a horse to serue vpon. *Maylat* beset with the multitude of his enemies, and finding himselfe too weake to encounter them, despairing also of aid from King *Ferdinand*, whom he knew to be busied in a greater war; forsooke the field, and fled again into the strong towne of Fogaras, as he had done the yere before, when he was overcharged by King *John*'s power: for there as in a most strong place both by nature and fortification, he had laid vp his greatest substance & prouision for the wars, but especially the rich spoile he had long before taken from *Gritius*, *Achomates* comming thither with his power, and perceiuing the place was not to be battered or taken by force, but with much labour and long time, thought it best, to assay if he could overcome him by craft and deceit. Wherefore he sent a messenger vnto *Maylat*, to persuaide him to yeeld himselfe vnto *Solyman*, and to make choice rather to be called of him his friend, than to be judged his enemy; of whom he might well hope of all goodnesse, which had giuen whole kingdomes vnto his enemies: promising that he would vie the vttermost of his credit, which was not small, and labour for him as his friend, that he might feele the fruit of his clemency and bounty, and still enjoy the gouernment of Transylvania, paying him some small yearly tribute, as hee had before requested: forasmuch as hee could take no course better, being beset with so many enemies

The Turke  
campe well  
ordered.

*Solyman* returne  
th towards  
Constantinople.

*Lascus* set at li-  
berty by *Soly-  
man*, shortly af-  
ter death.

*Maylat* the  
Vayvod not ab-  
le to keep the field  
against *Acho-  
mates* and the  
Prince of Mol-  
davia, fleeth to  
Fogaras.

enemies, than to make his peace vpon reasonable conditions, and that with as much speed as were possible: in which doing, besides that he should well provide for his owne safety, he should also saue both his wealth and honour; for *Solyman* was comming (as he said) with his victorious army; who would with assured death reuenge his vaine hope of holding out the siege, if he should vpon a stubborne and obstinate mind then refuse to obey his command. Whereunto *Maylat*, who foresaw that it was better for him to make a certaine peace, than to endure an vncertaine warre, answered, That he could be content to conclude a peace, so that it were not vpon any bad conditions; and would not greatly refuse *Solymans* command, which was wont to be both reasonable and just: wherefore vpon sufficient pledges he would come into the campe, in presence to agree vpon the conditions of the peace, and demanded to haue *Achomates* his son, a valiant yong gentleman, deliuered in hostage. Which thing *Achomates* denied, for that he had (as he said) before giuen him to *Solyman*, as the manner was; and therefore had ouer him no more power: but he promised for him, that was but one, to giue foure of his best captains. Which offer *Maylat* (misdoubting no deceit) accepted, and with a great and galland retinue attended vpon, came into the enemies campe, where he was courteously and honourably receiued. But the parly, as it could not be conveniently begun immediately after the first salutation, so could it by no meanes be then ended, but was deferred vntill the next day: to the intent, that the trecherous Moldauian might take his well acquainted and well knowne guest, whom he had against that time inuited to a solemn banquet. By that means, the next day about the midst of dinner, fortune so fauoured the intended trechery, *Maylat* (who was of so proud and cholericke a nature, that he could not well brooke the least indignity) was by occasion of some insolent speech, of purpose ministred by the Moldauian ghests, put into such a fret, that laying his hand vpon his sword, he in a rage flung from the table: at which time all the other ghests starting vp also, laid hands vpon him and tooke him, fuming, and in vaine crying out, that he was shamefully betraid. His followers were all forthwith stript of all their brauery by the needy Moldauians, and their horses and armor taken from them. Whilest *Maylat* was yet furiously exclaiming of this treason, in came *Achomates*, who to seeme guiltlesse of the matter, with deep dissimulation sharply reprobued the false Moldauian, that he had in doing so foule a fact shamefully violated the lawes of hospitality, teuerenced of all nations, falsified the faith which he had giuen him for his safety, and betraid the liues of such notable captains as lay in hostage for him. Whereunto the Moldauian (as if it had bin in contempt) scornfully answered, that he had vpon good cause taken *Maylat* prisoner, and so would in safety keep him for *Solyman*, vnto whom it only belonged to iudge, whether he had justly or vnjustly kept him.

Not long after, the strong towne of Fogaras was deliuered, with the hostages; but whether by feare or by corruption of *Maylats* lieutenant, is vncertaine. So *Valentinus Turacum*, and *Maylat*, two of the greatest noblemen of Hungary, sufficient of themselves to haue restored the Hungarian kingdome (first rent in sunder with ciuill discord, and afterward with the inuasion of the Turks) fell into the hands of the enemy, not vanquished in battel, but deceived by treason. The towne being thus surrendered, almost all the country of Transylvania, was by *Solymans* consent deliuered to the yong king, vnto whom all the people most willingly submitted themselves, and tooke the oath of obedience, remembering, that his father had almost for thirty yeares space with great justice and quietnesse governed that province; and with many presents honoured the yong King lying in Lipa, with the Queene his mother, and his two tutors, the Bishop, and *Picche*.

At the same time, *Charles* the Emperor at the importunat suit of his subjects of Spaine, had prepared a great force both by sea and land for the conquering of *Algiers*: from whence the Turkish pyrats did so infect all that coast of the country, from *Gades* to the mountains *Pyrenei*, that the Spaniards (all trade of merchandise being set apart) were glad to keep a continual watch and ward all alongst that coast for defence of the country. Wherefore although hee well knew of the comming of the Turks to Buda, and how hardly he was by the *Lantgrau* and others spoken of, for leauing his brother so hardly bested, to go against a sort of pirats in Affricke, yet persisting in his former determination, he departed out of Germany into Italy, where by the way he met *Ottolius Farnesius* his son in law, *Alphonfus Fastius* his lieutenant, by the Venetian Embassadors, neere to Verona, and so brought to Millaine, where he was with great

*Maylat* comes into the Turkish campe.

*Maylat* trecherously taken prisoner by the Moldauian.

Transylvania given by *Solyman* to the yong King.

*Charles* the emperor returns out of Germany to invade Affricke.

*Millain*, where he was with great solemnity joyfully receiued of the citifens, and vnder a canopy of gold brought vnto the palace: he himselfe going in a plain blacke cloke, and a homely cap in mourning wife; when as the women and vulgar people, vpon a curious simplicity, expected to haue seene so great an Emperour in his royall robes, glistering with gold and precious stone, and the imperiall crowne vpon his head. His heauy countenance answerable also to his attire, was much noted, as presaging the wofull ouerthrow which was the day before receiued at Buda, but not yet knowne in Italy. From Millaine he departed to Genoa, where he was aduertised by letters from his brother king *Ferdinand*, of the ouerthrow of the Germans, of the victory of the Turks, and the comming of *Solyman*. Vpon which newes, *Vassius* and *Auria*, his two chiefe commanders, the one at land, the other at sea, would haue perswaded him to haue deferred his intended expedition for Africa vntill the next Spring: and with such power as he had already raised in Italy, and brought with him out of Germany, to stay still in Italy, so to make shew vnto the Turks as if he would haue returned and holpen his brother: and in the meane time to assure himselfe of his state in Italy against the French, who (as it was thought) would be ready to take all occasion of aduantage, if any mishap should befall him, either by the force of the enemy, or violence of tempest. But he constant in his former resolution, answered them as they sat in counsell, that they had perswaded him for great reasons to stay in Italy; but that he was for far greater to passe into Affricke: for if he should then stay in Italy, it would be thought, that he was for feare of the Turks fled out of Germany: which disgrace could no otherwise be preuented, but by the present prosecution of the former determination for *Algiers*, and satisfying the expectation of his subjects of Spaine; and so by sea valiantly to proue their better fortune, which had of late not so well fauoured them at land; in hope that *Algiers* might be woon before the seas should grow rough and dangerous with Winter tempests: which if it should fall out according to his mind, he would not, as he said, greatly care what the French could do. Yet was it thought, That the dissembling friendship betwixt the French king and him, would not long indure: and the rather, for that there was a new grudge risen betwixt them about the death of *Antonius Rinno*, who for certaine yeares had beene ambassador for the French king at Constantinople, to *Solyman*, and was a few months before sent backe again by him into France to the king: but returning backe againe with new instructions from his Master, for the confirmation of a further league betwixt the Turkish Sultan and him, he was by certaine Spaniards of the Emperours old souldiers, who had knowledge of his comming, belaid vpon the riuier *Padus* as he was going downe to Venice, so to haue passed into Epirus, and slaine, together with *Caspar Fregosius*: or as the common report went, first taken and tortured, to get from him the secrets of his negotiation, and afterwards slaine. Which report so much troubled *Vassius* in credit, that in purgation of himselfe, he offered the combat to any man of like quality to himselfe, that durst charge him with the truth thereof. But many were of opinion that he was well and worthily taken away, for vnder-taking so odious a charge, as to stir vp the Turks against the Christians, and to shew vnto them such opportunities as might best serue their purpose, by discovering vnto them the Emperours designs, to the great hurt of the Christian common-weale. But were it well, or were it euill, as *Paulus* the third of that name then Bishop of Rome, meeting the Emperour at Luca as he came from Genoa, could not, or would determine, sure it serued as no small occasion to set those two great Princes againe at odds, whereby the wished vniety of the Christian state was sore shaken, and a way opened for the Turke. The Emperour at his comming to Luca, was honourably receiued by the Cardinals and Bishops, and lodged in the court; the great Bishop was before placed in the Bishops palace, whither the Emperour came thrice to talke with him; and the Bishop to him once. But the Bishop hauing nothing at all preuailed with the Emperour and the French ambassador, for the appealing of the troubles even then like to arise betwixt him and the French King; did what he might to perswade him to employ such forces as he was about to passe ouer with into Affricke, against the Turks in defence of his brother *Ferdinand*, and of the country of Austria, if *Solyman* should happily pursue his late obtained victory at Buda. But he still resolute in that fatal determination of invading Affricke, rejected that the Bishops request also. So the great Bishop hauing moued much, and preuailed little, in the greatest matters which most concerned the common good, taking his leaue of the Emperour, returned by easie iournies to Rome.

The French kings ambassador slaine by the Emperours.

The Emperour and the Bishop of Rome meet at Luca.

The Emperor in the mean time with certain bands of Italians, vnder the leading of *Camillus Columna* and *Augustinus Spinula*, and six thousand Germans, came from Luca to the port Lunc, and there imbarcking his soldiers in certain merchants ships provided for the purpose, and five & thirty gallies, departed thence, commanding the masters of the ships to direct their course to the Islands of Baleares: but after they had put to sea, they were by force of tempest suddenly arising, brought within sight of Corsica: where after they had bene tossed to and fro two daies in the rough seas, and put out of their course, the wind something failing, they put into the haven of Syracusa, now called Bonifacium. The disperced fleet once come together into the port of Syracusa, and the rage of the sea well appeased, he put to sea againe for the Islands Belears, now called Majorca, and Minorca: where in his course he met with a tempest from the West, more terrible and dreadfull than the first: wherein diuers of the gallies hauing lost their masts and sailes, were glad with extreame labour and perill in striuing against the wrought sea to get into a harbor of the lesser Island, taking name of *Barchinns Mago* the famous Carthagenensian, whose name it retaineth vntil this day. From hence the Emperor with all his fleet passed ouer to the greater Island, being wonderfull glad that *Ferdinand Gonzaga* his Viceroy in Sicilia was in good time come with the Sicilian gallies and ships of Italy, in number a hundred and fifty saile, wherein he had brought such store of bisket and victual, as might haue sufficed for a long war. *Mendoza* was also expected to haue come thither with his fleet from Spaine; but he by reason of contrary winds being not able to hold that course, altered his purpose according to the tempest, and so happily cut ouer directly to Algiers. So the Emperour nothing misdoubting the carefull diligence of *Mendoza*, and thinking that which was indeed already chanced, and the wind now seruing faire, by the persuation of *Auria* his Admirall hoised saile, and in two daies came before Algiers, and there in a goodly order came to anker before the city in the sight of the enemy. Whilest the fleet thus lay, two of the pyrats which had bene abroad at sea seeking for prize, returning to Algiers, not knowing any thing of the fleet, fell into the bay amongst them before they were aware: the bigger whereof *Viscuntis Cicada* stemmed with his gally and sunke him, the other with wonderfull celerity got into the haven. In the meane time *Mendoza* with his gallies had passed the promontory of *Apollo* now called the cape of Cassineus, and in token of honour saluting the Emperour after the manner at sea, with all his great ordnance, gaue him knowledge that the Spanissh fleet was not far behind. In this fleet was about a hundred tall ships of Biscay & the low countries, and of other smaller vessels a far greater number. In these ships besides the footmen, was embarked a great number of braue horsemen out of all parts of Spaine: for many noble Gentlemen had voluntarily of their owne charge gallantly furnished themselves with braue armour and courageous horses, to serue their Prince and country against the Infidels. Over these choice men commanded *Ferdinand* of Toledo, Duke of Alba, for his approued valour then accounted a famous captain. These ships going altogether with saile, were not yet able to double the cape as did *Mendoza* with his gallies, for now it was a dead calme: howbeit the billow of the sea went yet high, by reason of the rage of the late tempest, and did so beat against the plain shoare, that it was not possible to land the souldiers, but that they must needs be washed vp to the middle: which thing the Emperour thought it not good to put them vnto, and so to oppose them sea-sicke and thorow wet against the sudden and desperat assaults of their fierce enemies. He also staied for the coming of the Spanissh ships, for two causes: first, That he might with his vnited power more strongly assault the city, and terrifie the enemy: then, To communicate the whole glory of the action with the Spaniards, at whose request and forwardnesse & greatest charge he had undertaken that war. Which fatal delay of two daies, although it was grounded vpon good reason, did not only disturbe an assured victory, but to the notable hurt of the whole army, opened a way to all the calamities which afterward ensued.

In the meane while the Emperour sent a conuenient messenger to *Assanagu*, otherwise and more truly called *Assan Aga*, or *Assan* the eunuch; who with a little flag of truce in his hand making signe of a parley, and answered by the Moores with like, as their manner is, went on shore, and was of them courteously receiued and brought to *Assan*. This *Assan* was an eunuch, borne in Sardinia, brought vp from his youth in the Mahometan superstition by *Barbarossa*, a man both politicke and valiant, and by him left for the keeping of his kingdome of Algiers in his absence with *Solyman*. This messenger brought into his presence, required him forth-

A forthwith to deliuer vp the city (first surprisid by force and trechery by *Horrucius*, and after- wards to the destruction of mankind, fortified by *Hariadenns Barbarussa* his brother) to *Charles* the mighty Emperour, come in person himselfe to be reuenged on those horrible pyrats: which if he would do, it should be lawfull for the Turks to depart whither they would, and for the naturall Moores to abide still, with their goods and religion wholly reserued vnto them vn- touched, as in former time: and for himselfe, he should receiue of the Emperour great rewards both in time of peace and warres, so that he would remember himselfe, that he was borne in Sardinia, and was once a Christian, and accept of the fairest occasion which could possibly be offered for him to returne againe to the worshipping of the true God, and to enjoy the fauour and bounty of the most mighty Emperour, and withall to reuenge himselfe of the cruell ty- rant *Barbarussa*, for the vnaturall villany done vnto his person. But if he would needs dally on the time, and make proofe of the strength of so great preparation, he should vndoubtedly, with the rest of his followers, receiue the same reward of his obstinacy, which they had to the ex- ample of others; receiued at Tunes. Whereunto the vngracious eunuch answered, That hee thought him altogether mad, that would follow his enemies counsell, and with a grinning countenance askt him, Vpon what hope the Emperour trusted to be able to win the city? The messenger pointing with his finger directly toward the fleet, told him, That which you see, with his great artillery, and valour of his souldiers, both horse and foot: whereat the eunuch scornfully laughing, replied, And we with like force and valor will defend this city, and make this place, already famous for your ouerthrowes here twice, now the third time, of all others most famous by the Emperours discomfiture. It is reported, That there was in Algiers an old witch, famous for her predictions, who had (as it was said) foretold the shipwracks and misery of *Didacus Carrer*, and *Hugo Montada* to them of Algiers, and also prefixed a time when as the Christian Emperour adventuring to besiege that city, should there receiue great losse both by sea and land: The same of which blind prophesie seruing fitly to confirme the hope of good successe in the minds of the vulgar multitude, *Assan* so fed and augmented (although he himselfe being a crafty wise fellow, beleeued no such vanity) that he did therewith not onely encourage his own soldiers, but also stricke a terror into the minds of the weaker fort of his enemies, seeing themselves cast vpon so dangerous a coast vpon the approach of Winter. There was in gar- rison in the city about 800 Turks, and most of them horsemen, but such, as whose valour and resolution far exceeded their number. For *Assan* had lost many of his best men, some in fight against *Mendoza*, and othersome at sea, slaine or taken by *Auria* in Corsica; and in other places by the Rhodian, Neapolitan, and Sicilian gallies, but many more were by his leaue gone to aid the Moores against the Portugals: the other multitude did scarce make vp the number of 5000; which were partly naturall Moores borne in that country, and partly such as were born in Granado; to whom were joined many fugitiues out of the Islands of Majorca and Minorca, who in former time hauing entred into rebellion, and fearing condigne punishment, were fled to Algiers, and there revolted to the Mahometan superstition. But the captaines of the wild Numidians made vp a great number both of horse and foot, which lying stragling with- out the city in the open fields, should night and day vex and molest the Christians. This brutish people, naturally enemies vnto the Christians, had *Assan* with rewards and hope of a rich spoile, allured out of the countries thereabout to aid him: neither was it lawfull for any man to carry his wife or children out of the city, into places of more safety farther off, or to shew any small token of feare, pain of death being by the imperious eunuch proposed to whofoeuer should but looke heauily for feare of danger, or speake a word sauouring of cowardise. The Emperour by *Auria* making choice of a most conuenient place for landing his men, laid his gallies so close to his tall ships, that his armed soldiers might with ease come out of the high built ships into them, and so out of them into the long boats, to be forthwith set on shore. And such was the speedy diligence of them that had the charge of that matter, and the plenty of boats still ready to receiue the souldiers as fast as they could come out of the gallies, that the footmen were in a very short time all landed. The Emperour hauing a little rested and refre- shed his soldiers, diuided his army into three equal battels, which was in number about twenty thousand footmen, besides horsemen, and others, who of their owne voluntary will then fol- lowed the Emperours fortune. Vnto every battaile he appointed three field pieces, to terrifie the Numidian horsemen, which were still pricking vp and downe about them, ready to charge

The Emperour  
driven by tem-  
pest into Sicilia.

The Emperour  
confronts to Al-  
giers.

The Emperours  
fleet out of  
Spaine and the  
Low countries.

The Duke of  
Alba.

Delay in great  
actions lasteth.

The Emperour  
sends a mes-  
senger to Assan  
Aga Governor  
of Algiers for  
Barbarussa.

The scornfull  
answer of Assan  
the Eunuch to  
the Emperours  
messenger.

The Emperour  
landeth his ar-  
my at Algiers.

if they could take them at any advantage. And so setting forward a few furlongs, encamped in a strong and convenient place, neere vnto the city, betwene two deepe ditches, which the water falling from the mountaines had naturally worne so deepe, that neither horseman nor footman could well passe ouer, but by bridge: and fast by vpon the left hand was a hill, from the top whereof it seemed the city might with great ordnance well be battered.

The description  
of Algiers.

The city of Algiers, sometime the royall seat of the great King *Iuba*, called of the Romans *Iulia Cæſarea*, is in forme of a triangle, scituate fast by the sea towards the North, hauing a haven, but neither great, neither safe for the North wind. The houses farther off from the sea, stand in seemly order vpon the rising of a steep hill, as it were vpon degrees; in such sort, that the windows of one row still overlooks the tops of the next beneath it, into the sea, most beautiful to behold. The Emperor hauing diuided his campe into three parts, every nation by themselves, lying on the East side of the towne, was in great hope to win it, and the rather, for that whilst he assaulted it on that side, his ships & galleies from the North side, might in time of the assault with their great ordnance beat the enemy all alongst the wall: which still rising higher and higher according to the rising of the steep hill, could not conveniently be defended with one bulwarke, as we see it may in plaine ground. Neereſt vnto the rising of the hill,

The Numidians  
skirmish with  
the Spaniards.

lay the Spaniards: in the midst, the Germans with the Emperor; and in the plaine neereſt to the sea, the Italians. In the mean time whilst the great ordnance was landing, & the horses shipping, the Numidians with a hideous outcry shew'd themselves upon the tops of the mountains about the Spaniards, and from thence easily gauged them with their darts and shot: for they nimble running to and fro in the known paths of the rough mountains, would suddenly and fiercely assault them, but after the manner of their nation skirmishing a far off, rather than neere at hand. In which manner of light skirmishes, all the day was spent vntill night, with small danger, but much trouble to the Spaniards. And when night was come, these wild people, one company still succeeding another in the place they had before taken, neuer left shooting, for whereſoeuer they saw any fire in the Spanish camp, thither came arrows, darts, and stones flying as thicke as haile: for remedy whereof, the Spaniards were glad to put out their fires, and with silence to expect the day, that they might come neerer vnto them. Wherefore as sooke as the sun was vp, the Spaniards by the persuation of *Aluarez Sandes*, Master of the camp, valiantly climbing vp the high mountaines, repulsed and put to flight the Numidians, and took the top of the hills, and there lay as it were incamped in the poore shepheards cottages. But the same day such a multitude of the wild people was flockt about them, that they were compassed in round, and glad to fight on euery side in a ring. Yet this fiercenes of this barbarous people, was by the valour of the Sicilian companies quickly repressed, whose pikemen gliding in their bright armour, made small account of the Numidians arrows and darts, but orderly stepping forwards with their pikes, & the harquebusers close by their sides, easily repulsed their naked enemies.

The Spaniards  
put the Numidians  
to flight,  
and gaue the  
hills.

The Numidian footmen are for most part youths halfe naked, with long haire not vnlike the Irish, vsing no other weapons but darts: they fight mingled with their horsemen, trusting the one to the other, and are of a wonderfull swiftnesse and agility of body. Their horsemen vse long speares, armed at both ends, which they with a marvellous dexterity vse, to the endangering of their enemy pursuing them: they vse also long and light targuets made of leather, wherewith they so cunningly defend themselves & their horses, both in their charge & retreat, that for a small trifle, in respect of the danger, they will giue a man leaue to cast seven darts at one of them, which they will all most surely auoid, either with the speare, or receive them without harme in their targuet. In the meane time, whilst this wild people thus skirmished all the day, at night a sudden mischance ouerthrew all the emperors hope: for as he stood beholding the vnshipping of his great ordnance, his horses, victual, & other necessities of the army, a storm of wind & rain began about six a clock in the afternoon, holding on all the night without intermission, with such rage, as if heauen & earth should haue gon together: wherewith the whole army at land was wonderfully troubled, and a great part of the fleet at sea by force of tempest driuen aground perished. That night 3 companies of the Italians, by the appointment of their generall, lay without the trenches against the sudden assault of so vn-certain an enemy, who when they had all the night endured the vehement raine and extreme cold, were so overcome with the extremity of the weather, that neither was their minds able to relieue their weake bodies, neither their feeble bodies their daunted minds: for they could

The description  
of the Numidian  
footmen and  
horsemen.

A marvellous  
tempest.

neither conveniently stander it down, all the ground being so myrie, that at every step they sunk vnto the waist of the leg. Vpon these hardie companies, the Turkish horsemen & Moors footmen, who diligently observed the watch of the Christians, perceiving their distress, suddenly sallied out in the dawning of the day; and so fiercely charged them, their march and powder being now so lowed that they could not vse their pieces, that they all fled except a few pikemen, who made a stand, & were all quickly slain by the Turks, who so desperately pursued them, in chase, that they followed them ouer the trench into the camp. This alarm being heard, *Camillo*, the Italian General came presently thither, being sent by the Emperor, who with certaine Companies issued out ouer the bridge: who now in shew discouraged with the comming out of this new supply, did indeed, or at leastwise made as if they did,

disorderly retire for feare. At which time *Ferdinand Gonzaga*, Viceroy of Sicilia, being a man of greatest account in the army next to the Emperor, comming in also, and angry with them which had before fled, perswaded them as valiant men to recompence their shameful flight with a fresh charge, by driving the enemy home to his own doore. Which thing *Camillo* said could not be don without great peril: but *Gonzaga* being a man of a noble courage, desired to haue the disgrace which the Italians had receiued, salued some way, although it were with neuer so great danger; thinking also that it might haply fall out, that the enemy being put to flight and hastily pursued, they might together with them enter the city, without any danger of the artillery. So without further delay, the rest of the Italian companies were led forth of their trenches with great cheerfulness by *Augustine Spinula*, who so valiantly charged

the enemies that they put them to flight, & pursued them so hard, that they came with them to the very gates of the City: where many shut out for feare of letting in the Italians with them, escaped by known waies, some to another gate, and some into the mountaines: but then those barbarous people with darts and shot from the wals, began to ouerwhelme the Italians which were vnadvisedly come within their danger, and with terrible outcries to terrifie them, and they which before were fled without the wals, returned again to fight. They also which had shut the gate sallied out again, and hardly charged the Italians, who already galled with shot from the wals, and rent in sunder with the great ordnance, fled most disorderly, for why, they were but raw souldiers taken vp in haste, little or nothing acquainted with the wars. At which time *Alfonso* also sallied out (who was easily known by his countenance & rich attire)

perused the chase with his troups of Turks and Moors footmen. Only certain Knights of the Rhodes fought valiantly, and retired orderly: and *Spinula* with some other gentlemen making a stand at a little wooden bridge, somewhat staid the enemy, and saved the liues of many. So the Italians which first charged most valiantly, being in the flight become hindermost, the Enemy striking them down as they fled, couered the fields with their dead bodies by the space of half a mile, especially they which fled toward the sea, for they were circumvented & slain by the merciless Numidians, who beholding the shipwrack, were come downe to the sea side for prey. But the foremost companies of the Italians which fled into the camp, fled in such hast, and so great fear, that none of the leaders in so great and sudden a perplexity remembered either the Common safety, or performed the duty of an aduised Capitaine: so that all seemed

at once lost both by sea and land. Only the Emperour, armed with an inuincible courage against all the chances of Fortune, and not to be dismayed with any mishap, was both to himself and others that day the best Capitaine. For when all was almost lost, hee in good time stayed the matter, by comming on with the Squadron of Germans, wherof he sent before him three ensignes to stay the flight, and with them as a sure and fresh supply to gard his Campe beyond the bridge, which was ouer the ditch, serving his Army for a trench, as we haue before said. But such a fear had possessed the minds of the flying Italians, and such was the fierce pursuit of the enemy, that those Germans (nor before wont to turn their backs) as if they had been afraid of the Turks white caps, or not able to abide their sight, or to hold vp weapon against them, by and by turned their backs, and shamefully fled for company with the Italians. Then the Emperor galloping forth with his horse, and his sword in his hand drawn, reproving them

of cowardise that fled, set forward with the German Squadron, and with a stout and manlike courage spake to them these few words in their owne language: *When will you (fellow souldiers) shew your faces to your proud enemies? Now when you should fight for the honor of the Christian name, for the glory of the German nation, for the safety of your own liues, in the presence of your Emperor, you*

The Italians  
discouraged by  
the Moors, by  
and indanger  
the whole camp.

The Emperor  
courageously  
checked the  
flight of his  
army.

fear a few disordered and naked Barbarians? Immediately when hee had thus said, the Germanes  
 touched with shame, and disliking that it should be thought they needed any exhortation  
 to perform the parts of valiant soldiers, issued out against the enemy who mooued with their  
 comming, and seeing the Italian battell again restored by the valor and trauele of certaine val-  
 iant and expert captains, stood still a while and began to styrewether if it were because they  
 feared the great artillery and assault of the Germanes, or that they thought they had done en-  
 ough for that sally, when as for the full accomplishment of that victory they saw the Chris-  
 tian fleet overcome with a most horrible tempest, miserably to perith before their faces, and  
 many of their men, especially the Moors, halted to the sea side in hope of a more certain prey  
 whereas no enemy was to be feared. For the blustering winds blowing from diuers quarters, as if  
 they had conspired to raise a most horrible tempest, had made such a wrought sea, & the huge  
 billows went so high, that the ships by the violence of the weather, and rage of the sea, put  
 from their anchors, fel foul one of another, and were so lost or els driuen vpon the main, were  
 there beaten in places in sight of the army. So that all the sea coast Westward from Algiers to  
 Cercello, lay full of dead men and horses, and the ribs of broken ships. The Numidians be-  
 holding this miserable wrecke, came down in great companies from the mountains, & with-  
 out mercy slew all that came alight to land. In the space of a few houres were left above 140  
 ships, and all the small boats and caruels, which were in number many. Some of the Gallies,  
 when they had from midnight to the next day, at noon, by the painful labor of the mariners,  
 and skilfulness of the masters, rid it out, being no longer able to endure the rage of the tem-  
 pest, & fearing to be eaten vp of the sea, with sails and oars ran aground, but the souldiers and  
 mariners swimming to land in hope to save their liues, and thinking that the greatest danger  
 was then past, were by the Numidian horsemen which ran vp & down the sea side slain. There  
 might a man haue seen free men of all sorts, with tears commending their liues and liberty  
 to their own gally-slaves, that by the speech & intreaty of them (which by the sudden chance  
 of fortune had but euen now shaken off their irons, and with merry hearts swam out to their  
 liberty) they might be saved from the cruelty of the fierce Numidians. It was a most grie-  
 uous and wofull sight for diuers hard extremities, when as every man according to the dis-  
 position of his mind, and skil in swimming, standing doubtful in most assured death, which to  
 receiue or to refuse, was by fatal destiny drawn to his end; and either drowned in the sea, or  
 thrust thorow with the enemies lance: yet most made choice to abide the danger of the sea,  
 and to expect the end of the tempest, rather than to hasten their end by the enemies merciles  
 hand. By that means it came to passe, that that barbarous cruelty of the enemy (as a thing feared  
 most of the mariners and souldiers) sayed many gallies, which by the appointment of the  
 fearful mariners & passengers should otherwise haue bin run on ground. But after that, a no-  
 table gally, wherein *Jannetia Anria* went, was seen to come neerer the shore, and to be driuen vp-  
 on the sands by force of weather, and the beating of other gallies. The Emperor not enduring  
 to see so valiant a yong gentleman, captain of many gallies, slain without help by the Moors,  
 in the sight of *Anria* his vnkle, sent by and by one of his captains called *Antonius of Aragon*,  
 with three bands of Italians to the sea side: by whose comming the Moors were put to flight,  
 and he with the rest in the galley saved, but so, that the sauing of him was the losse of diuers  
 other gallies. For many deliuered of the fear of the Numidians, and trusting to the rescue of  
 the souldiers come down to the sea side, desiring to saue themselves from the rage of the sea,  
 ran their gallies on ground, and had not some bold Captains, grieued to see so great a losse,  
 ran vp and down the banks with their drawne swords in their hands, and by threatening death  
 to the gally-slaves and their mariners, staid their rowing, most part of the Gallies had by the  
 example of others perished. *Anria*, not so angry at himself as at the Emperor. (who contra-  
 ry to the obseruation of skilfull sea-men, could not be perswaded from taking in hand that  
 great expedition in so vnseasonable a time of the yeare) with an invincible courage strove a-  
 gainst the violence of the tempest, & rage of the sea in so much, that being requested by some  
 of his friends, to saue himself, whatsoeuer became of the gally, he was so angry therat, that he  
 commanded them to be bestowed vnder hatches. Four Gallies also of *Peruginus Prinsus* carle  
 of Anguillaria, and as many of the Rhodians, after his example rid it out, the reputation of  
 their honor exceeding the fear of death. Certain gallies also of Sicilia, Naples, & Spain, hap-  
 pily endured all the rage of the tempest. Yet was there fifteen great Gallies cast away, with  
 the

An horrible  
tempest.

The Christian  
fleet perished  
by shipwrack.

Many gallies  
lost by sauing  
one man.

A the losse wherof, besides the losse of so many ships, the tempest stil enduring, so great sorrow  
 and desperation in the wofull expectation of the wreck of all, possessed the whole army, that  
 not only the yong soldiers, regarding only their own liues, but euen the most valiant captains,  
 careful of the common estate, were utterly discouraged. For neuer was army in any memory  
 overwhelmed with a greater concourse of calamities, when as all their vituals being lost in  
 three daies, nothing was left to relieue them withall, and they wanted tents wherin to shroud  
 and rest the soldiers, spent with hunger, labor, cold, and wounds, in such perpetual raine and so  
 dirty a country. In which so great miseries, a wonderfull care, heauier than the former feare,  
 exceedingly troubled the minds of all men, to think vpon that horrid wreck, when as hauing  
 lost so many ships, and they poor men landed in Africk, were in doubt how euer to returne a-  
 gain into their natie countries. Yet the notable courage of the emperor stil kept the distres-  
 sed men in hope, which neuer altogether forsaketh wretched men in the midst of their cala-  
 mities: for he with a courageous heart and cheerful countenance performed all the parts of a  
 proud and curteous General. For when he had again made sure his camp against the as-  
 saults of the Barbarians, he commanded the wearied captains (especially the Duke of Alva,  
 wonderfully wearied in the late skirmish, and dung wet) to spare themselves and take their  
 rest: hee comforted the wounded men, causing them to be cherished in the Tents which by  
 chance yet stood (for the tempestuous wind had almost ouerthrown them all) and not sparing  
 himself for any pains, being in his armor and thorow wet, won the hearts of all his souldiers  
 the more. In this conflict he lost about 3000 men, among whom was five of his forward cap-  
 tains, and three Knights of the Rhodes: but many more were hurt. The greatest losse was  
 thought to be in the ships and mariners, which was also increased by the losse of a wonderfull  
 deal of great ordnance, reckoned so much the greater, for that it would come into the Moors  
 hands, to the common harm of the Christians, so soon as the sea would giue them leaue to  
 diue for it. Shortly after, *Anria* (as he was to foresee a tempest, a wonderfull obseruer of the  
 heauens and of the clouds) mistrusting that place, departed with the remainder of the fleet to  
 the cape called *Metasufum*, because it was a place of safer riding for his Gallies, and better  
 for the taking in of the soldiers, aduising the Emperor to march thither with his army: which  
 his counsell the Emperor liking wel of, to relieue the hunger of his soldiers, commanded first  
 all the draught horses which were first vnshipped for the drawing of the great Ordinance, and  
 after them the horses for seruice, to be killed and diuided for meat among the souldiers. As  
 for fire-wood, they had plenty of planks and ribs of the broken ships; fortune as it were with  
 one poor benefit recompensing so many calamities. The next day the Emperor departed  
 from Algiers, with his army diuided into three battels, the sick and wounded men being re-  
 ceiued into the middle: and when he had marched seuen miles (the enemies horsemen stil ho-  
 uering about him) he came to a heady brook, which the Moors call *Alcaraz*: which was grown  
 so high with the abundant rain and the check of the wind and the sea, that being but a shallow  
 thing before, it was not now to be passed ouer by a good horsman. Wherefore the Emperor  
 of necessity there incamped, in such sort, than lying with his Army in forme of a triangle, two  
 sides therof were defended with the sea and the brook, and the other with a strong gard of ar-  
 med men; for he thought it not good to depart from the sea, a sure defence for his Army on  
 the left hand, to seeke a foord farther off. Many aduenturing to swim ouer, were by the vio-  
 lence of the stream caried away and drowned. Wherefore the Emperor caused a bridge to be  
 made ouer it, of the masts & sail-yards of the broken ships which were by chance there taken  
 vp, and so passed ouer the Italians & Germans. The Spaniards marching higher vp the brook,  
 found a foord wherby they passed ouer. At which time the Turks pursued them no farther,  
 being called back again by *Affan* their gouernor. As for the Moors and Numidians which  
 still followed at hand alwaies ready to skirmish, they were easily repulsed by the harquebu-  
 siers and field-pieces appointed for euery Nation: but vpon such sicke and wounded men as  
 were not able to keep way with the Army, they exercised all manner of cruelty. For there was  
 none which in that small hope, possessed with the fear of their owne safety, was greatly mo-  
 ued with the compassion of their fellows misery. The next day passing ouer another little ri-  
 uer, which the souldiers waded ouer vp to the breasts, they came in three daies march vnto the  
 rodwere the fleet lay, and incamped in the ruins of the old city *Tipasa*, neere vnto the sea  
 side, which serued them in stead of a fortresse against the Barbarians. The sea was now calm,

The Emperours  
cheerfulness co-  
forteth the dis-  
tressed army.

Horses good  
meat in the  
Emperours  
Army.

The Emperours  
departeth from  
Algiers.

the wind laid, and the weather so fair, that all men thought the soldiers might now be imbar-  
ked and transported into Europ. Wherefore the Emperor, to the great ioy of the whole army,  
commanded every man to make himself ready to go aboard: in such sort, that first the Italians,  
then the Germans, and last of all the Spaniards should be imbarked: but so many ships and  
gallies as is before said being lost by shipwracke, it was thought that those which were left  
were not able to receiue the whole army, although it were crowded together as close as was  
possible. Wherefore the Emperor commanded the masters and owners of the ships to call all  
the horses ouer-board into the sea, reputing it an vmercifull part, to prefer the safegard of  
those horses (although they were of great worth) before the life of the basest common soldier  
or horse-boy in his camp. Which thing much grieued the minds of the noblemen and owners  
of those goodly beasts, not only for that they were, not without extream necessity, for the pre-  
sent deprived of such an inestimable treasure, but should for euer (as they said) lose the most  
noble race of horses in Spain. There with grieve and vain compassion was to be seen goodly  
horses of seruice bearing vp their proud heads, swimming all about the sea, to the ships nee-  
rest vnto them for safegard, as if it had bin to the shore, & in the end wearied with long swim-  
ming, to be there drowned. But scarce half the soldiers were yet imbarked, when the East and  
North-east wind, and soon after diuers contrary winds almost as great as the first, rose where-  
upon the ships which had already taken in the soldiers, not expecting any command, for fear  
of being driuen vpon the rocks, directed their course according as the wind caried them, with  
full sails alongst the coast. They were quickly out of sight and disperfed with the tempest,  
some into one country, some into another, carying the fame of that shipwrack, and the report  
that all was lost, into the Islands of the Mediterranean and ports of Italy. The force of this  
tempest was so great, and the billow went so high, that some of the ships were in the sight of  
their fellows swallowed vp of the sea. But amongst the rest, two Spanish ships full of soldiers  
were by wonderful mishap by contrary winds driuen againe to Algiers, and there set fast vpon  
that fatal shore, where the Numidian horsemen with a multitude of Moors following them,  
came running down to the sea side to kill them as they should come to shore: for the barba-  
rous people thirsting after Christian blood, would not receiue them to mercy, although they  
were ready to yeeld themselves, and covenanted nothing but the safegard of their liues. At  
which their cruelty the Spaniards disdainig, with their weapons in their hands got to shore,  
and standing close together as desperat men, withstood them, who had with their multitude  
quickly compassed them in round: yet in despight of what that barbarous multitude (with-  
out regard of humanity or law of arms) could do, they made way thorow the midst of them,  
from the place where they were cast on shore, vnto the very gates of the city. But seeing the  
Turks fall out, they called vnto them, offering to yeeld themselves prisoners to *Assan* without  
further resistance, if they would assure them their liues, which they were in good hope of, for  
that he was born of Christian parents in Sardinia, and was attended vpon by many renegat  
Spaniards. So *Assan* comming forth of the city, gaue them his faith for their safety, and bea-  
ting away the Moors & Numidians, curteously saued them all: wisely making great account  
of so great a gain as would redound vnto him by so many prisoners, joined with no smal  
commendation of his clemencie in sauing them. Of the Germanes the third part neuer returned  
home, but were either lost by shipwrack, or els dead of the sicknesse insuing so great miseries.  
The emperor perswaded, or rather ouerruled by *Auria*, to auoid the violence of the tempest,  
sailed alongst the coast of Africk Eastward to Buzia, the castle wherof was kept with a small  
garifon of Spaniards: where the Emperor landed, found some fresh victual, though not much,  
yet such as did both him and his noblemen no smal pleasure. Whilst the Emperor lay at Bu-  
zia expecting fairer weather, a great Genoa ship laded with victual chanced to come into the  
bay, to the great reioicing of the hungry souldiers: but such was the violence of the tempest,  
that her anchors came home, and she driuen vpon the flats was cast away, yet so, as that part  
of the victual driuen to shore, and half spoiled with the salt water, well relieved the increasing  
want. In the mean time the Emperor, when he had long looked for the assuaging of the tem-  
pest, and was now out of hope of any new supply of victual, sent away *Gonzaga* with the Sici-  
lian and Rhodian gallies: for the wind before at North, was now come to Northwest, and put  
them in hope to aduenture again to sea, rather than to stay there longer. So although with a  
troublesome, yet prosperous course, they came in short time to the port of *Vtica*, now cal-  
led

Histories of great  
priced drowned,  
to make room  
for the common  
soldiers.

Two Spanish  
ships full of sol-  
diers driuen by  
tempest to Al-  
giers, were taken  
to mercy by As-  
san.

The Emperor  
comes to Buzia

A led *Farinas*: where *Muleasses* King of Tunes bountifully relieved *Gonzaga* and his fleet with  
all kind of victuall and other necessities. From whence they afterward departed, and landed  
all in safety in *Drapanum* at *Siellia*. The blustering winds were now at length weary of blow-  
ing, and the raging sea became calme, so that the skilful sea-men for feare of new dangers, and  
weary of those that were past, thought it best to aduenture againe to sea. Almost euery houre  
they were reasoning in counsell: What course they were for most safetie best to take: when  
some were of opinion, that it was best to beare for *Sardinia* or *Corfica*: and other some would  
haue had them to haue kept alongst the coast of *Africa*, and so directly for *Sicilia*. But the  
wind comming faire at East, the Emperor directed his course to the Islands *Balcares*, & from  
thence at length arrived at the port of new *Carthage* in *Spaine*, greatly commended euen of  
his enemies, for his wonderfull courage and constancy in passing through so many extremi-  
ties, in such sort as if he had triumphed ouer the malice of fortune.

About this time the dissembled friend (ship betwixt *Charles* the Emperor and *Francis* the  
French king brake out into open hatred, The king first thinking himselfe deluded by the em-  
peror, who had long time fed him with the vain hope of the restitution of the Duchy of Mil-  
lan, when as he meant nothing lesse; and of late abused by the death of *Rinco* his Embassador,  
slain by the Spaniards in passing down the riuer *Padus*, as is before declared. In reuenge wher-  
of he raised a great power in France, and at such time as most men thought he would haue in-  
uaded Italy, sent *Charles* his son with the one part of his forces into the Low countries, which  
were then gouerned by *Mary* Queen of Hungary the Emperors sister, and *Henry* his other son  
with the other part of his forces to inuade *Spaine*, both young Princes of great hope. And  
not so contented; but desirous by all means to trouble and molest the Emperor, as he did in  
the Low countries by setting on the duke of Cleues, so by *Antonius Polinius* his Embassador,  
a man of great discretion, he earnestly solicited *Solyman* the Great Turke, with whom he was  
then in league, to spoile the borders of Spain with his gallies, at the same time that *Henry* his  
son was besieging *Perpenna* in Spain. For which practise he was of most men discommended,  
as too much fauouring his owne griefe; and especially by such as affected the Emperor. But  
how this matter (which drew vpon the French King no small enuy) was carried in the Turkes  
court, shall not (as I hope) be vnto this History impertinent to declare.

After the death of *Rinco* slain by the Spaniards, *Francis* the French king sent *Antonius Polinius*  
a man of great dexterity, his Embassador to *Solyman*: who passing by many by-waies to *Ve-*  
nice, and so ouer the gulf to *Sibinicum*, crossing ouer *Illyria*, met with *Solyman* in *Myfia*, as he  
was comming from *Buda*; and there first offered vnto him the present sent from the King his  
master (for with empty hands no man might presume to come to those barbarous kings of the  
East) which Present was a cupboord of plate curiously wrought, in weight 600 pounds: and  
3000 rich garments of all sorts of silk & skarlet to be bestowed vpon the Bassa's & other great  
courtiers. *Solyman* after he had read the French Kings letters, and heard what he had further  
to say, seemed to be greatly moued with the death of *Rinco*, & promised *Polinius* not to be wan-  
ting to the French king, by sea or land to giue him aid in his iust wars against *Charles* his ene-  
mie, for breaking of the league: but forasmuch as nothing could be well determined of such  
matters in his journey of so great hast, he told him, that as soon as he was come to *Constanti-*  
nople, he should then haue answer by his Bassa's of all his demands. The embassador about all  
things desired that he would send *Haridensu Barbarussa* with his fleet against the next summer  
into *Prouince*, there to be receiued into the French harbors, & to be employed against the em-  
peror as occasion should require: & further, That he would request the Venetians, with whom  
he was able to do much, to join in league with the king his master against *Charles* the emperor,  
whose power began now to be dreadful to their estate. *Polinius* was not slack in his busines, but  
all the way as he went sought to win the fauor of the Bassa's, still giuing them one Present or  
other, & filling their minds with the hope of greater. But when they were come to *Constan-*  
tinople, in the later end of December, *Solyman* promising what he had before said, aduised *Pol-*  
linus to returne to France with his letters, and to bring him certain word back againe from the  
king, of the determinat time & full resolution of taking those wars in hand: & that he would  
in the mean time send *Ianubeius* his embassador to Venice, who had bin there diuers times, be-  
fore, & would prouide to haue such a fleet in readines as he desired. *Polinius* exceeding glad of  
that answer, with great speed returned back againe to the king, bringing with him as presents

The Emperor  
arrives in  
Spain.

1542.  
The French  
King the more  
to trouble the  
Emperor, solici-  
ted *Solyman*  
to inuade his  
country.

*Polinius* the  
French Embas-  
sador meeteth  
*Solyman* com-  
ming from Bu-  
da, and offereth  
vnto him the  
present from the  
French King.

The request of  
the French em-  
bassador to *So-*  
*lyman*.

*Solyman returns into France.*

*Polinus sent back again to Solyman, commeth to Venice and notably for his letters to the Venetians to take up arms with the French King against the Emperor.*

*The crafty answer of the Venetians to the French King's Ambassador.*

*Solyman's Ambassador commeth to Venice.*

*Solyman commeth to Constantinople, shortly after he had his letter to aid the French King, as he had said.*

from Solyman two goodly Turkish horses and a sword richly set with stones of great price. The French King having by his Ambassador received Solyman's letters and presents, and three days together discoursed with him at large of the manner of his proceeding in the Turks court places, & other circumstances of the intended war. Polinus comming to Venice, found not *Lunubertus* there, as he had well hoped: yet to lose no time in expecting his coming, he with *Pellicerius* Ambassador lieger for the French king, and other of the French nation, labored the Senators in the behalfe of the king. For it was thought like enough, that the Venetians still measuring all their consuls by their profit, would easily consent to that league, especially being requested thereunto by Solyman, and put in hope to have the port of *Matus* delivered vnto them inward and thereof which otherwise the French, in whose possession it was, threatened to deliuer to the Turks, and to make them their euill neighbours, rather than to have it taken from them by the Germans. Wherefore Polinus having audience given him in the Senat, notably pleaded the French kings cause, grievously lamented the death of the ambassador slain by the Spaniards, and bitterly enuied against the ambition of the Emperor, who as he said aspired to the whole monarchy of Italy, not by true vertue and valour, but by meere craft and deceit, increasing still upon the liberties of the free States, and by little & little imposing vpon them the yoke of bondage; In confirmation whereof, he produced many examples, to them well known, requesting them as ancient friends and confederates of the French, to joine their Forces with the King; in which doing they should assure themselves of such victory, as they could not desire greater. Whereas if they should refuse so to do, and would rather sit still & look on, as spectators, they should undoubtedly, fortune having decided the quarrell, grievously offend both, and might worthily expect of such vanquished, hatred, and of the conquerors injury. Besides that, in taking up of arms, they should highly gratifie Solyman, who provoked with late injuries, had determined with a puissant army to invade Hungary, and so the same time to send *Barbarossa* with a great fleet against the Spaniards their common enemies: to the imparting of which his designs he would shortly send vnto them. *Lunubertus* his Ambassador: As for the event of the war they needed not to doubt, when as they of themselves were strong enough quickly to thrust the Emperor out of the duchy of Milan, being generally hated of the people, feeding his soldiers with the spoile of the country, and on every side beset both by sea and land by two of the greatest Monarchs of the world. Whereunto the Senat delaying the time for certain daies, that *Lunubertus* might in the mean time come thither, graciously answered; That the amity they held with king Francis, ought to be vnto them an ornament, but no burthen: the like also they held with the Emperor, whom they would in no case seeme to cast off, although they had bin by him overtaught: Wherefore the Senators and all the citizens in general were of opinion, to preserve their peace, as they which in the hard times of warres had endured great extremities; which would hardly be recovered with long peace: but if they did once see the ensignes displayed, and the wars begun, they would take further aduice. Whether it were good for them to thrust themselves into those warres or not, when as they were in league and friendship with three of the greatest princes in the world. In the meane time *Lunubertus* arrived at Venice, and was there honorably received. He requested, That the league before made at Constantinople by *Badoerius* their Ambassador, might by the authority of the Senat be confirmed: and so commended the French kings cause to the Senat, that he requested no more, but that vnto that amity which they had already held with the French, they would joine further curtesies, the rather for that Solyman had accounted him for his brother, and had undertaken to aid him against Charles king of Spain: but as to joine in league with him, or in his quarrell to take up armes, he requested nothing. Which was quite beside the expectation of Polinus and Pellicerius, who by vrging of the matter, and by telling of al, had thought easily to have persuaded the Senat to have granted what they requested, and therefore afterward appeared, there was such equity and modesty in Solyman's letters (who was otherwise of a proud and insolent nature) that he would not as then exact any thing of them, which should not stand with the good of their estate. Wherefore Polinus having in vaine staied certaine daies at Venice, was in one of their publique gallies transported to Ragusium, and from thence travelled by land to Constantinople, where he found all things more difficult than

A than ever he dreamed of. For the great Bassaes said, There could no fleet be set out that yeare, by reason that he was come too late to sue for such a matter, the spring of the yere being now past, of all other times most fit for to take in hand so long a voyage. So that Polinus was about measure vexed with care and griefe, that he had so euilly sped, and was come so out of season both to Venice & Constantinople. *Diximus* also, one of the masters of the Rhodian gallies, was come to Constantinople, to vnto now into France of the coming of the Turks fleet: who told Polinus, That the Kingdome of Spain was with strong power far entered into the Low-countries, and had already invaded Spaine; excepting nothing more than the coming of the Turks gallies. Wherefore Polinus (as it easily chanceth to men deceived by trust reposed in any other mens promises) and bewailing the fruitlesse of their vain trauell) wonderfully tormented himselfe, cursed the forward and vnconstant manners of the Bassaes, called vpon the faith of Solyman, and besought the great Bassaes one by one, that they would not contrary to their promise forsake the King, who vpon the hope of the coming of the Turks fleet, had now invaded both the Low-countries & the Kingdome of Spaine: forasmuch as by that delay, which waynto them neither honorable nor profitable, was (as he said) betraid the maiestie of his King, and a most assured victory now as good as gotten, quite marred. In which his obestations, he was so importunat and tedious, that he became vnto those proud Bassaes rather loathsome than gracious; in somuch that to end his suit, they thought it best sharply to take him vnto their quarters, and to shak him off. And therefore sending for him and the other French gentlemen which followed him, to the court, the great Bassaes then sitting in counsell, and *Barbarossa* with them for the honour of his place, as soon as they were come into the counsell chamber, Solyman Bassa the Eunuch, turning himselfe about, spake vnto them in this sort.

Frenchmen (said he) this place for dispatch of most weighty affaires, appointed by the graue iudge. The then oration of our most mighty Emperour to us his faithfull seruants, doth (as it best becometh) reuerce vs daily comming vnto it. Vnto of lone and hatred: and with all doth notably put vs in remembrance to speake our words freely. Neither would I, that this franknes of speech (the messenger of truth, and therefore the faithfull keeper of friendship, should be vnto your cares displeasing or trouble some: for since your King hath bene called to friendship and fellow of the Ottoman name, we may not now either forget the duties of lone, or in your friendship seeing that our Emperour doth marvellously affect you, and is not a little desirous to strengthen you with his power, and by ouercomming your enemies to increase your power and honour. But in your demands is no equitie, no modestie, so that we tearme you vnmodest and importunat: and others which fauour you not so well, call you plainly by your right names, vnreasonable and shamelesse men; who as too too forgetfull of your duties, do most fondly trouble the lawes of amitie and friendship. For leagues are confirmed by like profit, by making euen the charge and mutuall dangers: but if neglecting your friends kindest and courtesie, you will make no requitall, they will quickly grow wearie of you. So happeneth it vnto you Frenchmen, who euer forgetful and negligent in our dangers, but in your own alwaies mindfull and diligent, haue shewed your selues friends vnto vs when need was, not in deeds and certaine aid, but onely in bare letters, and embassages. Tell me I pray you where euer you shewed me any signe or token of your good will or ayd? where by the minds of our enemies might at the least wise haue been kept in suspense of some doubtfull feare, when as Charles with all the power of the West came into Hungary: And *Cyrone* and *Patr* as were in the meane time shaken in Grace with the enemies fleet; and last of all Times taken with so great a fleet? But all this we pardon you: yet this it is which is hardly to be endured, that you did not so much as once grieue at our so great injuries as you ought to haue done; but sent your gratulatorie Embassadors vnto the bloudie common enemy, who had but euen then slaine so many of our people. At length our Emperour came to Aulona to your great profit, about to passe ouer into Italie: but neither then in the arrival of our fleet appeared the good wills of the Apulians towards you, which were of you so vainely promised, neither did you so much as once moue to invade the upper part of Italie; so neither seruing our turne, nor well fitting your owne, you haue alwaies lost the occasion of the good successe of your affaires. But neither then, neither at any time afterwards, needed we your counsell or united forces: for the Venetians to their paine felt both our forces and our faith: as for the rest war, the notable reuenger of our wrongs, most happily brought to passe, at such time as you of your owne voluntary made peace with the common enemy to invade us; and did as unkindly as impudently as it were blow wind in his sailes. But we, without your helpe, haue notably repressed so great assaults of our ene-

mies: when as this same Hariaden Barbarus came to sight their fleet at Ambrasia; and happily flew the Spanish pyrats of Castum, and having again recovered our own cities, took also from them some of theirs: wherefore we are bound unto you for no desert, but we had rather forget these unkindnesses, than to saile you whom we have once received into our friendship. For we performe our fidelity in deeds; but in his part to regard the time, so way the danger, so wait occasion; which will not rashly commit his actions to the hazard of Fortune. You are come later than you should have done for the setting forth of our fleet: for Summer now well spent, followeth the pestilent time of Autumn, so that mariners cannot in convenient time be taken up, or safely thrust into the galleies: for in long sailing, who would not be sick, but that such a company of seylers usually sick at the change of an unacquainted ayre, would be in danger of their lives? Who would not feare shipwracke in their returne, when as this same Hariaden so grapt a master at sea, driven upon the Acroceranian rocks in the month of August, lost so many galleies: A fleet would be rigged in Winter, furnished and set forward in the Spring in Summer is safe sailing and making war. Which that it may be so done, we will for the common wealths sake perswade the Emperor: for the many once lost, cannot upon the sudden be againe restored for much gold, whereof the Othoman Emperor wanteth no store, heaped up by many ages. If thou be wise, take these things in good part as friendly spoken: but whether the Emperor will pardon thy boldnesse or not, let himselfe consider, truly we have satisfied both him and our selves in speaking to thee so plainly.

Polinus by the means of the Captaine, is brought to the speech of Solyman himselfe.

Solyman answereth to Polinus

The Princes of Germany layne their forces with King Ferdinand against the Turks in Hungary.

These things feuerely spoken by the Eunuch Bassa, did so much the more trouble Polinus, for that they seemed to haue bin sent from the mouth of Solyman himselfe, who was thought to haue heard all that was said. For behind the Bassa, as they sate in Councell, was a window with a brazen gate, and a curtain drawne before it, that the Emperour when he pleased, might vnperceiued heare the complaints and suits of all nations, and note the manners of his great counsellors, whose care for the administration of justice was so much the greater, for feare of his presence. Yet did not Polinus for his repulse, detesting the double dealing of the Bassa, so giue ouer his sute; but withing by gifts the fauour of the Copiaga or chiefe Porter, a man euier of great authority in the Turks court, laboured by him to be brought to the speech of Solyman himselfe: who faithfully performed what he had undertaken. So the French Embassadour brought by him into the secretest place of the court, which few Christians had euer bin, and so vnto the presence of Solyman, recounted vnto him how all matters had before passed, and most earnestly besought him not to faile the kings expectation of the fleet, he had before promised, who at that present was inuading his enemies in three places. Whereunto Solyman courteously and expressely answered, That the opportunitie of sending out his fleet was past; not by his will, which was alwaies immutable and firme, but by his late coming, & the time of the yeare halfe spent: but promised the next Spring without doubt to send vnto the king his friend & brother, twice so great a fleet as he had desired against Charles their enemy. With which answer, the embassadour dispatched away Dixius into France, vpon whose arrival, king Francis called back againe Henry his eldest son with his army, from the siege of Perpenna in Spaine.

The Princes and States of Germany, at the request of King Ferdinand and the nobilitie of Hungary, about this time decreed with one consent, to take vp arms against the Turks, for the recovering againe of Buda, and other the lost parts of Hungary. For besides the dishonour done to their nation at Exek, vnder the leading of Cazzianer, and againe at Buda vnder the leading of the Lord Rogendorff; they wel saw, that if they did not speedily relieue the Hungarians overwhelmed with the calamities of the Turks forces, they should in short time be enforced to fight for their religion, children, wiues, and liues, against the same mighty enemy, at their own doores. For preuenting whereof, the Princes and free cities of Germany, set out 30000 footmen, and 7000 horsemen: amongst whom was Mauritiu, afterwards Duke of Saxonic, then a young gentleman about twenty yeares old. But the Generall of these German forces was Ioschimus Marquesse of Brandenburg, a man more for the honour of his house than the valour of himselfe preferred to that place: yet so, that vnto him was ioyned eight others, men of great M yeares and experience, by whose counsell he was to be directed. When they were come to Vienna, king Ferdinand's power met them: where, beside such as were taken vp in Austria, Haganot Gouvernour of Stiria came in with ten thousand horsemen. Vnto these the noble men of Hun-

A Hungary, Jasper Seredius, Andrew Bashor, and Petrus Perenus a man of greatest authority, power, and experience among the Hungarians, joined themselves, with fifteen thousand horsemen; whither also Paulus the third of that name, then Bishop of Rome, sent three thousand chosen footmen out of Italy, conducted to Vienna by Alexander Vitellius a most famous Captaine. The Marquisse with his great Army marched from Vienna alongst the Riuier of Danubius; but so softly, that the Hungarian and Italian Captaines said plainly, That the best part of the Summer, being the fittest time for Wars, was passed ouer in loytering and dallying out the time to no purpose. Especially Iacobus Medices, who had long before perswaded the king to be ready to set forward with his forces with the first of the Spring, before the Turks could either augment their Garrisons, or put in any new forces, for that by such resolute and speedy inuasion it was like enough hee might recover both Pesth and Buda. Which politike and wholsome counsell so well giuen, King Ferdinand too much crediting the great men of his Court (liking nothing but what proceeded from themselves) rejected, expecting the full assembly of all his forces, before the setting forth of his Army. At length the Marquis was by soft marches come to Strigonium (King Ferdinand himselfe staying behind at Vienna) where it was commonly reported, That Solyman fearing to lose Buda, was either in person himselfe coming into Hungary, or els sending down the Generall of his European horsemen, who might neuer set foot forward to war without sixty thousand horsemen. Which news so troubled the Germans, that they made no great hast forward, doubting how they should returne againe, if they chanced not to get the victory. Besides that, it was thought that the Marquisse neuer purposed to fight a battell, or to indanger himselfe and his Army for the kingdome of Hungary, but only to defend the bounds of Austria, and by shewing the strength of Germany, to terrifie if he could the Turks, if they not contented with Hungary, should also prouoke the Germans. But after it was by certain espials from Samandria, known that all that report of the coming of the Turks great Army was but vaine, and that there was scarce a thousand Ianizaries and twice so many horsemen come to Buda, and that the Turkes fleet was both in number and strength far inferior to the Kings, they set forward again with more cheerfulness, much encouraged by the forwardnes of the Hungarians, especially of Perenus, who assured them, that if they would without delay march on, and spend no more time in vain, they should not find at Buda any such number of Turks as was worthy the name of an Army; for that Solyman vsing but euery second year to make war, did that year take his rest, and was not like to vnderake any great expedition. For these reasons all men being ready cheerfully to set forward, the Marquis appointed to passe ouer Danubius: which this Perenus, Hugonot, and Medices, all expert Captains, liked not of, wishing him rather to hold on his way directly still on that side the riuier to Buda, the chiefe City of the kingdome. But it was the mind of the Generall and all his Counsellors, first to besiege Pesth, which might be done with lesse labour and danger, and there hauing made proofe of the enemies strength and purpose, to come to besiege Buda: for then would the souldiers with much more courage and cheerfulness endure the siege of Buda, if they had by good fortune first beaten them out of Pesth. Which counsell was both best liked and followed, and the Army by two bridges with great and painful labour made ouer Danubius, (which was in that place diuided into two parts) transported. At the same time Medices an Italian, Admirall of the Kings fleet, came down the riuier, and in despiight of the Turks fleet took the Island of S. Margaret, lying in the Riuier a little about Buda, and by force repulsed the Turks fleet vnto the suburbs of the City. The Marquisse to auoid the danger of the great shot from Buda, after he was past the riuier, fetcht a great compass about, and so came to the North side of Pesth; for on the South it was defended with the riuier Danubius, running betwixt it and Buda; and on the East and West, the great ordnance on the one side from the castle of Buda, and on the other from Mount S. Gerrard, did so scoure all alongst the walls, that no man could without most manifest danger there abide. For Buda standing vpon the hil, and diuided from Pesth only by the riuier, so overlooketh and commandeth all the plain country about Pesth, that without perill no man can stir on any side of the City, but Northward towards Agria, couered by the City from the shot out of Buda. As the Marquis was coming thither, he was told by certain Fugitiues, That Balis Gouvernour of Buda (who in that place succeeded Solyman the Hungarian Renegat, lately before dead of the plague) had in garrison in Buda two thousand horsemen: and that Ylemas the Persian, Gouvernour

The Marquisse of Brandenburg comes to Pesth with his Army.

governor of Bosna was come vnto him with 2000 more: wherunto *Amurathes* had also joynd G another thousand which hee brought out of Dalmatia; and that *Segemenes* was come thither also with 1000 Ianizaries brought from Constantinople. As for the rest of the footmen, that they were but wild country people, fitter for labor than seruice in wars. They told him also, that the enemies fleet consisted of 60 small pinnaces, ten galleies, and a few other great boats: and that *Solyman* had commanded his Captains, in any case to defend Buda and Pesth, to the last man, without regard of any other place; and had proposed vnto the valiant great rewards, & to the cowardly extreame punishment: charging them further, that if need were, they should send in time to *Achomates* the Generall of his European horsemen, to Sophia, to aid them. The Turks vpon the approach of the Christians issued out at one of the gates of the City, and skirmished with the Hungarians: but after they had sufficiently prouoked one anothers H strength, and some few were on both sides slain, they retyred into the city, and the Hungarians to the camp. The next day after, *Vitellius* going out of the camp neer the City with five companies, to chuse a place for planting the battery, the Turkes at one instant sallying out at two gates of the city, gaue him an hot skirmish: where at the first, the fight was begun with like courage and force; but the Turks stil sending out new supplies both of horse and foot, first the Christian footmen, and after that the horsemen, not able longer to endure the force of the Turkes Ianizaries, were constrained disorderly to retyre, hauing lost in that retreat four of their captains and two ensignes: and had not *Vitellius* with one company of horsemen ferred together, valiantly repulsd the insolent Ianizaries, the losse had bin much greater. *Vitellius* exceedingly grieved with this losse, and perceiuing the maner of the enemies fight, encouraged his I foldiers, purposing if he could to be fully reuenged: and aboue all others, requested *Perennus* to be ready to join with him, as occasion should require. *Vitellius* lay incamped in the Kings orchards, walled about as it were a mile, equally distant both from the great Camp, and from the city: out of these orchards he went with twelve companies vnder their ensignes, commanding the rest to stand stil within the walls, in readinesse at all assaies; and so fetching a great compass about, marched alongst the riuers side toward the city. Neither did the proud enemy (brag of the former daies victory) make any delay, but brauely sallied out at the East side of the city, and courageously charged them. But *Vitellius* warned by his former harm, and seeing his enemies come on as he desired, couered his shot with his pikes, and standing close, re- ceiued the enemies charge; his shot stil playing vnder the pikes oftentimes vpon their knees. K Many of the Turks were there laid on ground, whilst they desperately sought to haue broken the order of the Christians. In the mean time, when many of the Turkes horsemen and Ianizaries comming out of the gates, and diuers others beholding the fight were come ouer the Ri- uer from Buda, to be partakers of the victory, had filled the hithermost bank; *Vitellius* in good time, of purpose by little and little retyred, as if he had bin ouercharged. Then began the en- emy to giue a great shout, and more fiercely to assail the Christians; their horsemen also clapt behind them, to haue there charged them. Which thing *Perennus* diligently noting, and that the Turks in following *Vitellius* were drawn a great way from the gates, he suddenly with his light horsemen clapt in betwixt the city and the Turks, at their backs: after whom followed al- so *Mauritius* (afterwards duke of Saxony) with a strong troupe of German horsemen, of purpose L to shut them in from retyring back again into the city. But then the Turkes perceiuing the danger, & finding themselves shut in, stood as men more than half amazed, bethinking them- selves which way to take, and so began to retyre. When *Vitellius* comming on courageously with his pikemen and harquebusiers diuided into two wings, charged them fiercely: and the Hungarian & German horsemen breaking in among them on the other side, made great slaue- ry of them, & struck such a fear among the flying Turks, that many of them in running to the gate, thrust one another thorow with their pikes: diuers others were also by the horsemen dri- uen into the sea and drowned. That day *Segemenes* lost aboue an hundred of his Ianizaries, and four hundred other souldiours. The chiefe commendation of this peece of seruice was giuen to *Vitellius*, who had so wel and so quickly reuenged himself of the Turks: and next vnto M him, to *Perennus*, who as a skillfull Captaine had so wel awaited the time to intrap the enemy. Neither is *Mauritius* the yong Saxon prince vnworthy his due praise, who valiantly charging the Turks, and hauing his horse slain vnder him, was in danger to haue bene there lost him- selfe, had not *Nicolas Ribische* one of his followers couered him with his owne bodie, vntill such

The Turkes sally out of Pesth, & put the Chris- tians to the edge.

The Turkes sal- lying out againe are defeated.

*Vitellius* in danger to be slain.

A such time as that he was rescued by others, *Ribische* himselfe presently dying of his wounds. This little victory so encouraged the Germans, that the Marquis commanded the great ord- nance to be presently brought forth, and the battery planted; which was at the first placed so far off, that it did little harm, although the wall were both old and thinne, not aboue five foot thick: and the ordnance had either a little too low, or mounted too high, either shot short, or quite ouer the city into Buda: which fault once perceiued, the battery was remoued neerer, and a fair breach soon made in the wall, with the continual beating of 40 great peece of ar- tillery. *Vitellius* was the first that offered to assault the breach, so that the Germans would pre- sently second him, which thing they al by holding vp of their hands promised courageously, but soon after cowardly brake their promise. For oftentimes it chanceth, that they which be- fore the danger are readiest to promise their helpe, are in the very danger it selfe of all others most slack. The Hungarians also for their parts promised not to be behind. The silence of the enemy at the breach and in the city was wonderful, so that many thought he had bene fled back ouer the riuier to Buda: for *Segemenes* captain of the Ianizaries, an old beaten soldier, or- dered all things with as little stir as was possible: he had receiued new supplies from *Vlemas*, and had cast vp a deep countermore within the wal against the breach, and on the inner side of the same had made a strong barricado, with gabions and wine vessels filled with sand & earth; behind which stood the Ianizaries, and next vnto them the Turkish archers, and last of al the horsemen, who had left their horses to serue on foot. The signal for the assault once giuen, four Italian captains ran desperately with their Companies by the ruins of the wal to the breach: G but whilst they there set vp their ensignes, and wondring at the enemies fortification, were ready betwixt hope and fear to leap down, they were suddenly ouerwhelmed with a shoure of arrows and bullets. Yet *Vitellius* stil encouraging them, brought them stil on, who did what they might to haue entred. But the German footmen with their General stood stil vnder the walls, looking on, as men nothing moued either with the hope of victory, or danger of their friends: and the Hungarians not so much as once looking vpon the enemy, retyred. Two of the Italian captains, *Rufus* and *Fiolla*, were there slain, and *Carolus*, *Vitellius* his nephew, shot in the sholder. The Turks with shot and stones stil repulsd and beat down the Italians, wherof the Germans also standing stil felt part, & were more galled than a man would haue thought men could haue bin that did nothing: for there they stil stood for shame, lest if they should D haue also first retyred, they should haue incurred a second infamy as bad as the first. Which thing *Vitellius* perceiuing, would in no case depart from the breach, but wished rather to lose his men by whole companies, than to leaue the least colour of excuse to the Germans, or that they should say they staid longest, of whom hee with greater anger than griefe complained, that he was forsaken and cowardly betraid. In time of this assault one of the Turks was heard to speak aloud in the Italian tongue, *Why do not you, valiant Italians, spare your selues, & giue place to these lazy Germans. We all wish to spare you, and to beat the drunkenesse out of their most cowardly heads, that they should no more hereafter prouoke vs.* At length the Germanes, weary of their hot standing, and nought doing, got them further off; after whom the Italians forthwith retyred: but so disorderly, to be quickly out of the danger of the enemies shot, that if the Turkes had E at the same time sallied out at al the gates, it was thought that the whole camp had bin much endangered. In this attempt, rather than assault, 700 Christians were slain outright, and ma- ny more hurt, who died afterwards of their wounds.

All this while the Marquis and *Hugonor*, the great Commanders of the army, kept them- selves so far from gun-shot, that they were no where to be seen; vntil that *Tornellus* & *Fossin* two valiant Captaines finding them out, wished them for shame to shew themselves for the comfort of the army. A little before night they consulted with the other captains, whither they should forsake the siege, or continue it stil. Wherof most of the Germanes best liked to be gone, as the safest way: though *Vitellius* and some others spake earnestly to the contrary. At which time a spy comming in, brought news, that *Achomates*, *Solyman* lieutenant of the Euro- pean horsemen, had past ouer the riuier Savus at Belgrade, and was comming to Pesth: whose F comming either cunningly feined, or vainly beleegued, caused the Germanes to make a short conclusion, & to resolute flatly to return to Vienna, fearing that if they should longer continu the siege, they should be stayd against their wills by *Achomates*. Which thing made many of the old German soldiers to hang their heads for shame, & the Hungarians to curse both the Ger-

A breach made in the walls of Pesth.

The breach as- saulted by the Italians.

The Germanes cowardly look on whilst the Italians giue the assault.

The contempt- uous speech of a Turk against the Germanes. The Germanes & Italians re- tire with losse.

Ger.

A notable skirmish between the Turks and Hungarians.

The Christian army broken up at Vienna.

Petrus unaccountably apprehended upon suspicion of treason.

Germans and the hard fortune of their nation; vainly wishing for a General in courage answerable to the strength of that great Army. *Sagments* perceiving how much the Christian Army was discouraged by the last days evil success, early in the morning sent out of the host men, and after them certaine Companies of footmen, to relieve them in their trenches; who in many places skirmished with them, being nothing inferior vnto them either in courage or skill: and the matter was brought to that pass, as if it had bin so agreed vpon, that many of the most notable and expert souldiers on either side encountered hand to hand in the sight of the Italians and Germans, the Hungarians mixt with the Turks, and the Turks with the Hungarians, with such fidelity, that they regarded no other enemy but him whom every man had singled out for himself, as if it had bin in a triumph, for exercise hand to hand. It happened that a notable captain of the Turks desired to see *Vicellius*, who being showed vnto him, (for hee was easie to be known by his armor) the Turk ran vnto him to embrace him for his honor, and so departed. About 500 horsemen so encountered with one another hand to hand that day, of whom many were slain or hurt. The night following, the battery was removed, and the Army marched toward the river to the fleet. The Turks perceiving the Christians to be departed, sallied out of the City on all hands, and with a great cry vbraiding them of cowardise, hardly pursued the reeward of the army. *Petrus* was come over himself from Buda, and so eagerly followed the Army, that it could hardly haue escaped without great danger, had not *Vicellius* with his Italians made a stand, and requested the Hungarian and German horsemen to turn back vpon the enemy: which they at his request did, and not only repulsed the Enemy, but also put him to flight, and in the chase, slew many. After which time the army passed on quietly, yet 700 Germans which were sick and stragled behind the Army, were by the Turks horsemen miserably slain in the sight of their fellows. The Germans thrice foiled by the Turks, first at Exek, then at Buda, and now at Pesth, returned full of heaviness and grief, as they which were now to forget the subduing of Hungary, and to become careful of Germany it self. The army coming to Vienna, was there broken vp, and the Italians sent home to their country, who for most part died by the way, of infection taken in the camp in strange air, and a most queise time of the year.

But to couer the shame of this vnfortunate expedition, and to turn mens to like another way by some notable accident, *Petrus Perennis* the noble Hungarian was the man pickt out for the purpose to fil mens mouths. He, belayd with the enuy of the Court, was for suspicion of aspiring to the kingdom of Hungary, by the commandment of King *Ferdinand* apprehended by *Liscanus* a Spanish captain, in the castle of Strigonium, as a traitor, and presently deliuered to *Medices* the Admirall, to be conueyed vp the river to Vienna. *Liscanus* at the time of his apprehension, couetously and vncurtiously took from him his Chaîne, and a rich cloake lined with fables. Which indignity don to so noble a gentleman, so much offended the mindes of the rest of the Hungarians, that about 12000 of them thereupon presently returned home to their own dwellings, cursing the Germans to the diuel. This *Petrus* was one of the greatest Peers of Hungary, but of a most haughty and magnificent mind, so that he would sometime haue almost 100 goodly spare horses fit for seruice led before him without their riders, and would somtimes speak too liberally against the barenes of King *Ferdinand's* court, who poiled by the courtiers, hardly maintained his state. Which his surpassing magnificence and princely port was cause enough for the other great courtiers to enuy at his estate, & to seek his overthrow: who as men ouercharged with the burthen of another mans vertue, whereof they neuer bore the least part, and alwaies gaining by the deprauing of other mens perfection, conspired together his overthrow, and oftentimes pointing at him with their fingers, would say, That he fauored of a crown. This notable man as he had many worthy vertues, so was hee not without cause nored of ambition and inconstancy. For after that King *Leopold* was lost, he disdaining the preferment of *John* the Vayud to the kingdom of Hungary, took part with King *Ferdinand* against him, in hope as it was thought to be next in honour vnto himself. But after hee saw King *John* again restored, and his state strongly supported by *Solyman*, and that all things stood doubtful and tickle with *Ferdinand*, he with like leuerty sought means by *Abraham* the great Bassa, to be reconciled vnto King *John*: which was hardly obtained of him by the intercession of *Solyman* himself (as is before declared) to whom he gaue his son as a pledge of his fidelitie. After which time he liued in great honour and royalty all the reign of King *John*: but

Matters sumtise against Petrus.

A but after he was dead, and saw *George* the Bishop the Kings tutor doing what he list, to reigne like a King, he disdained his gouernment, and solicited by King *Ferdinand*, revolted again vnto him, and furthered him in what he could for the obtaining of the kingdom. But now falling into the enuy of the court, malice found out matter enough to worke his confusion. First it was given out, That his son who had many yeres been detained in *Solymans* Court as a pledge of his fathers faith, was euen then vnder the colour of a feigned escape come into Transylvania; when as he had secretly agreed with *Solyman*, that his father being a man much fauoured of the people, should by promising them all possible freedom, allure them to the Turkish subjection: in reward of which good seruice he should be made Gouernour of the Kingdome of Hungary, and put in hope also to be made the tributary King thereof, if it should fortune the young King to die. Besides that, it was accounted a thing very suspicious, that he had the Winter before vsed great kindenesse and friendship toward the Turkish Captains, by sending them great Presents, and receiving the like againe. And last of all, his letters directed to certaine Hungarian Captains were produced, wherein he seemed to promise them as his friends and followers, greater entertainment than agreed with his present estate. All which things King *Ferdinand* (of his owne disposition not easily to be persuaded to conceiue euill of the Germanes his countrey men, were it neuer so apparant or true, but of strangers any thing) quickly beleeued, and therefore caused him (as is before said) to be apprehended. But *Petrus* as he was brought by *Medices* the Admirall to Vienna, when he was come neere vnto the gate of the city, and heard that *Philippus Tornielius* with certaine other braue Captaines of his acquaintance, were come to meet the Admirall, he requested that the close Coach wherein he rid might be opened, and that he might haue leaue to speake to those noble and valiant Gentlemen. Which thing was easily granted, for that the nobility and approved valour of the man seemed vnto them which had the charge of him, vnworthy of such restraint of liberty or imprisonment, yea, of the least suspicion thereof. So he turning himselfe towards them, spake vnto them in this sort:

Wretched I, noble Gentlemen (said he) whom despitefull enuy hath circumented guiltlesse: but much more miserable King *Ferdinand*, whom domesticall theenes bereanes of substance, of friends, and honour all at once. For so it cometh to passe, that by this inconsiderat wrong done vnto me, he shall utterly lose the loue and fidelity of the Hungarian Nation, and may therefore for euer not without cause dispaire for the obtaining of the Kingdome of Hungary. Sithence that it is not lawfull for me (inferiour to none of my Nation in birth, and hauing for my good and faithfull seruice well deserued reward of a just King) so much as to reioyce for the deliuerance of my son from the captivity of the Turks, but that by my sinister fortune, dreadfull death in stead of incomparable joy must be presented to mine eyes. For will these malicious Pickethanks; guilty of their owne cowardise, the wicked contriuers and witnesses of my wrongfull accusation, spare me being laid fast and in durance; which neuer spared the Kings honour? For euerly man of what nobility soeuer, be he neuer so guiltlesse, when he is once in hold, must be content to endure, not what he hath deserued, but what his hard fortune assigneth. Yet my sprightly mind and cleare conscience, which thing onely God the most just Iudge leaueth as a comfort to men in misery wrongfully accused, deliuereth me of this care: and so will the Marquisse our Generall, to whom I before vpon a mistrust foretold, that such a danger would shortly befall me, and that I had rather be staine guiltlesse, than to withdraw my selfe from trial: which thing I told him at such time as I was so guarded with mine owne strength, that I feared no mans force. I beseech you do me this honourable fauour, as to request King *Ferdinand* in my behalfe, quickly and honourably to proceed to the trial of my cause, and according to his owne Princely disposition, and the will of others, to discerne betwixt his faithfull friends and feigned flatterers. Truly we are too too vnfortunate Captains: if for a little euill successe we shall be so adjudged as men that had overthrowne their fortune. *Cazzianer* peraduenture receiued the just punishment he had deserued, for the shameful forsaking and losing the army at Exek, when as he possessed with an vnconth feare, forgot the duty of a General, more afraid of death than dishonour: for when he had voluntarily committed himselfe to safe custody, he was so generally condemned of cowardise, that despairing to defend his cause, he brake prison, and as wickedly as vnfortunately revolted to the Turks: But neither was I of late the Generall, neither were we vanquished, although we preuailed not, but honourably retiring, valiantly repressed the insolency of the pursuing enemy. As for the kingdome of Hungary, I might then well haue affected the same, and easily haue deserued it at *Solymans* hands, when as King *Ferdinand* after the death of King *John*, was making

The lamentable speech of Petrus, to Tornielius and the other Captaines, concerning his apprehension.

Petrus his request of the Admirall and the rest of the Captaines.

king his preparation for that war: at which time my friends and followers at my devotion, with the love of the Hungarians towards me, seeming of no small importance for the obtaining of the victory, might have ministered no unreasonable hope to have drawn a man into courtes not altogether becoming a Christian. Wherefore I have, and will so long as I live, fight against the Turks, if King Ferdinand shall show himself an indifferent Judge in this accusation, falsely surmised against me by the malice of mine enemies.

When he had made an end of speaking, the Admirall courteously persuaded him to have good hope in the clemency of the most just King; and shortly after performed his request; for he and Tornielus taking the King as he was hunting, entreated him to deale favourably with Perennus. For all that, Perennus could not obtaine that his cause might be openly heard, but was committed to safe keeping, there to remaine in perpetuall prison: but whether it was for the misprision of new treason, or for reuenge of his old vnconstancy, is vncertaine. Thus three the only great Princes left of the Hungarian blood, equally worthy of the Kingdome, Valentine, Maylat, and Perennus, snarled almost in like snares of enuy, cut off all hope of raising a King to their seditious and therefore miserable countrymen when as Perennus lay too late bewailing his vnconstancy in perpetuall prison; and the other two fast in chaines, nere vnto the Euxine sea, expected death the end of their miseries. This end had the wars taken in hand against the Turks by the generall consent of the Germans in the yeare 1542, which many thought might worthily be compared with the greatest losses of those times: when as King Ferdinand hauing in vaine spent a great masse of treasure (the fittest stay for the imminent war) and lost the opinion before conceiued of the strength of Germany; had now as a weake Prince, and subject to injury, prouoked the Turks him against, bold enough otherwise, but as then insolent for their late victories.

1543 Polinus the French Kings Embassadour still following the Turks Court, ceased not by all meanes to sollicite Solyman, with his gallies to aid the King his Master in the iuation of the Dominions of Charles the Emperour, in Italy, Sicily, and Spaine. In which sute he was so crossed by Solyman the eunuch Bassa, then Visier, that he was almost in dispaire of speed; for the malicious Eunuch being himselfe a great sea-man, and enuying the honour of Barbarussa (who was to be employed in that seruice) sought by keeping him out of all honourable actions, to diminish his former glory; and concerning the present, protested openly as he late in Councell, That he saw no other cause why the Turkish Emperour should to his great charge and the common danger, send out such a fleet, but to serue Barbarussa his owne turne. But Solyman hauing diligently heard, and deeply considered of that the Bassa's had said, rejected their opinions who would not he should haue giuen the French King any aid; and honourably decreed according to his promise, what soeuer should ensue thereof, to send his fleet vnto the King by Barbarussa. Two daies after, the French Embassadour, before in dispaire, but now reuiued with that Decree, was solemnly feasted by Ruslan Bassa (Solymans sonne in law) and by Solyman the Eunuch Bassa: for so it was their great Masters pleasure, both of them joying of him for the friendship confirmed betwixt the two Princes by sending this fleet. After which, diuers gifts were bestowed vpon the Embassadour and his chiefe followers; and at such time as he was to take his leaue, Solyman gaue him great charge of his Navy, that it might be safely kept, and so after the seruice done, againe returned: and withall deliuered him letters vnto King Francis, wherein after the glorious rehearfall of his proud titles, he writ vnto him as followeth.

We haue vpon a brotherly bounty granted vnto Polinus your Embassadour, such and so great a fleet as you haue desired, thoroughly furnished for all affaires: whose direction we haue commanded Hairaden our Admirall to follow, and by your appointment proceed against the Enemy. But you shall doe well and friendly, he wars once happily ended, to send backe againe my fleet to Constantinople. All things shall undoubtedly fall out according to your owne desire and mine, if you shall carefully take heed that Charles the Spanish King your peremall enemy, doe not againe deceiue you with the motion of a deceitfull peace. For then shall you bring him to a most indifferent peace, when you haue brought vpon his countries all the calamities of war.

Polinus

A Polinus taking his leaue of Solyman then lying at Adrianople, returned to Constantinople, where he found Barbarussa with an hundred and ten gallies and forty gallions, ready to put to sea, which he had with incredible celerity rigged up and furnished. And so setting forward the night and twentieth of April in the yeare 1543, and passing the streight of Hellespontus, he arrived first at Caristius in Euboea; and from thence to Malea; where he was by contrary winds cast into the bay of Lacodemon, and there staid nine daies before he could double the capoe of Metapanium, called in antient time Tenarus: After that he came to Methon, and from thence crossing the Ionian coast to the streit of Messina: where the Turkish pyrats being come with their gallies within the sight of Rhegium, began to land their men. They of Rhegium seeing to great a fleet, and the Turks already landed, fled out of the city for feare; but the captiues were still kept by Didacus Musanus a Spaniard, who refused to haue any parly with Polinus the French Embassadour, and with shot out of the castle slew certaine of the Turks; wherewith therest being enraged, brake into the city, and finding it desolate set it on fire, sore against the will of Polinus and Barbarussa, who sought to haue found out the authors thereof, and to haue punished them accordingly.

After that, certaine pieces of great Ordnance were landed and planted against the Castle, which with a few shot so terrified the Captaine, already troubled with the crying out of his wife, that he without any more ado yeilded himselfe and the Castle withall therein, into the hands of the Enemy: vnto whom with his wife and children, Barbarussa at the request of the French Embassadour granted both life and liberty: the rest he shut vp in a church, and gaue the spoile of the Castle to his souldiers. There was in the garrison of the Castle about seuentie Spaniards, but many more citizens, which were all carried away prisoners. One of the Captains daughters, a young gentlewoman of exceeding beauty, had with her good grace so warmed the withered affection of the old Pyrat Barbarussa, that he (now siter for the graue than for marriage) became amorous of her person: so that taking her from her father, and entring her into the Mahometan Superstition, he made of her as of his wife: insonmuch that certaine moneths after he welcommed and bountifully entertained the Captaine as his father in law, coming to see his daughter at the Port called Portus Herculis in Tuscany, where the Turks fleet then lay. Barbarussa sailing alongst the coast of Italy, came to Ostia, in the mouth of the riuer Tiber, and brought such a feare vpon the city of Rome, that the Citizens were ready generally to haue forsaken the city; had not Polinus by his letters to Rodolphus the Cardinall, then the great Bishop Paulus his Legat in the City, in part staid the sudden tumult. The Bishop himselfe was then at Buxetum, a towne betwixt Cremona and Placentia, travelling (in shew) with the Emperour, to haue made a peace betwixt him and the French King; but labouring in secret to haue bought of him the Dukedome of Millan, for Octavian his kinsman the Emperors sonne in law. Polinus his letters written to the Cardinall at Rome, and sent by the Governor to Tarracina, were to this effect:

This fleet which is by Solyman sent for the defence of France by Barbarussa his Admirall, is by his appointment at my command: so that it is not to hurt any but our enemies. Wherefore make it knowne to the Romans and others dwelling alongst the coast of the Popes territory, That they feare of us no hostility; for the Turks will neuer violate the faith of their Emperour, solemnly giuen vnto me: and you know most assuredly, that the French King desireth nothing more, than that the estate of Rome might not only be kept in safety, but also flourish most gloriously, and be therefore preferred from all injury. Farewell.

In like manner he also comforted vp them of Neptunianum and Ostia, so that they brought vnto the Turks all manner of victuals; and sometime for foure sheepe or a couple of oxen redeemed a good prisoner taken in some place of the kingdome of Naples. Yet for all this, the Romans did not so much credit the Embassadors promise in the behalfe of the Turks good dealing, but that many of the weaker sort fled out of the city into the country by night, although the chiefe Magistrates did what they might to haue staid them. When Barbarussa had thus lien three daies in the mouth of the riuer Tiber, and there watered, he passed alongst the coast of Etruria and Liguria, without doing any harme; and so sailed directly to Maricilles. Where leauing him with his fleet for a while, expecting the French kings further pleasure, we will againe returne vnto Solyman, who at the same time that Barbarussa was spoiling the frontiers

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tiers

Perennus, Valentine, & Maylat, three of the greatest nobility in Hungary, kept in perpetuall prison.

Solyman granted to send his fleet by Barbarussa to aid the French King against the Emperour.

Solyman's letters to the French King.

Barbarussa, a young gentlewoman of exceeding beauty, had with her good grace so warmed the withered affection of the old Pyrat Barbarussa, that he (now siter for the graue than for marriage) became amorous of her person: so that taking her from her father, and entring her into the Mahometan Superstition, he made of her as of his wife: insonmuch that certaine moneths after he welcommed and bountifully entertained the Captaine as his father in law, coming to see his daughter at the Port called Portus Herculis in Tuscany, where the Turks fleet then lay.

The French embassadours letters to comfort Rodolphus Cardinall the Popes Legat in Rome.

Solyman com-  
mits with a  
great army in  
to Hungary.

The Castle of  
Walsoo treache-  
rously yielded,  
and the Trai-  
tors justly re-  
warded.

Solyman com-  
mits with his  
army to Stri-  
gonium.

tiers of the Emperors Dominions in Italy came with a great army into Hungary, for the more assured possession of this Kingdome, where after he saw King *Matthias* so much longed. And because he would make all sure before him, he sent *Amurath* Governor of Dalmatia, and *Vlamm* the Persian Gouernour of Bosnia, to besiege *Walsoo*, a strong towne situate upon the river *Dranus*, not far from *Buck*, famous for the overthrow of the Christian army under *Cakianer*: after whom followed also *Achomates*, the great commander of his European horsemen. This towne (part of *Perennus* his possessions) was against all these forces kept and worthily defended by *Perennus* his wife (her husband then lying in prison at Vienna) and her friends by the space of three moneths; but was at last by the treacherous soldiers delivered to the enemy, together with their Generall, whom when they could by no means persuade to consent to the yielding up thereof, but that he would needs hold it out to the last, they tooke him prisoner, and so delivered him with the towne to the Turks: who received him with all courtesie, and used him honourably: but those traitorous soldiers, whether it were in detestation of their treachery, or for the spoile of them, were all put to the sword; the just reward of their treason. The rest of the Citizens were taken by the Turks to mercy, and well used: The Bishop and chiefe men of *Quinque Ecclesie* (a famous city not far off on the other side of *Dranus*) hearing of the losse of *Walsoo*, and terrified with the greatness of the Turks army, fled for feare, leaving none but the meaner sort of the people in the City, who willingly yielded the same unto the Turks. The next towne of any strength was *Soclosia*, belonging also to *Perennus*; which for a while held out against the Turks, for that diuers Gentlemen of the country which were fled into the City, encouraged the Citizens to stand upon their defenses: But after much harme done on both sides, when they were no longer able to hold out, they retired into the Castle, in hope to have so saved their liues and liberty by their yielding; but *Amurath* was so offended with them, that he would come to no reasonable composition, or promise them any thing more, than that they should at their pleasure come forth: and so as they came out of the gate, slew them euery mothers sonne, thereby to terrifie others from making like resistance.

*Solyman* vnderstanding of all these things, gaue those towns which were taken, to *Amurath* the Generall: and hauing put all things in readinesse, departed from *Buda* with all his army to besiege *Strigonium*, which was then kept by *Liscamus* and *Salamanca*, two proud couetous Spaniards, with a garrison of 1300 soldiers, whereof some few were Spaniards and Italians, and the rest Germanes. *Paulus* Bishop of *Strigonium* got himselfe out of the city betimes, despairing of all mercy if he should haue fallen into the power of *Solyman*, by whose intermission he had bin once before reconciled to King *John*, and had again revolted from him to King *Ferdinand*. The castle of *Strigonium* was situate vpon a high hill ouerlooking *Danubius* running vnderneath it, the walls were built euen without any flankers, after the old manner of building before the inuention of guns: for which cause *Vitellius* and *Tornellus* two expert captaines (the yeare before sent from the King to view the place, and the manner of the fortification) were of opinion, that the city could hardly be defended, if it were besieged by any strong Enemy; being subject also vnto a hill not far from the gates of the city. Against which inconueniences the old garrison soldiers which wintered in *Strigonium*, cast vp new bulwarks and fortifications, and after the manner of windy headed men, making great boast before the danger, what they would do, seemed to wish for the coming of *Solyman*. But after that the barbarous enemy had with his tents covered the fields and mountaines round about the City, and withall brought a gallant fleet vp the river, all those brags were laid in the dust, & euery man began to grow doubtfull of his own safety: for that they being but few (although men of good worth) were to withstand the infinite number of such enemies, as oftentimes used most desperately to expose their liues to all manner of dangers. This their feare was also increased by the coming of certain messengers from *Solyman*, who vnderstanding of what nation the garrison consisted, sent vnto the city three of his owne guard, one a Spaniard, another an Italian, and the third a German, all renegat Christians; that euery one of them might without an interpreter speake vnto their countrymen in their own language: These men admitted into the city, offered great rewards and large entertainment in the name of *Solyman*, to such as would in time yield: denouncing all torture and extremities vnto them which should endure the summons of the cannon. Whereunto it was answered by the Captaines, That those faithfull and valiant soldiers

A diers, who had reposed their last hopes in their armes, were neither to be won by gifts, nor terrified with threats. With which answer the messenger returned, and the same day the Turks great ordnance was planted vpon the hill before the gate of the city, and the weakest part of the walls round about the city, so well pickt out by the Turks to be assaulted, as that they could not more skilfully or commodiously haue been chosen out of them which had within most diligently viewed euery thing, so that it is to be thought that the Christians wanted not only fortune against the Turks, but also faith amongst themselves. *Salamanca* distrustful the fortification of the suburbs, retired into the city, contrary to that he had before vainly boasted, *Achomates* Generall of the European horsemen, laied siege to that part of the wall which was next to the Bishops gardens: *Vlamm* the Persian besieged the tower neere vnto the gate towards *Buda*: the Asiatic or common soldiers were by their captains brought on to dig trenches and cast vp mounts, as was thought most conuenient. It is incredible to be spoken, with what fury the great ordnance was discharged without ceasing; insomuch that the tower with a great part of the wall neere vnto it, shaken with continuall battery, fell downe with such violence, as if all had been shaken with a most terrible earthquake: neither was any man able to stand vpon the walls, but that the Ianizaries with their harquebussiers out of their trenches, and from their mounts, would most certainly fetch him off: and many which stood within farther off, were with the Turks arrowes falling from high as if it had been out of the aire, grievously wounded. But that which most troubled the defendants, and did them greatest harme, was the stones, which beaten in funder with the great shor, and not to be auoided, did with their pieces kill or maim the soldiers neere hand. With which dangers they were enforced to forsake the vttermost wall, and to cast vp new fortifications within, that they might with lesse danger defend the place. Neither in the enemy wanted courage to assaile the breach: thrice they desperately attempted to haue entred, and were alwaies with losse repulsed. In which assaults, amongst others, *Bulaces* Sanzacke of *Selymbria*, a man of great account among the Turks, was lost. Whilest the defendants were thus busied, many of the soldiers and mariners which came vp the river with all things necessary for the army, from *Buda*, went on shore, and lay in the suburbs of the city in such security, as if there had been no enemy nigh: which thing they in the city perceiuing, suddenly sallied out vpon them fearing no such matter, and slew many of them before they could arme themselves, and draue the rest to their fleet: so that betwixt fighting and flying there was about two hundred of them slaine. *Zimar* a Persian, Admirall of the Fleet, in rescuing of them which to saue their liues fled vnto the river, was shot through with a small shot and slaine. Whilest these things were in doing, and the Turks hauing in many places sore shaken the wall, did with greater force daily assaile the City, and the defendants with their continuall losse, and out of all hope of reliefe, were more and more discouraged, an old Calabrian engineer which had long time serued King *Ferdinand*, fled out of the city to the Turks, who being courteously entertained by *Solyman*, and examined by the Bassaes of many things concerning the strength and state of the city, satisfied them in all that they desired; and further, directed them in planting their batteries in places most conuenient for the speedy taking of the towne. In the meane time whilest the Turks were with restlesse labour battering the walls, and working in their mines, it fortuned that a gilt brasen Crosse which stood vpon the top of the steeple of the Cathedrall Church, was by the continuall flooring of the Turks thereat, at length beaten downe: at the sight whereof, it is reported that *Solyman* after the superstitious manner of that nation taking the chance as a token of good lucke, cried out presently, *Strigonium is won*.

*Liscamus* and *Salamanca* fearfully consulting of the euent of the siege, and secretly conferring together, resolved to saue themselves, and to giue up the towne: *Liscamus* was no great soldier, and yet by continuall spoile growne exceeding rich, and therefore thought it but folly to buy the name of a resolute captain at too deare a price, with the losse of his life and wealth. The like feeling was also in *Salamanca*, who preferred the safety of himselfe & of that which he had got in long seruice, before all credit & honor were it neuer so great. This their purpose was not kept so secret, but that it was noised abroad among the common souldiers, of whom almost the third part were now either slaine, or with wounds or sickness grown weake: yet were they all of opinion generally, that they were still strong enough to defend the towne. But the vnder Captains and Antients vsing to flatter their Generals, liked well of the motion, to yield vnto

The stout answer of the Captaine.

The terrible battery of the Turkish Sirrionium.

The Turkish repulsed thrice at the assault of the breach.

A Christian fugitive discourages the strength and state of the City vnto the Turks.

Solyman vpon reasonable conditions, rather than to expose themselves to most certaine death, which should nothing better King *Ferdinands* cause. Not long after, an Antient was by night let downe over the wall; and hauing by an interpreter receiued the Turks faith, called forth *Salamanca*, that he might vpon better conditions go thorow with them for the yeelding vp of the towne. Who without further delay comming out, went to *Achomates*; before he went, commanding them which defended the water tower next to the river side, a place of great danger, for safeguard of their liues to get them into the city: who terrified with that news, and hastily retiring, were by the vigilant Turks which lay at the siege therof, perceiued, who suddenly breaking in, flew such as were not yet gone, and possessed the castle. But *Salamanca* being brought before the great Bassa's, when he had stood vpon many nice termes, & required many things to haue bin granted him, obtained no more, but that they should without delay yeeld vp the city, and put themselves wholly to the mercy of *Solyman*. So the Spaniards being there staid, himselfe writ to *Liscanus*, how he had sped; willing him forthwith, if he loued his owne safety, to yeeld the city, without standing vpon further termes. *Liscanus* vpon receipt of these letters comming forth to the soldiers, declared vnto them the necessity of yeelding vp of the town, and what hope there was to escape with life and liberty. But whilest the souldiers filled with indignation, stood as men in doubt what to do, *Halus* commander of the Ianizaries came vnto the gate, and with cheerfull rather than sterne countenance required to haue it opened vnto him, according to the agreement made by *Salamanca* in the campe: which was forthwith opened by *Liscanus*, and the keies deliuered vnto him. The Ianizaries entering in peaceably into the city, possessed themselves of the wals and fortresses round about, commanding the Christian souldiers to giue place, out of whom they chose all the beardless youths, and commanded the rest to cast down their harquebuses & other weapons in a place appointed, which they all for feare did, expecting nothing but some cruel execution to be done vpon them by the barbarous enemy. Which their feare was the more increas'd by a strange accident then vnluckily chancing: for whilest the souldiers did as they were commanded, with their harquebuses cast their flasks full of powder also, one of them suddenly tooke fire of a match which was by chance cast in amongst them with fire in it, which firing the rest, blew about all the heape of weapons among the Turks, which so filled them with anger and feare of some sudden treachery, that they fell vpon the Christians and flew diuers of them: vntill such time as *Halus* (persuaded that it was a thing hapned rather by chance than malice) commanded his Ianizaries to stay their fury. This tumult appeased, *Halus* caused proclamation to be made, That all such Christian souldiers as would serue *Solyman* in his wars, should haue such place in his army as their quality required, with bountifull entertainment: yet of all the Christian souldiers were found only secenty, which carefull of their liues accepted the offer, fearing that the Turks would vpon such as refused exercise their wonted cruelty. *Halus* entertaining them courteously, sent them away with the other youths whom he had before culled out, downe the riuer to Buda: the other souldiers he tooke into his protection, and vsed their labor to help the Turks to make cleane the castle. But *Liscanus*, who so saue his gold had made shipwreck of his honor & reputation, was glad to giue vnto *Halus* the faire chaine of gold which he had most couetously & insolently before taken from *Peremus*, when as *Halus* (who would otherwaies haue taken it from him by force) by way of military cutesie now craued it of him, as a strange kind of ornament among the Turks: with which gift he was in hope to haue saued the rest of his coine. But fortune fauoured not so much the couerous coward: for when he was about to depart away with his horses of seruice which he kept very good, & had cunningly stuffed the saddles full of gold, thinking so sily to haue conueied it: the Turks laughing at him, tooke from him his horses furnished as they were, saying, that he which was to go by water needed no horses. So was the couetous wretch at once quit of the great wealth which he had in long time euil got. The captains with the rest of the souldiers dispoiled of their armes, were conueied ouer the riuer of Danubius, and so travelled on foot to Possonium, where the County *Salme* by the commandement of the king apprehended *Liscanus*, *Salamanca*, and some other of the captains for suspicion of treason, & committed them to safe custody, there to answer for their cowardly yeelding vp of the city.

*Solyman* entred into Strigonium the tenth of August in the yere 1543, and there conuerting Christian Churches into Temples for the Mahometan superstition, first sacrificed for his victory (as he had before done in Buda) and after with all speed strongly fortified the city,

*Salamanca* without of Strigonium, cowardly with the Turks about the yeelding vp of the same.

Strigonium yeelded to the Turks by *Liscanus* the Spaniard.

*Liscanus* the covetous Spaniard, merily strip of all his wealth by the Ianizaries.

*Solyman* entred into Strigonium, and there sacrificed to the Mahometan superstition.

A as if he would thereby for euer haue taken from the Christians all hope of recouering the same againe, deriding the sloathfull negligence of the Germans, who possessed of it foureteen yeares, had neglected all that time to fortifie it. Not long after, *Solyman* leauing *Offianus* a valiant capitaine Governor of Strigonium, and sending his Tartarian horsemen to spoile the country on the left hand, as far as Alba-Regalis, went himselfe to besiege the castle of Tatta, called in antient time Theodora. The garrison souldiers terrified with the losse of Strigonium, and the fight of the Turks army, vpon the first summons yeelded the castle without resistance, and were so suffered quietly to depart. That castle after the maner of the Turkish discipline, (who with few and those very strong holds keep their prouinces in subjection) was by *Solyman's* commandement presently rased downe to the ground. *Tornisellus* Generall of the Italians caused *Hannibal*, capitaine of the castle, to haue his head stricke off, for his cowardly yeelding vp of the place he had taken charge of: thereby to admonish others, which had the charge of strong places, not to refuse an honourable death in defence of their country, for feare of an ignominious death attending their cowardise.

A cowardly capitaine worthily rewarded.

Tatta thus laid in the dust, *Solyman* marched with his army towards Alba, tyndamed Regalis, for that the kings of Hungary by an antient custome vsed there to be crowned, and also buried. Buda, Strigonium, and Alba-Regalis, three principall cities of the kingdom of Hungary, stand in maner of a triangle, almost equally distant one from another, about a hundred miles in compasse. Buda and Strigonium are situate vpon the riuer of Danubius: but Alba standeth more into the land, strongly seated in the midst of a great lake, but not so wholly so, especially in the Summer time, the Winter waters then decreasing, and grosse vapours arising with the heat of the Sunne. From the city thorow the marsh or lake, vnto the firme land, lie three broad and high causeys (in manner of the strokes of a cart wheele) well built with faire houses and gardens on either side, and a broad way in the middle, whereby men passe in and out of the city. At the end of euery causey toward the land were cast vp strong bulwarkes, which the citizens vsed not to watch but in dangerous times of war: so that by these bulwarkes, the houses of the suburbs standing vpon these causeys, were safe from the danger of the enemy, the lake filling vp all the spaces betwixt the causeys: which, what for the depth, what for mud, flags, and bulrushes, growing in it, was not by horse or man to be passed thorow. And the city it selfe standing in the midst of the lake, compassed round about with a strong wall, and a deep ditch alwaies full of water, was hardly to be besieged: for which causes a great number of the country people vpon the comming of *Solyman*, fled into it with their cattell, as vnto a most sure hold. In the city lay in garrison two companies of Germans, and 200 horsemen, vnto whom were joynd 500 Hungarian horsemen, such as in time of peace liued by robbing, and are by an infamous name called *Vsarom*: vnto these, the Italian County *Tornisellus*, who with his Italians was come as far as Iaurinum, or Rab, sent foure capitaines with their companies, such as were most forward in that seruice: after whom followed *Barcotius*, captain of the Kings guard, with a company of horsemen, appointed by the King for Generall. Whowas no sooner come into the city, but newes was brought of *Solyman's* approach. Whereupon he in hast called together the other capitaines, with *Birrons* then Major of the city, and other the chiefe citizens to consult with them, What was best to be done for the defence of the city, but especially, Whether the suburbs of the city, standing vpon those three broad causeys, were to be destroyed or not: that so the city standing in the midst of the great marsh, might both with lesse labor and danger be defended. This question was seriously debated, and great reasons alledged: at last the citizens cried out with one voice, against the matter and said, That they would neuer suffer those goodly suburbs, wherein were so many churches and faire buildings as might compare with the city it selfe, to be so shamefully destroyed, to the viter vndoing of so many rich citizens: for what could be (said they) more dishonourable or lamentable, than the encouraging of the barbarous enemy, to shew such a token of extreame feare; and with their owne hands to burne and destroy those stately buildings, which might by strong hand be well enough defended against the enemy, if they did not play the shameful cowards. Of which opinion with the citizens was also *Offianus* an Italian Capitaine; alledging that both the City and the suburbs might both with like danger be defended: forasmuch as they were equally fortified with the benefit of the marsh, and if the worst should happen, the defendants might yet safely enough retire into the City. At last standing vp as one thrust forward

*Solyman* entred to Alba Regalis.

The description of Alba Regalis.

The citizens of Alba will not suffer the suburbs to be destroyed.

ward, both with the publicke hard fortune and his owne, said, *Valiant gentlemen, what shew will you give of your valor, or what honor shall you have of your service? If you shall defend so famous a city, by deforming of it your selves, and cutting off the suburbs, as it were the armes thereof, before the danger, upon too hasty desperation? Verily you shall do nothing, either in the service of the King, or the honour of your selves, except this city (if God so please) be of you whole and sound valiantly defended.* Upon this speech they all arose, the wiser sort and of greatest experience giving place to the importunity of the ignorant and simple. *Barcotius* himselfe full of care, and overcome with the vain opinion of the greater part, yeelded alvnto that fatall resolution of sauing the suburbs. For it often falleth out, that they, who wisely weighing dangers in the ballance of reason, and do therefore fearefully resolve of the euent of things, and doe thereupon oftentimes give more hard and resolute judgement of things than men of greater courage; yeeld neuertheless to be partakers of other mens follies, yea even to most assured death, rather than by maintaining their fearefull opinion, to be deemed cowards. So fell it out with *Barcotius* the Generall, who setting a good countenance on the matter which nothing liked him, went out to the souldiers, declaring vnto them the reasons why the suburbs were to be defended: exhorting them with like valour on their parts to answer that honourable resolution, promising to provide what focuer should be necessary for the obtaining of the victory, assuring them of great rewards and preferment, which should by their good service deserue the same. Hereupon the suburbs were by the common labour of the soldiers and the citizens quickly fortified, the great ordnance in places convenient orderly planted, and watch and ward kept by their captains and their companies by their turns day & night. But the Turks drawing neere to the city, bent their forces only against the suburbs of the gate leading towards *Buda*: for that they perceived the marsh was in that place drier than the other, and the sandy ground more vnfit for the making of bulwarke, & other fortifications for the safety of the defendants, than in the other places where the ground yeelded better turfe. *Barcotius* perceiving the enemies purpose, drew all the Italians and Germans from the other gates into the suburbs of the gate of *Buda*, leaving the country people which were fled into the city, & the citizens, in their places. At the first comming of the Turks, the Hungarian and German horsemen, with the Italian footmen, sallied out of the suburbs, and after certain light skirmishes retired. Which manner of fight was continued by the space of three daies without any great harme don on either side: for the captains had warily commanded, That the souldiers should not adventure out too far. But after that *Solyman* himselfe was come, and had with the multitude of his tents beset the city far and neere, to the terror of the beholders, the Christians shut vp all the gates, and sallied out no more. Which thing caused the wild Hungarian *Vlasom* (vled to open skirmishes) to provide for themselves in time, and not to suffer themselves to be coupt vp (as they termed) within the wals of the city: so for fashion sake, asking leaue to be gone (who were not against their wils to be staid) they by night departed, being not to be intreated by the Generall or citizens to stay, and by knowne waies escaped thorow the woods from the enemy. In the mean time the Turks were come with their winding trenches within shot, and with their arrowes and small shot so scoured the top of the bulwarke, that no man could there possibly appeare but he was streight wounded: and such was the fury of the great artillery, that it had in short time battered in sunder the planks and timber which kept in the sandy mould, wherof the fortresse was made, more for shew than for strength, in such sort that the great shot flying quite through all, slew and wounded many that were a far off: in which distresse of the defendants, the Turks *Asapi* with small danger filled vp the ditches of the bulwarke, and diuers places of the marsh with earth and wood, which they brought continually from a wood thereby with six hundred waggons, so that in the space of twelue daies they had made a firme way for them to passe ouer vpon, both to the bulwarke and the suburbs; a worke before thought impossible to haue been performed. The ditches thus filled vp, the Turks valiantly came on, seeking by plaine force to enter the bulwarke. First came on the *Asapi*, whom as men of least worth the Turks captains vse to thrust to the first danger: after whom followed the horsemen, now on foot, with swords and targuets, or else their horsemens stauies, covering the Ianizaries, who vpon their knees with their harquebuses fore gauled the defendants. This hor fight endured about three houres with equall hope and courage: but the Turks still relieued with fresh souldiers, repulsed the Christians, and gained the vttermoost bulwarke: neuertheless the Italian fort was that day valiantly defended, the very women and religious helping to defend it:

The Turks with incredible labour fill up the ditches and lake, and by plaine force assault the bulwarke of the suburbs toward Buda.

it is: in which assault a tall Hungarian woman, whose courage far exceeded the weaknesse of her sex, thrusting in amongst the souldiers vpon the top of the fort, with a great sythe in her hand at one blowe stricke off two of the Turks heads, as they were climbing vp the rampier. This assault was given the nine and twentieth of August, on which day the Turks had before taken *Belgrade*, and also slaine king *Lovis* at the battell of *Mohatcha*, and were therefore after their superstitious manner in obseruation of their fortunate and vnfortunate daies, in good hope to haue then taken the city wherein they were much deceived, being not able at that time further to enter, but enforced againe to retire. Wherewith *Solyman* offended, sent for *Abraham*, *Achmatos*, and *Halil* (the chiefe captains in that assault) into his tent, and reproofed them sharply, for that the bulwarke being so valiantly and fortunately won, they had not with more courage prosecuted the victory, but cowardly (as he thought) given it ouer, being in a manner already won: and therewith some countenance commanded them to prepare all things ready within three daies for a fresh assault, and neuer to returne vnto him, except they did win the city. Wherunto the captains answered no more (for were they neuer so guiltlesse, they might not before him stand to excuse themselves) but that they would in short time accomplish his desire. Wherfore hauing made all ready, and encouraged the souldiers to this last assault, they terribly assailed the rampiers, and brought a great feare vpon the defendants: for taking the benefit of a thick mist (as it oftentimes chanceth in marshy grounds) they were with great silence (contrary to their manner) got vp to the top of the rampiers, and come to handi blowes, before they were well discouered. The fight was for the time fierce and terrible: but the Ianizaries preuailing, at length put the Germans to flight, and after them the Italians also, so that now well was he that could run fastest towards the city. But that their hasty flighte little auailed, when as they were to passe out by a little narrow gate in manner of a wicket: & they in the city, without regard of them that fled, had plucked vp the draw bridge ouer the ditch. For naturally it commeth oftentimes to passe, that the feare of the present danger, without blushing excuseth our foule dealing. So the barbarous and fierce enemy pursuing the flying Christians at the heeles all the length of those suburbs with most cruel execution, many notable men, some fighting, some flying, were there slaine: amongst whom was *Othanius Serephus*, author of the euil counsell wherof ensued that calamity. *Barcotius* the Generall flying on horsebacke to the little gate, which was not to be passed thorow; and crying in vaine to them that fled, to haue the great gate opened, was by the comming of the Ianizaries slaine: whose head and right hand full of rich rings, was by the barbarous enemy carried about in derision vpon a lance. The rest of the flying multitude finding the little gate shut vp with the bodies of the dead, and the bridge maliciously drawn vp, desperately threw themselves into the deep ditch; where some of them labouring to swim out, were caught by the legs and arms by others that could not swim, & both together drowned. Some hardly crawling ouer, were shot in the head or backe with the Turks arrowes: other some sticking fast in the mud, were as if it had been in sport shot to death by the Turks: some few there were which got ouer and were saued.

The suburbs of Alba Regalia won by the Turks.

The miserable slaughter of the flying Christians

There was yet left in the city the Generall of the German horsemen, and *Vscasades* of *Cremona*, an Italian captain; these two gathering the remainder of the souldiers which were left, placed them vpon the wals: but the citizens were stricke with such a feare, that they could not tell which way to turn themselves. For now *Birrom* the major, with the Aldermen and other chiefe citizens, seeing the slaughter of the Italians and Germanes, were so ouercome with despair, that they thought no hope of their well doing was to be reposed in making of any further resistance, but only in the mercy of *Solyman*. Wherfore *Birrom* spake vnto the Turks from the wall, That he might safely send Embassadors to *Solyman*, to intreat with him vpon reasonable conditions, for the yeelding vp of the city: which thing *Achmatos* easily granted. With these Embassadors for the citizens, went also the Generall of the German horsemen, and *Caro*, *Rufus* an Italian captaine (who of all others had borne himselfe most valiantly in all the assaults, to the great admiration of the Turks) to intreat for the safety & liberty of the soldiers. The Embassadors being brought before the great Bassaes, requested, That yeelding the city, the citizens might enjoy their liues & liberty: wherunto they were so answered, as that it seemed they should not all be pardoned, yet was the general feare wel diminished, for that the punishment respected but some few. *Rufus* was curteously entertained; and easily obtained, that the Italians might in safety depart with bag & baggage to *Vienna* the like grace: so had the

Embassadors sent to Solyman to intreat upon conditions for the yeelding of the city.

Gene-

Generall of the Germans for his soldiers. *Solyman* the Eunuch Bassa, offered vnto *Rafus* honourable entertainment, if he would haue serued *Solyman*: which when he refused, he bound to king *Ferdinand* by oath, in honour of his valour he gaue him attich clothe wrought with flowers of gold. The Embassadors returning into the city, and telling how they had speake, deliuered the citizens of a great feare. Shortly after the city being yeilded, *Solyman* by open proclamation in the market place, commanded the Italians and Germans to make themselves ready against the next day to depart, and to take good heed that no Hungarian went with them: he also straightly charged the citizens to keep their houses, vntill the strange soldiers were departed. At the time appointed the Italians and Germans set forward, conducted by *Homarus* with a company of the Turks horsemen, who faithfully defended them against the Tartars, running vp and downe the country after spoile: neither was any thing taken from them but their dags, which the German horsemen after a new fashion carried at their saddle bowes; these the Turks greatly desired, delighted with the nouelty of the inuention, to see them shot off with a strelocke without a match. But after the departure of *Homarus*, they were in their trauell set vpon by the Hungarians with whom they had many hot skirmishes, and had hardly escaped vnspoiled, had they not bin rescued by the Kings soldiers lying in garrison in the Castles as they passed along the country. The few which remained, after many troubles came at last to Vienna, more like ghosts than men.

*Solyman* entering into *Alba Regalis*.

*Solyman* causeth the chiefe Citizens of *Alba Regalis* to be slain.

*Solyman* returning to Constantinople.

*Solyman* entering quietly into the city, first visited the Sepulchres of the Hungarian Kings, and gaue out proclamation, That the Hungarians should feare of him no harme; for that he was not come to conquer them, but to deliuer them from the bondage of the Germans, and so to restore againe that entire kingdom vnto *Stephen* the right heire of King *Iohn*. But within three or foure daies after, he called out the chiefe citizens into a field not far off, wherein the bodies of condemned men were wont to be buried, as if he would there haue taken an oath of them for their fidelity: whether, after they were all assembled in the best manner they could, as to some solemne feast, the cruel tyrant (without regard of his faith or promise) caused them all to be slaine. Howbeit some report, that he caused them only to be put to death which bare office in the city, at such time as they revolted from the obedience of the Queene and the infant king, vnto *Ferdinand*, and had then brought in German soldiers; and that he sent the rest into exile to Buda and Belgrade. So *Solyman* leauing *Balibius* Governour of *Alba Regalis*; and *Mahometes* sometime Governour of Belgrade, his Lieutenant Generall for the whole gouernment of that kingdom, returned againe toward Constantinople (Winter now beginning to approach) after he had that Summer won Strigonium and *Alba Regalis*, two of the chiefe cities of Hungary. All this while king *Ferdinand* had haied no power worth the speaking of, to withstand so mighty an enemy; only at Vienna lay seuenthou thousand Germans and foure thousand Italians, at such time as *Solyman* departed from *Alba Regalis*, which were shortly after discharged.

Whiles *Solyman* thus lay at the siege of *Alba Regalis*, he sent his Tartarian horsemen which serued him to small purpose in the siege, to spoile the country round about: these sauage people doing much harme, were in diuers places circumvented by the Hungarians, & about three thousand of them slaine: one of them being taken prisoner, had found in his knapsacke halfe a childe, of about two yeares old, the loathsome remainder of his barbarous feeding.

*Barbarossa* all this while lying with his fleet (as we haue before said) at *Marcellles*, fretted exceedingly, that he had to his dishonour vndertaken so long a voyage by sea, to pleasure him which was not able (as he said) to direct his own designs to any certain resolution, but shamefully suffered the best time of the yeare for seruice, negligently to passe away without any thing doing; the blame whereof would (as he said) be imputed to him at Constantinople: and that *Solyman* who desired to aid the King his friend and confederat, and by all means to annoy his enemies, would take in euill part to haue it reported, that he had with so great charge set out so great a fleet, and so far off, to helpe his friend hardly beset with his enemies, and to haue done nothing besides that, he tooke on like a Turke, that he who in time of seruice neuer vsed negligently to let slip the least opportunity, should now blemish his former credit and estimation, by lying still all that Summer in the harbour of *Marcellles*, where his soldiers grew lazy with nothing doing. Wherefore *Polinus* going to the King, told him of the proud Turks great discontentment for lacke of imployment: and returning to *Barbarossa*, brought order from the

A the king, that he should lay siege to Nice a city of Prouince, then holden by the Duke of Sauioy. This city standing vpon the sea, was by one of the French kings for a great sum of money pawned vnto the Duke: which money, King *Francis* had many times offered to haue repaid, but could neuer get the city out of the Dukes hands. Vnto which seruice, the French King sent also his fleet of two and twenty gallies and eighteen ships, wherein were imbarcked eight thousand footmen, and vi. thousand for many daies. This fleet departing from *Marcellles*, keeping close by the shore, came to the port called *Monoc*; whither two daies after came *Barbarossa* also with an hundred and fifty gallies. From thence *Polinus* by commandement from the king writ vnto the State of Genoa, That they should not feare of that great fleet any hostility, which was not to hurt any but them of Nice, and not them neither if they would yeeld themselves.

B For more assurance whereof, he obtained of the Turks diuers Genoa captiues, which had long time bin chained in their gallies, and courteously set them at liberty, and sent them home without rancome. After that, he friendly exhorted the citizens of Nice, to yeeld themselves againe vnto their ancient and lawfull Prince, renowned for his bounty and power; rather than to aduerture their State to all extremities for that poore and distressed Duke, who betwene the Emperour and the French king, dispoiled of the greatest part of his dominions, saw no other end of his miseries, but to leaue that little which yet remained, as a prey to the one or to the other, that should first lay hand thereon. Wherunto the magistrats of the towne answered, That they knew no other Prince or soveraigne, but *Charles* their Duke: wherefore he should desist farther to sollicite them by letters or messengers, whom they would make no

C other account of but as of their enemies. Wherefore the Frenchmen and Turks landing their forces, laid siege to the towne in three places. The citizens had but a little before newly fortified their walls, by the direction of *Paulus Simeon*, capitaine of the castle, and one of the Knights of the Rhodes, a man of great experience; who long before taken at sea by pyratts, had sometime serued *Barbarossa*; and therefore perswaded the citizens as resolute men to withstand the Turks. Which, that they should more constantly performe, he tooke their wiues and children and weaker sort of the people into the castle; and from thence furnished the citizens with all things necessary for their defence. The City was at once in diuers places battered by the Turks and French, both by sea and land; so that at last the Turks had beaten downe one of the new bulwarks, and made so faire a breach, that with their ensignes disployed, they attempted to haue entered: whose forwardnes *Leo Strozza* (then seruing the French King with a band of Italians) perceiving, sought to haue entered also; but the citizens standing valiantly vpon their defence, manfully repulsed both the Turks and Italians, and caused them with losse to retire.

D In this assault were slaine about 2000 Turks; and of *Strozza* his souldiers 22. Presently after, *Barbarossa* with all his force began a fresh battery, in such terrible maner, that the citizens seeing their walls in diuers places opened, and the few souldiers they had, sore wounded, and no hope to be in conuenient time relieved, began to parley with the French Generall from the wall, concerning the yeelding vp of the city; vpon condition, that they might in all respects line vnder the French King as they had done vnder the Duke: for performance whereof, the Generall gaue them his faith. But *Polinus* fearing, lest the Turks should violate this composition, and for griefe of the losse of their fellowes; or for hope of the spoile, brake into the city, entreated *Barbarossa* to recall his souldiers, and to cause them to go aboard his gallies. For which cause not long after, the Janizaries, as men deceiued of their hoped prey, were about to haue slaine both *Polinus* and *Strozza*, as they came from talking with *Barbarossa*.

The city thus yeilded, they began to consult for the taking of the castle: the performance whereof consisted first in the assailing of the castle it selfe, & then in defending of the city from the sudden sallies of them in the castle; and likewise in defending of them which besieged the castle, so that no enemy should come to raise the siege: of which two things, *Barbarossa* put the French to choice which they would take, shewing himselfe ready either to besiege the castle, or to keepe the field. The French standing in doubt of which to make choice, the proud old Turk scorned their slow resolution, & them also, as men vnfit for the ready accomplishment of any martiall exploit; caused 7 pieces of battery, whereof 2 were of wonderfull greatnes, to be placed in a trice in a place most conuenient, & the same quickly intrenched & fortified, to the great admiration of the French: with which pieces he had quickly beaten downe the battlements of the walls, and centinel houses, so that no man was able to shew himself vpon the walls.

Nice in Prouince besieged by the French and the Turks.

The Citizens craue parley, & offer yeeld the city.

The castle besieged.

The

The Frenchmen likewise on the other side did with their great ordnance continually batter the castle; but with long shooting they came to such want of shot and powder, that *Polinus* was glad to request, that he might either borrow or buy some of *Barbarussa*: whereat the Turke fretted and fumed exceedingly. That they should in their owne country stand in need of his prouision, who at Marceilles had better fraughted their ships with wine, than with necessities for the wars. For the rough and seuer old Turke could not forbear to taunt them, and oftentimes complained, that he was deluded with the hope of great matters which *Polinus* had promised at Constantinople; and that in such rage, that he would threaten to lay hands upon *Polinus*, who had brought him from Constantinople thither, whereas he must either lose his honour, or hauing spent his shot and powder, expose himselfe and his fleet to all dangers. Wherefore being exceeding angry with the French, he suddenly called a counsell of his Captaines, and other chiefe officers, giuing it out, That he would presently returne toward Constantinople, seeing that among these cowardly and vnskilful men (as it pleased him to terme them) he found nothing ready or according to promise. Yet for all that, when he had chafed his fill, by the faire intrincate & large promises of the French General & *Polinus* together, the wayward old man was persuaded to change his minde, and to continue the siege. But he was yet scarcely well pacified, and his mind set againe vpon the siege, but letters were intercepted from the great captaine *Alphonse Vassius*, to *Paulus* captaine of the castle, wherein he requested him to hold out a while against the enemy, till that he, who had already sent before his light horsemen, might come also himselfe with his men as armes, who were vpon the way alongst the Alps by the sea side, and would in two daies with the slaughter of the Turks put him and his castle out of all feare and danger. Which thing once bruted in the camp, such a great and sudden feare came vpon the Turks and Frenchmen (the night following the more to terrifie them prouing by chance very rainy and tempestuous) that they all forsooke their trenches and great ordnance, and laying downe their weapons, by narrow paths climing ouer the top of the high mountaine, came downe headlong to the sea side to the fleet. But the day appearing, and no enemy to be seene, they were ashamed of that they had done, and came againe to the siege. Not long after, when as the castle in all mens judgement was hardly to be battered, and standing vpon a firme rocke, was not but in long time with hard labour and doubtfull successe to be undermined, it was generally thought good to raise the siege. The Turks vpon their departure brake into the city, and when they had taken the spoile thereof, set it on fire.

The Turks and French gine on the castle of Nice, and set fire on the city.

*Barbarussa* retiring with his fleet to Antipolis, came to anchor at the Island Lerina, called of the mariners *Margarita*; at which time *Vassius* and the Duke of Sauoy, with *Auria* his fleet arrived at Villa Franca: in the entrance of which haven, the gally wherein *Vassius* went, was like to haue bin lost. Foure other gallies by force of sudden tempest were driven vpon the rockes, and so suddenly beaten in pieces by the surges of the sea, that the gally slaues had no leasure to strike off their yrons, but were there all drowned, and all the ordnance lost. *Polinus* understanding this distresse of the enemy, sent one *Petrus Anglus* to *Barbarussa*, to shew him the occasion offered, & to persuade him with all speed to hasten thither with his fleet, as to a most assured victory. *Barbarussa* seemed to like well of the morion, and promised to go, yet he moved not, letted as was thought with the contrary wind, which then blew hard at East, and with the roughnesse of the sea. But the wind being fallen, and the sea become calme, and he contrary to his wonted maner making no hast, set slowly forward, and being a little on his way, came againe to anchor, and went no further; the Sanzackes and other captaines first maruelling, and afterward laughing thereat, scoffingly said, That *Barbarussa* did but reason to deale kindly with *Auria*, as his brother and friend of his owne profession, for that he had some yeares before receiued the like friendship at his hands, in letting him escape at Hippona, which he now honestly repaid him again. Whereunto *Barbarussa* both then and afterwards at Constantinople answered no otherwise, but, That he being an old commander, and halfe blind, saw more in the matter than all those greene Captaines with their sharpe sight. Not long after, he returned againe to Marceilles, and put into the haven of Tolon, called in ancient time *Taurens*. *Vassius* and the Duke comming to Nice, commended the Captaine of the Castle, and wondering at the cunning manner of the Turks fortifications, preferred them in that point before the Christians. *Barbarussa* lying with his fleet at Tolon, and by the Kings officers entertained with all possible courtesie, deliuered fise and twenty gallies to *Salec* the famous pyrat, and

*Affanes*

*Barbarussa* in his rage threatneth to lay hands on *Polinus*, and to returne thither to Constantinople.

*Barbarussa* deluded by the Turkish captaines.

His answer to their taunts.

*Affanes* his nigh kinsman, who passing the bay of Narbona, rifled certain towns in Spain standing vpon the sea coast, and about the promontory of *Venus* (called of the mariners *Creum*) took great prize, and in the haven of Palamos took one merchant ship and a gally, with which prey they passed over to Algiers as they were commanded, there to winter, and with the first of the Spring to returne againe to *Barbarussa* in Prouince. That Winter *Barbarussa* repairing his fleet, was furnished with many necessities by the Genowais, and specially by *Auria* himselfe, who vnder the colour of redeeming of prisoners, willingly furnished the Turk with such things as he wanted: for although he professed himselfe one of the Emperours Captaines, yet would he not shew an enemies mind, by the vnseasonable deniall of a little sea furniture, lest in so doing he should haue hurt his native country Genoa, which he saw then subiect to the injury of so great a fleet so nigh at hand. But leaue we now *Barbarussa* to winter in Prouince, and with the course of time turne a little out of the way, to see in *Muleasses* king of Tunes, the small assurance the greatest haue in highest place of worldly honour.

This Mahometan king, once before thrust out of his kingdome by *Barbarussa*, and restored againe by *Charles* the Emperour (as is before declared) hearing of his comming with this great fleet, and imagining nothing lesse than that he should come to the aid of the most Christian King, doubted (not without cause) lest it was prepared against himselfe. Besides that, diuers great cities of his kingdome, namely Constantinople, Mahemedia, and Mahometia (called in ancient time *Cyrtha*) *Leptis* & *Adrumetum*, were then holden by the Turks *Barbarussa's* fauorites. Wherefore fearing the worst, about the same time that *Barbarussa* was sailing alongst the coast of Italy, he passed over into Sicily to haue met the Emperour at Genoa, and to haue obtained of him greater aid against the Turks. At his departure out of Africke, he committed the tuition of his kingdome to such valiant men as he supposed would haue bin to him most faithfull: First, he appointed *Mahometes* (then *Maniphæt*) to gouern the city, and *Corfus* (otherwise called *Fares*) his old seruant to keep the castle, leaving *Mahometes* his brother, and *Fares* his son, with *Touarres* a Spaniard (captaine of the castle of Guleta) as pledges, the one of his brothers, the other of his fathers faith: but vnto *Amida* his sonne he committed the leading of his men of war for the defence of his kingdome against the Turks and Numidians. As he was passing out of Sicilia to haue met the Emperour at Genoa, he was by contrary winds driuen first to Caieta, and afterward to Naples, where he was by the Viceroy honorably entertained, and a house appointed for him richly furnished: the Neapolitans wondering at the strange attire of the people, with the maner of their feeding, and curious plenty of all manner of sweet perfumes, for into euery dish they put in odors of exceeding price, so that it was well known, that a Peacock and two Pheasants dressed after the manner of the kings kitchin, cost aboue an hundred duckats: so that not only the dining chamber, when they were carued vp, but all the house was so filled with the strange & fragrant smell, that all they that dwelt neer therabouts were partakers of that vnusuall and delicate perfume. From Naples he was about to haue trauelled by land vnto the Emperour, being then in conference with the Pope at Buxetum (fearing to aduenture the sea, possessed by the enemies fleet) had not the Emperour by his letters willed him to stay still where he was. But whilst he made his abode at Naples, and carefully attended what course *Barbarussa* would take (who furnished with so great a fleet, was departed from Nice disappointed of his purpose) he was by certain messengers aduertised out of Africa, That *Amida* his son was risen vp against him, and possessing himselfe of the kingdome, had slain his captiues, polluted his wines, and taken the castle of Tunes. With which news he being exceedingly troubled, determined without delay to passe over into Africke, and though late, yet as he might to remedy his domestical troubles, in hope to oppresse that rebellion in the beginning, and his sonne also, before he could gather any strength to rest vpon. Wherefore he with all the hast he could opened his coffers and entertained soldiers, the Viceroy giuing leaue to all such banished men as would, to come and giue their names to passe ouer as soldiers into Africke: vpon report whereof, such a number of malefactors and condemned persons came flocking to Naples, that it was thought a sufficient army might haue been made of such kind of men; euery one of them chusing rather to enter into pay, and blot out the infamy of banishment, and proue the fortune of wars, than to liue wandring vp and downe the woods and in danger euery houre to be hanged. Of these infamous men, one *Ioannes Baptista Loffredi* (a man well borne, but of a fierce and couetous disposition) vnderooke the leading: he co-

*Muleasses* fearing the comming of *Barbarussa*, departed from Tunes into Italy, to craue aid of *Charles* the Emperour.

costly disses.

*Amida* riseth against *Muleasses* his father, and usurps the kingdome of Tunes.

Sff

enchanting

Muleasses re-  
turneth into  
Africa to  
Guletta.

uenanting with *Muleasses* to have three months pay before hand, he used a good mean; which he presently shipped, and keeping the greater part of their pay to himselfe, passed over with the King into Africke, and landed at Guletta. But how *Amida* rose up against his father, and what was the end of that bloody rebellion; should not be amiss briefly to rehearse. There were certain Noblemen of great authority about *Amida* when *Muleasses* departed, which at their pleasure ruled the young Prince, who easily hearkened vnto their counsell, and followed the same: the chiefe of these was one *Mahometes* the sonne of *Bahamer*, who in the reigne of *Mahometes*, *Muleasses* his father, was Maniphah, whom *Muleasses* (possessed of the kingdom) put shamefully to death by cutting off his priuities, because he had by hasty marriage deceived him of *Bahamana* a maiden of incomparable beauty, the daughter of *Abderomon* captain of the Castle, whom he most passionatly loved: for which cruell fact, *Mahometes* his sonne had long time conceived a deadly hatred against *Muleasses*, which he had many yerres dissembled, that he might as occasion serued be the more cruelly teuenged. Next vnto him was another *Mahometes* surnamed *Adulzes*, whom *Muleasses* was wont commonly to call his worst seruant. These two with a few others conspiring together, gaue it out, that *Muleasses* was dead at Naples, and before his death had most irreligiously (as they accounted it) reuolted to the Christian religion. With which report they perceiuing *Amida* moued, came vnto him, and persuaded him quickly to enter into his fathers seat, lest *Mahometes* his younger brother (then lying in hostage with the Christians at Guletta) should by the fauour and help of *Touarres*, whose garrison was euer ready, be preferred before him. For *Mahometes* was eightene yerres old, resembling his Grandfather in name, fauor, and disposition, and therefore of the Citizens of Tunes best beloved. Wherefore *Amida* came in post hast out of the camp to Tunes, to lay first hand vpon his fathers Kingdom. The people which as yet had heard nothing of the Kings death, receiued him with doubtfull countenance: and as many stood maruelling that he was so rashly come into the City without his fathers commandment. *Mahometes* (appointed by *Muleasses* to gouerne the City) came out and sharply reproofed him as guilty of high treason, perswading him to returne againe into the camp, and seeing him stay, by force of multitude thrust him out of the City. *Amida* deceived of his expectation, got him out of the way into the pleasant country of Martia between Vtica and the ruines of old Carthage. But *Mahometes* Gouvernour of the City, after he had repulsed *Amida*, got him with all speed by water to *Touarres* at Guletta, to know of him more assuredly, if any such euill news were brought from Sicily of the death of the King; and to complain of the rashnesse and intollerable presumption of *Amida*. Where staying somewhat long in discoursing with the Capitaine, and afterwards returning to the City, he was suspected to haue practised with the Capitaine, to make *Mahometes* (the pledge in Guletta) King in his fathers stead; for so the common voice went. The Moores are by nature a faithlesse people, hasty, suspicious, desirous of news, which true or false, they for the time interpret as serueth best their factions, whereunto they are exceedingly giuen. So at the first there rose in the City a doubtfull rumor of the making of a new King; the suspicion whereof more and more increasing, set all the City on an vprore. By occasion whereof, certain of the citizens to whom the very name of *Muleasses* was odious, speedily certified *Amida* (then in the gardens of Martia, sighing and grieuing at his hard fortune) how all stood, and that now was the time to do himselfe good. He reuiued with that v unexpected news, and encouraged by the persuation of *Bahamer* and *Adulzes*, and other his followers; resolved to take hold vpon that good offer of fortune, which would not alwaies frown, & to follow his good hap. So in hast returning to Tunes, and entering in at the gate, which he then found open, ran presently to the Gouvernours house, and finding him not at home, cruelly slew all his household, and with his bloody company went presently to the Castle: where *Fares* the Captain seeking to haue kept him out, and boldly laid hands vpon his horses bridle to haue thrust him back, was by a desperat *Ethyopian*, one of *Amida* his followers, thrust through with a sword and slain: ouer whose body yet sprawling, *Amida* forcing his horse, brake into the castle with his friends, & finding *Mahometes* gouernor of the city, presently slew him also: and so by this means *Amida* in the space of an houre (a little before, a man in despair) obtained the city, the castle, and kingdom together. After that, he murthered his younger brethren, & embred with blood, without shame polluted his fathers concubines. *Muleasses* landed (as we haue before said) at Guletta, with such forces as he had brought with him out of Italy; was aduised by

*Amida* thrust  
out of Tunes.

*Amida* returneth,  
and possesseth the  
kingdome.

A by *Touarres* the Spaniard, not to aduventure with such a handful of men to go to Tunes, before he were well assured of the good disposition of the citizens toward him: and was the more earnest with *Lofredius* not to go, because the Viceroy had expressly written, that he should in no case go farther than Guletta, except the King according to his promise had a good strength of the Numidians to ioyne with him. But certain of the Noblemen amongst the Moores, who vnder the colour of friendship were fled out of the city, and had after the soleme manner of their nation, put their swords vnto their throats, and sworn to be faithfull vnto him, wonderfully pricke forward both the King and *Lofredius* (too hasty of themselves to their own destiny) bearing them in hand, that *Amida* vpon the first sight of his father would forsake the City, and betake himself to flight. So without any more staying, *Muleasses* with bnsigne displayed set forward toward Tunes, *Lofredius* cheerfully following him; *Touarres* requesting them in vain to beware of the Turks treachery. *Muleasses* marching still forward, was come to night that they might from the wals descry him; when suddenly a strong troupe of Moores sallied out at the gate with a terrible cry; and fiercely assailed him: whom the Kings horsemen valiantly receiued, many falling on both sides. *Muleasses* in this hot skirmish fighting courageously against his enemies, was wounded in the face, and bled exceedingly; which so discouraged them about him, that they doubting of his life, turned their backs and fled: when presently a wonderfull number of horse and foot suddenly issuing out of the olive gardens, had broken *Lofredius* and his souldiers round: vpon whom the Italians discharged certaine field pieces: but as fast they had once discharged them, they had no leisure to charge them againe; for C the barbarous enemy came on so thicke and so fast, that the Italians seeing themselves too weak, and compassed in round, let fall their weapons as men discouraged, and cast themselves into the lake, so by swimming and taking hold of the little boats, to saue themselves from the enemies sword: while boats flooded these distressed men in great stead; for being furnished with small pieces, they did beat backe the Moores, who eagerly pursued them euen into the lake with their horses: *Lofredius* as a man amazed with the sudden coming of the enemy, took the lake with his horse, and was there vnhorsed by the enemy and slaine, as were diuers with him. Some few there were that fought courageously, chusing rather honourably to die in the midst of their enemies, than shamefully to be strangled in the stinking lake. *Muleasses* folled with his owne blood and with the dust, flying amongst the rest, was knowne and taken: D nothing more bewraying him than his odoriferous perfumes. In this conflict 1200 Italians were lost; the rest which escaped *Touarres* relieved, and shortly after shipped them ouer into Sicily, from whence they travelled home to Naples, but so poore, as well shewed the misery of their fortune. *Amida* hauing thus obtained the victory, was more carefull of nothing than to make his father vnto for government, which he did by cutting the sight of both his eyes with a hot penknife: the like cruelty he vsed vpon *Nahazar* and *Abdallar* his brethren, then taken with his father. After that, he certified *Touarres* Capitaine of Guletta, that he had taken a few youths prisoners, which he would deliuer vnto him; and that he had bereft his father of his sight, who had deserved a worse punishment, as he that had long before done the like to his brethren, but had yet left him his life, as an example to other tyrants, and to shew that he dealt E not altogether vnnmercifully with so perfidious a father: Last of all, he confirmed (vpon certaine conditions) the same league which his father had with him: which he well saw was to great purpose, especially in the newnesse of his kingdom. Neither did *Touarres* refuse the same, as standing with his present profit: for vpon this agreement, *Amida* was to giue him certaine money to pay his souldiers, and to deliuer him the prisoners he had taken, with the ensignes and body of *Lofredius*. For more assurance whereof he gaue *Schiras* his son then nine yerres old, in hostage, yet vpon condition, that if any assured peace could not be agreed vpon, but that they must needs enter into war, then *Touarres* should forthwith restore him his sonne *Schiras* in safety. These capitulations, although they seemed not vnreasonable, and were of them well liked; yet *Touarres* thought it not altogether agreeing with the honor of the Emperour, that he should enjoy the Kingdom, who by most horrible treason and detestable villany had thrust himselfe therinto without the Emperours leaue. Wherefore he entered into a new device to cal in the rightfull heir, who might at the Emperours pleasure (offended with the injury done by *Amida*) reigne in Tunes.

There was an exile amongst the Numidians one *Abdamalech*, euer since the time that *Amida*

*Muleasses* going to Tunes, by the way of the browne.

*Lofredius* slain.

*Muleasses* slain.

*Amida* puts out his fathers and brethrens eyes.

Touarres finds  
for Abdame-  
lech Amida his  
elder brother.

ces fled to Barbarussa. Him, because he was Muleasses naturall brother, Touarres sent for, putting him in hope of the kingdome, supported by *Anemleab* a great Prince amongst the Numidians, who had all that long time courteously entertained him. Neither was *Abdamelech* slow to accept the occasion presented, especially encouraged thereunto by the Numidian prince his good friend, and the predictions of the Astrologers, who had foretold him, That he should die king of Tunes. Which vain kind of divination having in it no manner of assurance, yet causeth great mindes oftentimes to vndertake great attempts beyond reason, which falling out with more hap than they were with reason foretold, giueth some credit to that vanity: and causeth those cold prophets to be of some accounted as great wisards. And to worke this feare, such a time was offered, as a better could not be wished: for *Amida* having set all things in order as he pleased in the city, and casting no perill, was gon to Biserta, to take order for his Customs. Which was there great vpon fishing. Wherefore *Touarres* to keepe his promise, sent backe *Sehites*, *Amida*'s son, in a boat to Tunes, and receiued *Abdamelech*: who travelling most part by night, was secretly come to Guletta, and there resting himselfe and his horses a few houres, to prevent the fame of his coming, posted in hast with a troupe of his Numidian followers to Tunes, and passing through the city, went directly to the castle, which he entered without resistance of the warders, supposing him to haue bin *Amida* come from Biserta: for *Abdamelech* had after the manner of the Moors couered his face with a skarfe, as if it had bin to haue kept him from the sun & the dust, and by that happy slight got into the castle, before it was knowne who he was. The warders perceiuing their error, began as men amazed now too late to betake themselves to their weapons, for in making resistance, they were quickly slain by the Numidians which came in with *Abdamelech*: who thus possessed of the castle (the chiefe strength of that kingdom) let in his friends, which were many in the city, by whom presently he was saluted king: the rest of the citizens either well liking of the matter, or at least not daring for feare to stir. But as in these worldly things, for which men so vainly toil, is no assurance, so this new king shortly after fell sick and died, when he had reigned but 26 daies, and was afterwards totally interred. After whose death, his mighty friends, with the chiefe of the citizens (persuaded and encouraged by *Touarres* the Spatiard) chose *Mahomet* his son (a childe scarce 12 yeares old) to reign in his fathers place; appointing *Abdalages* Maniphart (brother to him who *Amida* slew) *Abdelchirinus* Mesuar, *Schynissus* (a great man in their Mahometan superstition) and *Perellus* a Christian knight, to be his directors & gouernors: which foure swaied all at their pleasure. But *Abdelchirinus* tending the welfare of his country, and diuising out of season how to set vp one of the roiall bloud that were of himselfe able to gouern the kingdom (saying, That it was not for the common good to be ruled by a childe) was for his labour by his other three fellows suddenly slain, with all his kindred and knowne friends. After whose death the other three erected a maner of Triumvirat gouernment, euery one of them laying hand vpon one part of the state or other, as liked him best. *Amida* thus shut out of Tunes, and having lost his kingdom, wandred vp and down to Leptis, Cyrapolis, and many other places, craving aid of euery man to recouer his kingdom, miserably rent in sunder (as he said) by most wicked men who insolently triumphed ouer the boy king. Which they of Tunes knew well to be true, and daily complained of the death of *Abdelchirinus*, whom they called the faithfull Counsellor and father of his countrey. Whilst *Amida* is thus trudging vp and down, craving help of this and that prince, prouing his friends, and founding his subjects affection towards him, Muleasses grown miserable with his long imprisonment and the calamity of his disaster fortune, obtained of the yong king his nephew so much fauour, as that he might sometime go out of the castle to the church-vnder colour whereof he took sanctuary, a place in Tunes holden in such reuerence amongst the Moors, as that it was a most iniquitable refuge to all such as fled thereunto. Not long after, at such time as *Bernardinus Mendoza*, the Admirall of Spain, came to Guletta with the Spanish fleet, Muleasses at the request of *Touarres* was conveyed out of the sanctuary to the Lake, and so by water to Guletta, there to be present at the consultation there holden for the utter subuersion of *Amida* and the driving out of the Turks out of such Cities M as they yet held alongst the sea coast in Africa. Muleasses had hardly before escaped the hands of certaine of his enemies in Tunes, who sought after his life, persecuted by an old woman, who moued with pittie, hid him from their fury vnder a great heap of garlick: and had he not now in good time escaped to Guletta, he had againe fallen into the hands of his mercie-

*Abdamelech*  
by policy obtai-  
neth the King-  
dome of Tunes.

*Abdamelech*  
dicts, and Ma-  
hometes bin  
chosen King  
in his place.

Muleasses at  
the request of  
*Touarres* is  
sent to Gu-  
letta.

A mereiles son *Amida*, who shortly after recovered again his kingdom, and would not, as he said himselfe, haue spared him for the reuerence of any sanctuary. For the citizens of Tunes weary of the euil gouernment of such as were in authority about the yong king, and not a little offended with the King himselfe, for espousing *Melucca* his cousin, one of Muleasses his daughters, secretly encouraged *Amida* by letters to repair to the city, promising to aid him in recovering of his kingdom. Whereupon he came in such hast, that the yong king had scarce time to get out of the city; and *Amida* entring without resistance, and holpen by his friends, easily obtained again the kingdom, and exercised most exquisite cruelty vpon his enemies: of whom he caused some to be torn in pieces and deuoured of fierce mastiues kept hungry for that purpose. *Perellus* he caused to be tortured, his secrets to be cut off, and himselfe afterward burnt to ashes in the market place.

But Muleasses staid not long at Guletta, offended with the couetousnes of *Touarres*, who, as he said, had not faithfully restored such things as he had before put him in trust withall, but had auariciously to his misery deceiued him of part of his rich household stuffe, with certaine notable precious stones, and some of his treasure: whereof the blind King so grievously complained to *Charles* the Emperor, that for deciding the matter they were both commanded to repair vnto him into Germany, where in conclusion to end the strife, *Touarres* was discharged of his gouernment, and Muleasses sent into Sicily, there to bee kept of the common charge of that rich Island. Muleasses by the way coming to Rome, was honorably feasted by Cardinal *Farnesius*: at which time he shewed himselfe both in his apparel and behauiour not forgetfull of his better fortune: and being brought into the presence of *Paulus* the great Bishop, would do him no greater honor than to kisse his knee, accounting it too great an indignity to haue kised his foot. He was of stature tall, and of a princely disposition, vnworthy of so hard a fortune, had he not in the like manner before vnmerrily dealt with his own brethren.

*Barbarussa* weary of his long lying to so small purpose in Prouince, requested the French King either thorowly to imploy him, or els to giue him leaue to depart: offering if he so pleased, to spoil all alongst the coast of Spain, from the mountain Pyrenæi to Cadiz. But he not ignorant what hard speeches ran of him already in all parts of Christendom, for bringing in the Turks, was loth to leaue to the memory of all posterity, the foule remembrance of so wofull a slaughter: besides that he was aduised to disburthen his Countrey of such troublesome guests, who rousing about, did much harm in the prouince where they lay, and as it was reported, now & then snatched vp one country peasant or other, and chained them for slaues in their gallies. Wherefore in supply of the Turks that were dead, the king gaue vnto *Barbarussa* all the Mahometan slates in his gallies, to the number of about 400, and furnishing him with all kind of prouision, and bestowing great gifts vpon him and his captains, sent him away, and with him *Strozza* with certain gallies, his Embassadour to *Solyman*. So the Turkes departing out of Prouince, kept along the coast vntil they came neer to Savona, whither the Germanes sent diuers presents and fresh victuals to *Barbarussa*; which he took so thankfully, that he protested not to hurt any of their territory. From thence he took a right course to the Island of Elba belonging to the duke of Florence, ouer against Popolona; where vnderstanding that one of the sons of *Sinan* his old friend was kept prisoner, he writ vnto *Appianus* Gouernour of the Island, for his deliuerance, to this effect:

I know that a yong man a Turk serueth thee, the son of *Sinan* (synamed the Tew) a famous Captaine taken of late at Tunes: him I would haue thee freely to restore: which gift I will make thee to vnderstand to be vnto me most acceptable, for this our great fleet in passing by you shall faithfully forbear to vse any hostility: But if thou shalt in this so small a matter refuse to gradye me, expect vpon the coast of thy country all the harms that an angry chieftayn can do.

Whereunto *Appianus* (shewing his men vpon the walls in token that he was not afraid) answered, That the yong man was become a Christian, & therefore might not in any case be deliuered to the Turks: but that he would in any other thing gratifie him what he could, and for his sake vse the yong man as his son. And to mollifie the unkindnesse of his answer, he sent him fresh victual with other presents. But *Barbarussa* offended with the answer, landed his men round about the Island, and commanded them to make what spoile they could. Which they performed

*Amida* recou-  
reth the king-  
dome of Tunes.

1544

*Barbarussa* his  
letters to *Ap-  
pianus*.

performed accordingly, hunting the Island people vp and down the rocks & mountains like hares, vntil that *Appianus*, not without cause doubting the vtter spoil of the Island, redeemed his peace by deliuering the yong man to *Salec* the pyrat, who brought him to *Barbarussa* gallantly attyred after the Italian maner, of whom he was ioyfully receiued, as the son of a most valiant captain his old friend. And therupon *Barbarussa* laid his soldiers from doing any further harm vpon the Island, and gaue *Appianus* great thanks for him. This yong man *Barbarussa* honored with the command of seuen gallies, and afterwards sent him to his father, then lying at *Suetia* a port of the red sea, Admiral against the Portugals, who greatly troubled those seas. But the old lew overjoyed with the sudden and vnexpected return of his son, whom hee had for many years before giuen ouer as lost, in embracing of him fainted, and so presently for joy died.

Swam the lew  
dirt for ioy.

*Barbarussa*  
doth great  
harm vpon  
the coast of  
Italy.

This man for valor was accounted little inferior to *Barbarussa*, but for discretion & iust dealing far beyond him, nothing of so furious and waiward a disposition as was he. *Barbarussa* departing from *Elba*, came into the bay of *Telamon* in *Tuscany*, and in short time tooke the city, which he spoiled and burnt, especially the house of *Bartholomew Telamonius*, whose dead body but a little before buried, he caused to be pluckt out of the graue, and his bones to be scattered abroad, because he being admiral of the Bishop of *Romes* gallies, had in the Island of *Lesbos* wasted *Barbarussa's* fathers poor possessions: and marching by night eight miles farther into the land, surprised *Montenum*, and carried almost all the inhabitants away with him into captiuitie. The like mischief he did at the port called *Portus Herculis*, but purposing to haue taken *Orhatello*, and there to haue fortified, he was by *Luna* and *Pitellum* (two valiant Captains before sent thither, the one by the State of *Sienna*, and the other by the Duke of *Florence*) repulsed. So though disappointed of his purpose, yet hauing done great harme, and put the whole country of *Tuscany* in exceeding fear, he departed from thence, & landed again at *Igilium*, now called *Gigio*, an Island about twelue miles distant from *Portus Herculis*, where he quickly battered the town, and caried a wonderful number of all sorts into miserable captiuitie. Keeping his course, he passing the cape of *Linar*, and comming ouer against *Cantumcelle*, had burnt that city for the same reason he did *Telamon*, had he not bin otherwise perswaded by *Sirocca* the French Ambassador, fearing to draw the French King into further obloquy. From thence he came with a direct course to the Island of *Ischia*, where landing in the night, he intercepted most part of the inhabitants of the Island, as they were flying into the mountains; and in reuenge of the hatred he had conceived against *Vasilius* at the siege of *Nice*, he burnt *Forino*, *Pansa*, and *Varranium*, three chief townes of that Island: but *Pithacusa* the dwelling place of *Vasilius*, standing vpon a broken rocke somewhat distant from the sea, he durst not aduenture vpon. Then scraping along the Island *Prochira* with lesse hurt, because most part of the inhabitants were before fled to *Pithacusa*, he put into the bay of *Puteoli*, and sent *Salec* the pyrat with part of his fleet, to make proof if the city of *Puteoli* might from sea be battered. *Salec* drawing neer the city, shot into it with his great ordnance, and by chance slew one *Saiuedra* a valiant Spaniard, vpon the wals, and put the citifens in great fear left the whole fleet should haue landed, they themselves as then vnprovided. But the Vice-roy came presently with a power both of horse and foot from *Naples*: which *Barbarussa* discovering from sea as they came down the mountains, called back *Salec*, and leaping the Island of *Capri*, and passing by the promontory of *Atheneum*, was about to haue seized vpon *Salernum*; when a tempest suddenly arising dispersed his fleet, and draue him beyond the promontory of *Palinurus*, vpon the coast of *Calabria*, where he did exceeding much harm, especially at *Caricato*. From thence he departed to the Island of *Lipari*, betwixt *Italy* and *Sicily*, which Island he miserably spoiled, and with forty great pieces so battered the City, that the Citifens were constrained for fear to yeld, whom he carried away all prisoners, about the number of seuen thousand of one sort of people and other, and afterwards burnt the City. So loded with the rich spoil of *Italy* and the Islands vpon the coast, hee returned againe towards *Constantinople*, with such a multitude of poore Christian Captiues shut vp so close vnder hatches among the excrements of Nature, that all the way as they went almost every hour some of them were cast dead ouer board. Euery man detesting the endlesse hatred betwixt the Emperor and the French King, the very ground of all this and many thousand other most woful and vnderferued calamities of the poor subjects. With this rich prey, and an in-

finite

A finit number of captiues *Barbarussa* arriued at *Constantinople* in the beginning of Autumne, in the year 1544. where hee was honorably receiued of *Solyman*, and highly commended for his good seruice both by sea and land.

*Solyman* triumphing at *Constantinople* for the good successe he had in *Hungary*, in the midst of all his glory was aduertised of the death of *Mahomet* his eldest son, whom of all his children he held dearest: whose dead body was shortly after brought from *Magnesia*, & with wonderful solemnity and no lesse mourning buried at *Constantinople*. How intirely *Solyman* loved this his son, wel appeared by the great sorrow he conceived at his death; and not contented to haue built him a stately Tomb, he erected also in memorial of him a Mahometane church, called the Church of *Mahomet* the lesse, for the difference of *Mahomet* the great who

*Mahomet Soly-*  
mans eldest son  
dies.

B won *Constantinople*. Wherto also he annexed a monastery and a colledge, with many things more after the grosse maner of their superstition, for the health of his soul, as he vainly supposed. After that, *Solyman* according to his wonted maner, which was but euery second or third year to take in hand some notable expedition, for two years space ceased from wars; in which time many of the great princes and worthy men of that age died, amongst whom was *Francis* the French King. *Haradenus Barbarussa* that famous Turk of whom we haue so often spoken, (being a man of great years, and of no lesse fame) left this life in the year of our Lord 1547, and was buried at a house of his own called *Besitas*, neer to *Bosphorus Thracius* on Europe side, not far from the mouth of *Euxinum*, about four miles from *Pera*, where he had but a few years before at one time fould about sixteen thousand Christian captiues taken out of *Cor-*

*Barbarussa* and  
*Vasilius* die.

C ceya. And to make famous that place appointed for his buriall, he of his owne cost built a Mahometan temple there, which with his sepulchre is yet to be seene. That place was in ancient time called *Isionium*. About which time also died of conceit the famous captain *Alphonso Drachus Vasilius*, taken away by vntimely death when he had liued but forty five years. At which time *Charles* the Emperour by his Embassadour *Gerardus Veltunich* concluded a Peace with *Solyman* for five years, wherein King *Ferdinand* was also included. Which peace was afterwards before the expiration thereof, by *Solyman* (at the request of *Henry* the French King) broken.

1548

*Solyman* had now almost three years taken his rest, when misfortuned that *Ercases Imirza* king of *Sirvan*, mooued with the often injuries of *Tamas* his brother the great Persian King, fled to *Solyman* at *Constantinople* to craue aid against his brother. *Solyman* glad of such an occasion to work vpon, entertained him with all curtesie, and promised to vndertake his quarrel, and to protect him against his vnnatural brother: and when hee had made all things ready for so great an expedition, passed ouer into *Asia*, and after a long and painfull trauell entred at last with a puissant army into *Armenia*; and there in the borders of the Persian kingdom first besieged the city of *Van*, which after ten daies siege was yeilded vnto him, vpon condition, that the Persian soldiers there in garison might with life and liberty depart with their arms as soldiers: which was at the first by *Solyman* granted, and so the city surrendred. From thence *Solyman* sent his chief Commanders with a great part of his Army to burn and spoil the *En-*

1549

E mies country: which they for a time cheerfully performed, and running far into the country, stroue as it were among themselves who should do most harm; where *Imirza* among the rest (for whom *Solyman* had vndertaken this war) was as forward as the best to wast and spoile his brothers kingdom, sparing nothing that came to hand: the best and richest things he got he presented to *Solyman*, to draw him on still in that War. But that serued not his turn to recover again his kingdom of *Sirvan*: for *Tamas*, without shewing any power to withstand the Turks, had after his wonted manner caused his people to withdraw themselves far into the mountain Country, leauing nothing behind them in that wast country to relieue them, but the bare ground: so that the farther the Turks went, the more they wanted, without hope of better successe than such as they had before to their losse made proof of, in their former expeditions into that great Kingdom. The conceit wherof did not so much pierce the common F souldiers only, but euen the Captaines themselves, that to make an end of that long and vnprofitable war taken in hand for another mans good, they consulted amongst themselves either to kil *Imirza*, or else to disgrace him with *Solyman*. Which thing they so cunningly wrought, some suggesting false suspitions of his trecherous dealing in the proceeding of that war; and others with like craft, vnder colour of friendship giuing him warning in secret of the danger

*Van* yeilded to  
the Turks.

danger he was in, the one filling *Solyman's* head with distrust, and the other *Imirza's* with fear; briefly to shut the matter up in their own terms, *They persuaded the Hare to fly, and the bounds to follow.* *Imirza* doubting some sudden mischief, fled to an old acquaintance of his, one of the princes of Chaldaea, who most treacherously sent him in bonds to *Tamas* his brother his most cruel enemy; who glad to have the author of all his troubles with the Turks, delivered into his hands, cast him in prison: and that *Solyman* nor any other should in his behalf further prosecute the war, or by his means hope for victory, caused him to be murdered in prison. In this expedition against the Persian king *Solyman* was occupied a year and nine moneths; all which time the Turks endured great troubles, and were often hardly distressed by the Persians: until at last *Solyman* himself weary of that tedious war, wherein he had got neither honor nor profit, thought it best to make an end, and thereupon returned again to Constantinople in the year 1549.

1550.

*Dragut the pirate taking certain cities in Africk.*

In the mean time it fortuned that one *Dragut Rayzes* a notable pyrat of the Turks, had craftily surpris'd the city of Africa in the kingdom of Tunes (called in ancient time *Aphrodiseum*, and also *Leptis Parua*, and now of the Moors *Mahomedia*) and there feeling himself as in a place both commodious and of good assurance, exceedingly troubled the Christians both by sea and land, especially such as traded in the Mediterranean. So that the Emperor, moved as well with the manifold injuries don by that arch pyrat vpon the frontiers of his dominions, as by the daily complaints of his poore subjects, commanded the Viceroy of Sicilia, and *Auria* his admiral, to levy a sufficient power, in time to repress that pyrat before he grow to further strength. Whereupon they with a strong fleet well manned, and thorowly appointed for that purpose, and aided by the Knights of Malta, passed over into Africk, and landing their forces, by the space of three moneths besieged the City, before possessed by the pyrat, which with continual battery they had at length made faultable. And hearing that *Dragut* was coming with a new supply to relieue it, they with al celerity assailed it both by sea and land, and in the space of a few hours took it by force the 10 of September, *An. 1550.* in which assault many of the enemies were slain, and the rest taken. *Auria* having thus dispossest the pyrat, and aduisedly considering that the city was not without infinit charge to be holden by the Christians, among so many of the infidels, raised it down to the ground, carrying away with him 7000 captives, and all the spoil of the city; and not so contented, did all the harme hee could with fire and sword all alongst the coast of Africa, to the intent that the Turks should there find no relief; and took 12 prisoners out of *Monasterium*, a town not far from the City of Africa: and so having done what he came for, returned againe into Sicily. *Dragut* thus at once thrust out of all he had, with a few of his friends fled to *Solyman* to Constantinople, and so incensed him with the grievous complaint of the wrong don vnto him by the Christians, that in reuenge therof he resolved to make war both vpon the Emperor and King *Ferdinand*, notwithstanding that the five years league hee had before taken with him at his going into Persia, was not yet expired. So with these words and curious entertainment comforting vp the desperat Pyrat, the Spring following (which was in the year 1551) he furnished him with a great fleet in most warlike manner appointed to reuenge the injuries done vnto him by *Auria* in Africk. With this fleet, in number 140 sailes, *Solyman* one of the Turks great Basha, accompanied with *Dragut* the pyrat, by the appointment of *Solyman* departed from Constantinople; and cutting thorow the seas, arrived at length in Sicily, where they suddenly surpris'd the town and castle of Augusta, which they presently sacked. Departing thence, they came to the Island of Malta, and there landed their men in the port of Marza, otherwise called *Moxet*, neer vnto the castle, which they battered with certain great pieces of Ordnance, but so as that it was not to any great purpose. At which time diuers companies of the Turks running farther into the Island, made hauck of whatsoeuer came in their way. After they had thus a few dayes in vaine battered the Castle, and saw themselves both there valiantly repulsed, and in other places by ambushes and such like meanes cut off by the souldiers and inhabitants of the Island, they remoued thence to the road of *Saint Paul*, where they landed their Ordnance with purpose to haue besieged the City; but perceiving by all little what small hope there was to preuail, and seeing diuers of their men dying through the extremity of the heat, they forsook the Island and went to *Gauros*, now called *Gpza*, a little Isle about thirty miles in compas, five miles distant from Malta. Westward, subject to the Knights of the Religion: and

*Malta attempted by the Turks.*

A and there landing their men, miserably spoiled the Island, and whatsoeuer they light vpon, and carried away with them of one sort of people and other six thousand and three hundred captiues into most wofull bondage. With which booty they put againe to sea, and sayled directly to Tripolis in Barbary, called of old *Leptis Magna*: which city *Charles* the Emperour had before giuen to the knights of Malta, & was at that time by them kept. This city was the marke whereto the Basha and the pyrat shot; for taking wherof they landed their forces and by long and winding trenches approached as neere the same as they could: Which they did not without great losse of their people; for they of the castle having good store of great Ordnance, and most expert canoniers, did with continuall shot so annoy the Turks, that they were oftentimes enforced to retire; yet with much troublesome labour and no lesse perill, they came at last within eight hundred paces of the wals: where the Basha caused his gabions made of thicke planks, to be placed in the night, and his battery planted. And the next day (which was the eighth of August) the cannon began to play, which was againe answered from the castle with like, and every houre some of the Turks slaine, the great shot still flying into their trenches, so as that day foure of the best canoniers in the army were slaine, with certain other men of good account also: and the clerk-generall of the army, a man of great estimation and well beloued of the Basha, had his hand shot off, and many other of the Janizaries & common souldiers either slaine or hurt: moreouer they brake one of their best pieces, and dismounted foure others, which for that day made them to leaue the batterie. The next night the Turks approached yet neerer vnto the castle, vpon whom the Christians in the break of the day sallied out each vnto their very trenches, and afterwards retired. With the rising of the Sunne (which the Turks haue in great reuerence) they renewed their battery with greater force than before, yet with such euill successe, that the Basha was almost mad for anger: for about the evening the fire by mischance got into their powder, wherewith thirty of the Turks were burnt, many hurt, and one piece broken. At length the Turks were come so neer, that they had planted their battery within 150 paces of the wal: which they continued with such fury, that they had made a faire breach even with the ditch: but what was beaten down in the day time, the defendants repaired againe by night, in such sort, as that it was not to be assaulted. Yet in conclusion, a traitorous souldier of Prouince, before corrupted by the Turks, found means to fly out of the castle into the camp, where he declared vnto the Basha the weakest places of the castle, by which it might be most conveniently battered and soonest taken: and especially one place above the rest which was against the gouernours lodgings, which standing towards the ditch, and having vnderneath it cellars to retire the munition into, could not if it were once battered, well be repaired againe or fortified. Which the Basha vnderstanding, caused the batterie there to be planted, laying the pieces so low, that they did easily beat the cellars & vaults in such sort, that in short time the wals were so shaken, that the rampiers spoue through the continuall battery, began greatly to sink, which so amazed the souldiers, seeing no convenient means to repaire the same, that setting all honour aside, they requested the Gouernour, That since the matter began now to grow desperat, and that the place was not longer to be holden, he would in time take some good order with the enemy, for their safety, before the wals were further endamaged. With which motion, *Valier* the Gouernour, (an ancient knight of *Dapulhiny*, and one of the Order) was exceedingly troubled: which *Respa*, another of the knights, perceiving, be as a man of great courage, and of all others there present most ancient, in the name of the other knights declared vnto them, that the breach was neither so great, nor so profitable for the enemy, but that it was defensible enough, if they would as men of courage repaire the same, saying, That it was more honourable for worthy knights, and lusty souldiers, to die valiantly with their weapons in their hands, fighting against the Infidels for the maintenance of their law & Christian religion, than so cowardly to yeeld themselves to the mercy of those, as whose hands nothing was to be looked for, but most miserable seruitude, with all kind of cruelty: and therefore perswaded the gouernour, to hold it out, to the last. For all that, he overcame with the importunity of such as would needs yeeld, who with a vehement cryrge the imminent danger wherewith they were all like to be overwhelmed, and finding himself betwix both of heart and fortune, and forsaken of his souldiers, without farther consideration, consented that a white ensigne should be displayed vpon the Walls, in token that they desired parley. When a Turke presenting himselfe, they requested him to vnderstand of the

*The Turks fleet arriveth at Tripolis in Barbary.*

*Tripolis battered by the Turks.*

danger he was in, the one filling *Solyman's* head with distrust, and the other *Imirza's* with fear; briefly to shut the matter up in their own terms, *They persuaded the Emperour to fly, and the bounds to follow.* *Imirza* doubting some sudden mischief, fled to an old acquaintance of his, one of the princes of Chaldaea, who most treacherously sent him in bonds to *Tamas* his brother his most cruel enemy, who glad to have the author of all his troubles with the Turks, delivered into his hands, cast him in prison: and that *Solyman* nor any other should in his behalf further prosecute the war, or by his means hope for victory, caused him to be murdered in prison. In this expedition against the Persian king *Solyman* was occupied a yeare and nine moneths: all which time the Turks endured great troubles, and were often hardly distressed by the Persians: vntill at last *Solyman* himself weary of that tedious war, wherein he had got neither honor nor profit, thought it best so to make an end, and therupon returned again to Constantinople in the year 1549.

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1551.

*Malta attempted by the Turks.*

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*Tripolis battered by the Turks.*

C castle, by which it might be most conveniently battered and soonest taken: and especially one place above the rest, which was against the gouernours lodgings, which standing towards the ditch, and hauing vnderneath it cellars to retire the munition into, could not if it were once battered, well be repaired again or fortified. Which the Bassa vnderstanding, caused the batterie there to be planted, laying the pieces so low, that they did easily beat the cellars & vaults in such sort, that in short time the walls were so shaken, that the rampiers above through the continual battery, began greatly to sink, which so amazed the souldiers, seeing no convenient way to repaire the same, that setting all honour aside, they requested the Gouernour, that since the matter began now to grow desperat, and that the place was not longer to be holden, he would in time take some good order with the enemy for their safety, before the walls

D were further endamaged. With which motion, *Pullier* the Gouernour, (an ancient knight of Dauphiny, and one of the Order) was exceedingly troubled: which *Reissen* another of the knights, perceiving, he as a man of great courage, and of all others there present most ancient, in the name of the other knights declared vnto them, that the breach was neither so great, nor so profitable for the enemy, but that it was defensible enough, if they would as men of courage repaire the same, saying, That it was more honourable for worthy knights, and lusty souldiers, to die valiantly with their weapons in their hands, fighting against the Infidels for the maintenance of their law & Christian religion, than so cowardly to yeeld themselves to the mercy of those, as whose hands nothing was to be looked for, but most miserable seruitude, with all kind of cruelty, and therefore persuaded the gouernour, to hold it out to the last. For all

E that, hee ouercome with the importunity of such as would needily yeeld, who with a vehemency urged the imminent danger wherewith they were all like to be overwhelmed, and finding himself bereft both of heart and fortune, and forsaken of his souldiers, without farther consideration, consented that a white ensigne should be displayed vpon the Walls, in token that they desired parley: When a Turke presenting himselfe, they requested him to vnderstand of the

Hard conditi-  
ons offered by  
the Bassa to the  
besieged.

More ease con-  
ditions offered  
by the Bassa,  
which he com-  
promised by his  
cous.

The wiser an-  
swer of the go-  
vernour to the  
Bassa.

the Bassa, if he could be contented that some of them might come to intreat with him of some good order to be taken for the yeelding vp of the castle. Whereunto the Bassa willingly consenting, two of the knights were forthwith sent out, to offer to him the castle with the artillery and munition, so as he would furnish them with ships to bring them with bag & baggage safely to Malta; Whereunto the Bassa briefly answered, That (soasmuch as they had as yet deserved no grace, presuming to keep so small a place against the army of the greatest Prince on earth) if they would pay the whole charges of the army, he would condiscend to their request; or if they would not thereunto consent, that for recompence, all they within the castle should continue his slauer & prisoners: notwithstanding if they incontinently & without delay did surrender the place, he would exempt out of them 200. Whereupon the messengers returning in despair, were slaid by *Dragut* and *Salla Rais*, with flattering words and faire promises that they would so much as lay in them, persuaide the Bassa to condiscend to a more gracious composition; fearing indeed that the besieged through despair would resolve (as their extreme refuse) to defend the place euen to the last man. Wherefore they went presently to the Bassa, to declare vnto him his oversight in refusing them, who voluntarily would haue put themselves into his hand, whom reason would he should with all clemencie haue received; for that after he had the castle & the men in his power, he might dispose of them as he should think good: The Bassa liking well of his counsell, caused the messengers to be called again, & with fained & dissembling words told them, That at the instance of *Dragut* & *Salla Rais* there present, he did disclaime them of all the costs & charges of the army, swearing vnto them, the better to deceiue them by the head of his lord & his own, that he would obserue that he had promised vnto them, which they too easily beleued; and forthwith went to declare the same to the Governour, & others within the castle. The Bassa the better to come to the effect of his desire, after these messengers finished a crafty Turke, whom he charged expressly to persuaide the Governour to come with him into the camp, for the full conclusion of the giving vp of the castle, & for the appoynting of such vessels as should be needful for their safe conduct to Malta; and that if he made any doubts to come, he should make shew as if he would there remaine in hostage for him, but about all things, to consider of the strength & assurances of the besieged, and of the disposition of all things there. Which the subtil Turke finely handled, that the governour by the counsell of those who had persuaided him to yeeld, notwithstanding the reasons of warre & duty of his office forbade him in such manner to abandon the place of his charge, resolved vpon, to sell an assurance of the Bassa, & gave care to the miserable end of his fortune. So taking with him a knight of his household (to send back vnto those of the castle, to declare vnto them how he sped in the camp) vnder the conduct of the Turke that was come to fetch him, he went straight to the tent of the Bassa: who by the Turke that went first in, was aduertised of the small courage of the defendants, which he assured him to be no better; but that if he thought it good, he might bring them to such order & agreement as he would himselfe; Vpon whose persuation calling in the governour, after he had rigorously reproofed his rashnes, said vnto him, That soasmuch as he had once given his word, if he would pay the charges of the army, he was content to let them go with bag & baggage, otherwise he would discharge but two hundred. Whereat the Governour greatly moved, answered, That that was not according to his last promise to the knights before sent. But when he saw it would be no better, he requested him that he might again returne to the castle, to know the minds of the rest: which the same Bassa would by no means grant, but only permitted him to send back the knight that he had brought with him, to make report of the shewd news to the besieged: as for the Governour, he was sent to the gallies with yrons on his backes. When they of the castle understood what had passed betwixt the Bassa & the governour, they began exceedingly to feare the mischief then at hand: yet took no other resolution, but to returne the said knight to the Bassa, to know whether they should expect from him no better answer. Who as soon as he was come before him, the captain of the castle was brought in, of whom the Bassa asked, Which of the two he would chuse, either to pay the expenses of the army, or to be both he & all the rest to remain his prisoners? Whereunto the Governour answered, That he had no other authority than that which by his latter was giuen him; & that having lost (besides his liberty) the power to command, if any thing were yet referred in him, could nor counsel him to command others to agree vnto any thing; but that which was concluded with them which were before sent.

A sent. Which thing the Bassa hearing, for feare that such a resolute answer should come to the knowledge of the besieged, and cause them to become desperat; hauing taken counsell with his other Captains, he took the Governour by the hand, and with a smiling and dissembling countenance told him, That he would without any doubt let them depart as he had promised; and that therefore without fearing any thing, he should cause them all to come out of the Castle. But the Governour because he had bin before deceiued, would not trust to his word, but said vnto him, That he might command him that was come from the Castle; for that he knew they would now do neuer a whit the more for him. So the Bassa turning towards the other Knight, commanded him forthwith to go vnto them in the Castle, and to cause them to come forth, swearing again as before, by the head of his great Lord, and his owne, That they should all be deliuered & set at liberty, according to the conuentions first agreed vpon, which the Knight beleuing, went to report to them this good news: which they receiued with such ioy, that without further care or consideration of their mishap so neer, they ran in prease with their wives, children, and best moueables, strining who should first get out. But they were no sooner issued, but they were by the enemies spoiled of all that they had, and taken prisoners; part of the Knights were sent to the gallies, and the rest to the Bassa. Who being by the governour put in remembrance of his faith twice giuen, answered, That there was no faith to be kept with dogs, and that they had first violated their oath with his great Lord, vnto whom at the giuing ouer of the Rhodes, they had (as he said) sworn neuer more to beare armes against the Turks. The Castle was forthwith taken and spoiled, and about two hundred Moores of that country that had serued the Knights, cut in pieces, & therupon, a great peale of ordnance discharged, with great cries and shouts in sign of their victory. Thus the strong castle and ancient City of Tripolis in Barbary was deliuered vnto the Turks the fifteenth day of August; in the year 1551. Whilst the Bassa lay at this siege, the Lord of Arramont, who had many yeres lien Embassador from France the French King at Constantinople, and was now sent again by Henry the second, came to the Turks camp, being requested so to do by the Great master of the Rhodes, to haue dissuaded the Bassa from that siege, wherein he nothing preuailed. Yet now grieved to see how the faithles Turke, contrary to his oath, most villanously intreated the Governour and the other Knights, lying at his feet as men halfe desperat; was so bold as to put him in mind of his promise, confirmed by his oath, which if he would not keep, that yet D at the least according to his own voluntary offer, he would release two hundred of them: but he excused himselfe as before, saying, That no faith was to be kept with dogs, which had first broken their own faith. Yet afterwards he condiscended, that two hundred of the eldest and such as were most vsit for seruice (amongst whom was comprehended the Governour and certain other old Knights) should be set at liberty, who were forthwith sent aboard the French Embassadors gallies, and by him transported to Malta: where they were but hardly welcom; for that they had so cowardly surrendred a place, which they might much longer haue defended. The next day after the castle was deliuered, which was the 16 of August, the proud Bassa for ioy of his victory made a solemne dinner, whereunto he inuited the French Embassador, and *Vallier* the late Governour: which they refused not to come vnto, in hope to recover some mo prisoners. This great feast for the more magnificence was kept in the Castle ditch against the breach, where were set vp two statly pavilions, the one for the Bassa, and the other for the Embassador and his company, where he was honourably feasted with wonderfull plenty both of flesh and fish and good wines, which they had found in the Castle; which seruice was done with musicke of diuers sorts; and officers in number about a hundred; apparelled for most part in long gownes of fine cloth of gold, tufted or fringed; and the other of velvet or damaske. The Bassa was no sooner set down, but all the Ordnance of the fleet was discharged with such a noise and thundring, that it seemed the heavens and skies did shake. The table being taken vp, the Embassador, and the late Governour *Vallier*, entred into the pavilion of the Bassa, and beside the two hundred men which he had promised, obtained twenty F mo, vpon the Embassadors promise, That he should for them cause to be released 30 Turkes taken at Malta, at the landing of the army there. The Turks hauing in their hands an ancient gunner of the Castle, called *John de Chabas* born in Dolphin (to the end that this triumphant feast should not be vnfurnished of some cruell sacrifice of Christian blood) for that he had in time of the siege shot off the hand of the cleike generall of the army, brought him into the towne,

The castle yeelded.

The shamelesse answer of the faithlesse Bassa to the French Embassador.

The Turkes triumph for the winning of Tripolis.

Achmet full  
crushy of his  
Turks.

towne, and hauing cut off his hands and his nose, put him quick into the ground to the wast, and there for their pleasure shot at him with their arrows, & afterward to make an end of him cut his throat. The Bassa shortly after departing out of Barbary, left *Dragut* the pirat Governor of Tripolis, honoring him with the title of *Sanzack* of that place, from whence he many years after grievously molested the Moors neervnto him by land, and the Christians by sea. The same year 1551, *Solyman* notwithstanding the five years peace before taken with *K. Ferdinand*, at his going into Persia, sent *Achmet* his Lieutenant in Europe with a great Army into Hungary, who with *Haly* the Bassa of Buda invaded the vpper Hungary, and first took the city of Temeswar, and contrary to their faith given, slew the garrison soldiers. After that they took also the castle of Zolnoc, forsaken by the Christians, and certain other small Castles. But laying siege to Erlam, they were partly by the valor of the defendants, and partly by the coming on of winter inforced to forsake the siege, and to get themselves into their winning places.

Temeswar and  
Zolnoc taken  
by the Turks.

Queen *Isabel*, King *Johns* widow, seeing the Turks daily inrochoing vpon that little they had left her, and that she was not able by any means to defend Transylvania against them, by the aduice of *George* Bishop of Veradium her old counsellor, agreed with King *Ferdinand* to deliver vnto him the government of the country, with al the royall dignity of Hungary, for which she was to haue of him Cassovia, and a yearly pension of an hundred thousand ducats; which agreement made and thorowly concluded by *Baptista Castalia* an Italian (whom *Charles* the Emperor had but a little before sent to aid King *Ferdinand*) the Queen returned into Polonia her native country; and so King *Ferdinand* by that means obtained almost all the province of Transylvania, and what els the Queen had in Hungary. But the Bishop a little before made a Cardinal, being suspected by *Baptista* the Italian, that he fauored the Turkes faction more than King *Ferdinand*, and by that means sought to get the government to himself, was by the Italians deuice suddenly murdered in his own house at Veradium: an end good enough for so trouble some a Prelat.

George Bishop  
of Veradium  
murdered in his  
owne house.

1552

Agria besieged  
by the Turks.

*Haly* Bassa of Buda proud of the good successe he had the year before, vnderstanding that diuers of the chief Hungarians had withdrawn themselves into the castle of Agria, purposed in himself with all his power to besiege it, and there to take them. So aided by *Achmet*, *Chafar*, and other of the Turkes Sanzacks and captains, by *Solymans* appointment ready at his call, he came with an army of 35000 Turks, and the 10 of September, *An. 1552*, incamped round about the castle: where after he had placed his artillery he began a most furious battery. But doubting to preuail that way, he attempted also to vndermine the Castle, omitting nothing that could be deuised for the taking thereof. But all in vain; for the Hungarians by the good direction of *Stephanus Dobus* their Captain, courageously indured the siege, and very manfully repulsed the enemy. At length the 29 of September, the enemy with 28 ensignes of select soldiers gaue a fresh assault to the castle, and were by the defendants inforced shamefully to retire: at this time 24 barrels of gunpowder by mischance got fire, and besides that it blew vp diuers captains and souldiers, did much harm in the Castle, to the great dismay of the defendants. After that, the Turks with incredible pertinacy the 12 of October fiercely assaulted the castle from morning vntil night, and for desire of reuenge and hope of spoile left nothing vnattempted for the gaining of the place; but were by the greater valor of the Hungarians beaten back, and with great losse inforced at last to giue ouer the assault. Thus the Bassa nothing preuailing by force, attempted by great promises and large offers to haue brought them forre: Which he vnderstanding to be nothing regarded, and his letters scornfully burnt, brought on his soldiers again, & gaue vnto them in the castle a most furious assault, but with no better successe than before; for hauing lost many of his best souldiers, he was inforced to retire. So after he had in vain six weeks besieged the castle, he was glad to raise his siege and retire to Pesth. After whose departure there was found 12000 great shot wherewith hee had battered the wall. In this siege 6000 Turks were slain, and of the Hungarians but three hundred. King *Ferdinand* glad of this victory, made *Stephanus* the worthy Capitaine Vayoud of Transylvania, and bountifully rewarded the other Capitaines and souldiers as they had well deserved.

The Turks giue  
ouer the siege of  
Agria.

*Henry* the French king, who together with his kingdome had as it seemed received the hereditary quarels of *Francis* his father against *Charles* the Emperor, had by his Embassador the

Lord

A Lord of Aramont so wrought the matter with *Solyman*, that the more to trouble the Emperor, he sent a great fleet into the Tyrrenum or Tuscan sea, which in the year 1553, and the yere following, did great harme vpon the coasts of Calabria, Sicilia, Sardinia, as also in the Islands of Elba, Corsica, Cerbe, and Majorca, and such like places on the frontiers of the Emperours dominions: yet were the Turks in most places notably againe repulged by the people of those Countries. The same year *Solyman*, seduced by *Roxolana* (sometime his faire Concubine, but then his imperious wife) and *Rustan* Bassa his son in law, most vnaturally murdered his eldest son *Mustapha*, the minour of the *Othoman* Family: Which tragicall fact (the like wherof both for the treacherous contriuing and inhumane execution hath seldom times bene heard of) I haue thought good here in due time to set downe, in such sort as it is by most credible Writers of that time reported:

B *Solyman* after the manner of the *Othoman* Kings (who to auoid the participation of their foueraignty, use not oftentimes to marry, but otherwise to satisfie their pleasure with such beautiful Concubines as it pleaseth them to make choise of out of the fairest captiues of all Nations, most daintily brought vp for that purpose in the Court) had by a Circassian bondwoman a son called *Mustapha*, who for his wonderfull towardnesse and rare perfection, was amongst the Turks had in such expectation and admiration, as that they in nothing accounted themselves more happy, than in the hope laid vp in him: whose noble carriage was such, as thereby he so possessed the minds of all men in generall, (but especially of the men of warre) that he was reputed the glory of the Court, the flower of Chivalry, the hope of the souldiers, and joy of the people. Whilst he thus grew, increasing both in yeares and fauour, it fortuned with

*Mustapha*, *Solyman*'s eldest son in great estimation with the people.

C *Solyman* as it doth with men delighted in change, that he became amorous of *Roxolana*, of some called *Rosa* (but more truly *Hazothya*) by condition a captiue; but so graced with beauty and courtly behauiour, that in short time she became mistress of his thoughts, and commandresse of him that all commanded: and that which more established her in possession of his loue, she had in time made him father of foure faire sons, *Mahomet*, *Selymus*, *Bajazet*, and *Tzihanger*, and one daughter called *Chameria* married to *Rustan* or *Rustemes* the great Bassa. In this height of worldly blisse nothing troubled her more than the exceeding credit of *Mustapha*, *Solymans* eldest sonne by the Circassian woman; who honoured of the greatest, and beloued of the rest, stood only in her light, imbarring her and hers (as she thought) of the hope of the Empire,

*Solyman* became with amorous of *Roxolana*.

D which the now aboue all things sought to bring to one of her owne sons: which the better to compass, she vnder the colour of great good will and loue, procured that *Mustapha* the young Prince and his mother should as it were for their greater honor and state, with a Princely allowance be sent into Catamania to gouerne that great country, far from the Court. Which was no great matter for her to bring to passe: for that the Turkish Emperours vsually send their sons after they come to any yeares of discretion, vnto such prouinces as are far from the Court, attended vpon with one great Bassa and some graue Doctor of their Law, so to acquaint them with the manner of gouernment; the Bassa instructing them in matters of ciuile policy, and the Doctor in matters concerning their superstition: and yet by sending them a far off, to keepe them from aspiring to the Empire by the fauour of the Court: (a thing of the Turkish

*Mustapha* sent to gouerne Catamania.

E Emperors not vnworthily feared even in their owne and beloued children. *Roxolana* hauing at once thus cunningly rid the Court of the great competitors both of her loue and of the Empire (things of all others enduring no partners) rested not so, but began straightway to plot in her malicious head the vter destruction of him, to whom all others wished all happiness. This she saw was not to be brought to passe without some complices: wherefore after she had in her secret conceit discarded many, of whom at first she had reasonable good liking; at last she made choise of *Rustan* Bassa her sonne in law, vpon whom she would set vp her rest. This *Rustan* was a man basely borne in Epirus, altogether composed of dissimulation and flattery, euer seruing his owne turne, were it neuer so much to the hurt or grievance of others: by which meanes he, although none of the best souldiers, was yet by many degrees growne vp to be the greatest man in the Court, and *Solymans* sonne in law: him she probably thought to with the succession of the Empire to one of her owne sons, his wiues full brethren, rather than to *Mustapha* her halfe brother. Beside that, she was not ignorant how that *Rustan* as one carefull of the Emperours profit (the readiest way to preferment) had abridged the pensions and fees of the officers and seruitors in Court: which he perceiuing to please the Emperour, proceeded

The malice of *Roxolana* against *Mustapha*.

T t t

ceeded so far therein, that he attempted to haue cut off, if it had beene possible, some part of *Mustapha* his princely allowance: for which doing, she knew how odious he was to all the courtiers (whereof he made small reckoning) but especially to *Mustapha*, inasmuch that it was thought he would not forget so notorious an injury, if euer he should obtaine the Empire. Hereupon she brake with *Rustan* vpon the matter, whom she found ready enough of himselfe to do what in him lay to further her mischievous desire.

Roxolana conspires with Rustan, Ruffian, against Mustapha.

Roxolana falseth her selfe religion.

Solyman manumisset Roxolana.

Solyman sends for Roxolana. She excuseth herselfe, and refuseth to come.

Solyman manumisset Roxolana.

To begin this intended tragidy, she vpon the sudden became very deuout, and being by the fauour of *Solyman* growne exceeding rich, pretended as if it had been vpon a deuout zeale for the health of her soule, after the maner of their Turkish superstition, to build an Abbey, with an Hospitall and a Church: which so godly a purpose she imparted to the Muphti or chiefe Mahometan Priest, demanding of him, if such works of charity were not acceptable vnto God, and auailable for her soules health. Wherunto the Muphti answered, That those workes were no doubt gratious in the sight of God, but nothing at all meritorious for her soules health, being a bondwoman; yet very profitable for the soule of the great Emperor *Solyman*, vnto whom as vnto her Lord, both she and all she had appertained. With which answer of the great Priest she seemed to be exceedingly troubled, and thereupon became wonderfull pen- sive and melancholy, her cheerefull countenance was repleat with sadnesse, and her faire eies flowed with teares, her mirth was mourning, and her joy heauinesse. Which thing *Solyman* perceiuing, and sorry to see his loue vpon conceit so to languish, sent her word to be of good cheere, and to comfort for her selfe; promising in short time to take such a course, as should ease her of all her griefes: which he forthwith did, solemnly manumising her from her bond estate. So great a fauour obtained, *Roxolana* with great cheerefulness began those meritorious workes by her before intended, as if she had thought of nothing but heauen, whereas indeed her thought were in the depth of hell. When she had thus a good while busied her selfe in passing the way to heauen, as was supposed; *Solyman* not able longer to forbear the company of her, in whom his soule liued, after his wonted manner sent for her by one of his Eunuchs, who should haue brought her to his bed-chamber. To whom she with her eies cast vp to heauen, demurely answered, that her life and whatsoeuer else she had was at her dread Soueraignes command, but againe to yeeld her body vnto his appetite she might not in any case do, without the great offence of the high God, and manifest breach of his sacred Lawes, which permitted her now voluntarily to yeeld him that, being free, which he before without offence might command of his bond-woman: and because she would not seeme to vse this as an excuse, she referred her selfe in all things to the graue judgment of the learned and reuerend Muphti, with whom she had before at full conferred. This she did, presuming of the souereignty she had ouer that great Monarch, whom she right well knew she had so fast bound in the pleasing fetters of his affection towards her, as that she was sure enough of him without a keeper. *Solyman* raiused with her loue, and well the more for her deniall, sent for the Muphti, requiring his judgement in the matter: who before instructed in all points, agreed with that *Roxolana* had said, aggravating the hainousnesse of the fact, if he should proceed to enforce her as his slaue, who being now free, he might not without great offence touch vnmarried. Whereupon *Solyman* more and more burning in his desires, became a fresh suter to her for marriage, whom he had so often before commanded: which his sute easily obtained, (as the marke she had all this while aimed at) he with all speed to the great admiration of all men, and contrary to the manners of the Mahometan Emperours, solemnly married her, appointing for her yearly dowry fise thousand Sultanyuns. But here before we proceed any further, stay a while, and take the view of that faire face whereon this great Monarch so much doted, as it is by the skillfull workemans hand most liuely expressed.

ROX



*Frontis nulla fides, nulla est fiducia forma:  
Pectore dum sauo atra venena latent.  
Philtre viro misce, fallax miserumque cotegit  
Sanguine nasorum commaculare manus.*

RICH. KNOLLEVS.

To fairest looks trust not too farre, nor yet to beauty braue:  
For hatefull thoughts so finely maskt, their deadly poyson haue.  
Loues charmed cups the subtrill dame doth to her husband fill;  
and causeth him with cruell hand his childrens blood to spill.

This woman of late a slaue, but now become the greatest Emperesse of the East, flowing in all worldly felicity, attended vpon with all the pleasures her heart could desire, wanted nothing she could wish, but how to find means that the Turkish empire might after the death of *Solyman* be brought to some one of her own sons. This was it that had (as is before said) long troubled her aspiring mind, and in the midst of all her blisse, suffered her yet to take no rest. Noble *Mustapha*, *Solymans* eldest sonne, and heire apparant of the Empire, although far absent, was yet still before her eies present; his credit, his valour, his vertues, his perfections were all bars to her desires: he was the only cloud that kept the sunne from shining vpon her, if he by any

Roxolana plots the confusion of Mustapha.

Rustan the  
great Bassa  
furthereth  
she devises of  
Roxelana.

Mustapha in  
danger to have  
been poisoned  
by Roxelana.

any means might be taken away, then wanted nothing that she desired. Which to bring to  
G passe, the wicked woman laboured cunningly by little and little to breed in *Solyman's* head no  
small suspicion of *Mustapha*. That he being a yong man of a haury spirit, desirous of Sovereign-  
ty, generally beloved, and swelling with the immoderat fauour of the men of war, which were  
all at his deuotion, left nothing else to be expected from him, but when he should (as did his  
grandfather *Selyman*) lay hand vpon the Empire, and worke his aged fathers destruction. This  
mischieuous plot by her deuised, was not a little furthered by *Rustan* the great Bassa, by whom  
passed all great matters: who nothing omitted that could be slyly deuised for the disgrace or  
confusion of the yong Prince. For he as a great secret, craftily told all them that were sent go-  
uernors into Syria, that *Mustapha* was secretly suspected by his father, of aspiring to the Em-  
pire, and therefore charged them particularly, carefully to obserue all his actions, with the  
manner of his life and government, and by their letters diligently to aduertise him of whatso-  
H euer they should see or heare, bearing them in hand, that the more suspiciously or odiously  
they should write of him, the more gracious & acceptable it would be vnto the great Sultan.  
Wherefore he by these men oftentimes certified of the princely disposition, courage, wildom,  
valour and bounty of *Mustapha*, whereby he had won all mens hearts, doubted that he would at  
length be preferred to the Empire: yet durst he not for all that adventure to temper with *Sely-  
man* about that detestible conspiracy against the innocent Prince, but still deliuering the let-  
ters to the malicious woman, left the rest by her vngracious head to be wrought. And she still  
as occasion best serued her purpose, ceased not with pleasing allurements and flattery (wherein  
she was most excellent) to infect *Solyman's* mind, that whensoever he should chance to haue any  
speech of *Mustapha*, she might take the fitter occasion to bring forth those Letters. Neither  
I was she in her drift deceived, but hauing found a fit opportunity, with teares trickling downe  
her cheeks (which to serue their turnes subtile women seldome want) she told the Emperor in  
what danger he stood: recounting amongst other things, how *Selyman* his father had by such  
means depriued *Bajazet* his grandfather, both of his life and Empire together: and therefore  
most instantly besought him, as if it had altogether proceeded of a carefull loue, by that exam-  
ple warned, to looke to himselfe. But these light arguments of suspicion seemed as they were  
indeed, vnto *Solyman* scarce probable; so that she little preuailed thereby. Which thing she  
well perceiuing, and inwardly grieuing thereat, conuerted her cruell mind to other mischie-  
uous deuices, and sought by all means how to poison the yong Prince: neither wanted there  
K wicked men, as it were vowed to all kinde of mischiefe and villany, ready to haue performed  
what she desired, had not Gods providence withstood so horrible a practise. For whereas  
certaine rich apparell was by her sent vnto him in his fathers name, he fearing the worst, would  
not touch it before he had caused it to be worne by one of his seruants: by which curious wa-  
rineesse (as it was thought) he for that time preuented the treason of his wicked stepdame,  
and made her malicious practise manifest to the world. Yet rested she not so, but was still plot-  
ting new deuices, tending all to one purpose: for being growne to that height of honour and  
power as neuer was woman in the *Othoman* court, and by the means of *Trojanilla* a Iew (as it was  
thought) hauing bewitched the mind of the Turkish Emperor, she still grew more and more  
in fauor, and obtained that her sons might by turnes be still present in Court: of purpose, that  
L by their daily presence and continuall flattery, they should more and more procure their fa-  
thers loue; and if by chance *Mustapha* should come thither, she might haue the better means  
to dispatch him: if not, to expect some other fit time, when she might by some one or other  
meane take him away. But *Mustapha* neuer comming (for why, the Emperours sons vse not  
without their fathers leave to go out of the prouinces assigned vnto them, or to come to Con-  
stantinople, but after the death of their father to receive the Empire, attended vpon with a  
number of souldiers) she easily deuised another practise, that her sons should wait vpon their  
father, not in the city only, but in the Prouinces also; so that *Tahbanc* (whom she named *Cornelbach*),  
alwaies followed his father in the campe. Certaine yeres thus spent, and she still hammering  
her mischieuous deuices; at length fortune fauouring her wicked practise, got from the Bassa  
which had the government of *Mustapha* and the prouince of *Amasia*, (for as we haue said, eu-  
ery one of the Kings sons hath with him one Bassa, which is as it were his lieutenant in admi-  
nistration of iustice and martiall affaires) certain suspicious letters, wherein was contained, that  
there was a speech of a marriage to be made betwene *Mustapha* and the Persian Kings daugh-  
ter:

A ter; which thing he thought good to giue knowledge of to the Counsell, that if any harme  
should ensue thereof, he might be out of all suspicion. These letters being brought to *Rustan*, he  
thought he had now as good as halfe brought to passe the long desired ruin of *Mustapha*: so mak-  
ing no stay, he opened the matter to *Roxelana*; & afterwards both together went to the court,  
and declared all the matter to the Emperor: in doing whereof, they forced both their vngrati-  
ous wits to fill his head, yet doubtfull, with suspicion, and to possesse his mind with the feare  
of his own most durifull son: saying, That he as a proud and ambitious yong man, raiished  
with the desire of so glorious an empire, sought against the laws both of God & nature, to take  
his father out of the way, that so he might with more speed satisfie his aspiring mind. And to  
giue the more credit to this their most false suggestion, they warned him of the alliance by  
B him purposed with the Persian king the ancient enemy of the *Othoman* Emperors: withing him  
to beware lest *Mustapha* supported by the strength of Persia, and the fauor of the Sanzacks and  
Janizaries, whose loue he had by bounty purchased, should in short time when he feared least,  
together depriue him both of his life and Empire. With these and such like accusations they  
so preuailed with the aged man, whom they neuer suffered to rest in quiet, that he at length re-  
solved to worke his safety (as he supposed) by the death of his owne sonne; in this sort:

In the yeare 1552 he caused proclamation to be made almost in all the prouinces of his  
Empire, That forasmuch as the Persians without resistance with a great army invaded Syria,  
burning and destroying the country before them, he to repress that their outragious inso-  
lence, was enforced to send thither *Rustan* Bassa with an army: which according to his appoint-  
ment was in short time raised. Now when all things were in readinesse, as if it had bene for  
C such a war as was pretended, he commanded *Rustan*, with as much secrecy and as little tumult  
as was possible, to lay hands vpon *Mustapha*, and to bring him bound to Constantinople: which  
if he could not conueniently effect, then by any other means to take him out of the way.

With this wicked and cruell charge *Rustan* with a strong army marched towards Syria;  
*Mustapha* vnderstanding of his coming, without delay with 7000 of the best horsemen in all  
Turky made towards Syria also: whereof *Rustan* hearing, and perceiuing that he could not (as  
he desired) conueniently execute the cruell command of the vnnatural father, forthwith tur-  
ned his backe, and treading the same steps he came, returned with his army to Constantinople  
with such speed, that he endured not to behold the very dust raised by *Mustapha's* horsemen,  
D much lesse his presence: giuing it out, That he certainly vnderstood that the prouince was in  
quiet, (as indeed it was) and that he thereupon returned. But vnto *Solyman* he told another tale  
in secret, which he maliciously had deuised, That he by most apparant signes and manifest pre-  
sumptions had perceined the whole army so inclined towards *Mustapha*, that if he should haue  
attempted any thing against him by plaine force, he should haue bin vtterly forsaken, and had  
therefore in so dangerous a case left the matter as it was to his graue further direction. This  
tale suspiciously told, raised in the wicked and vnatural father (nothing degenerating from  
the naturall cruelty of his ancestors) new and great suspicions, whereof to disburden his dis-  
quieted mind, he conceiued with himselfe a most horrible deuice. Wherefore the yere follow-  
ing, which was the yeare 1553, he raised a great army; giuing it out, That the Persians had  
E with greater power than before invaded Syria, and that therefore he for the loue of his Coun-  
try, and defence of his Empire, was determined to go thither with his army, and in person him-  
selfe to repress the attempt of his enemies. Wherefore the army being assembled, & all things  
necessary orderly provided, he commanded to set forward, and in few daies after followed  
himselfe: who comming at length into Syria, presently by trusty messengers commanded *Mustapha*  
to come vnto him at Aleppo, for there he lay incamped. And yet for all these shadowes,  
the matter was not so closely by *Solyman* conceied (although he was exceedingly carefull ther-  
of) but that his mortall and deadly hatred against his son was perceiued by the Bassa's, & other  
great men about him: insomuch that *Achmat* Bassa by a secret and trusty messenger gaue him  
warning thereof, that so he might in time the better provide for the safeguard of his life. Nei-  
F ther could *Mustapha* himselfe but maruell, that his aged father without any apparant reason  
should come so far with so great an army: yet trusting to his owne innocency, though won-  
derfully troubled and perplexed in mind, he resolved (although it were with the extreme dan-  
ger of his life) to obey and yeeld to his fathers command: for he thought it more commendable  
and honorable to incur the danger of death, than liuing to fall into the foule suspicion of  
disloyalty.

Roxelana and  
Rustan together  
put Solyman in  
feare of his son  
Mustapha

Solyman sends  
Rustan Bassa  
with an army  
to take Mustapha.

The malicious  
deuice of "Rus-  
tan"

Solyman gaue  
himselfe warn-  
ing by messen-  
gers to kill  
his sonne.

He sendeth for  
Mustapha.

Mustapha per-  
plexed in mind.

disloyalty. In so great a perplexity of mind, after he had with himselfe much discoursed too and fro, what courie he were best to take, at length he boldly and resolutely asked the Doctor whom (as we haue before said) he had alwaies with him in his court, Whether the Empire of the World, or a blessed life were of man more to be desired? To whom the doctor frankly answered, That the Empire of the World, to him that would enter into the due consideration thereof, brought with it no felicity, more than a vaine shew and outter appearance of good, nothing being more fraile or vncertaine than worldly honor, bringing with it feare, vexation of mind, tribulation, suspection, murder, wrong, wickednesse, spoile, ruin, and captiuitie, with infinit mischiefs of like nature, not to be desired of him that would attaine to true felicity, by which meanes the blessed life was to be lost and not gained: But they vnto whom God had given the grace rightly to consider and weigh the fragility and shortnesse of this our estate (which the common sort deemeth to be the only life) and to strue against the vanities of this World, and to embrace and follow an vpright kind of life, had vndoubtedly a place assigned for them in heaven and prepared by the great God, where they should at length enjoy life and blisse eternall. This answer of the great doctor wonderfully satisfied the troubled mind of the yong Prince, foreseeing as it were the approach of his owne end, and so staying not any longer discourse, forthwith set forwards toward his father, and making great hast, came at length to his fathers campe, and not far off pitched his tents in the open field: But this his so hasty comming the more increased the suspection in the mind of his wicked father: neither spared Rustan in the meane time with his crafty and subtile deuises to augment the same: for by a signe giuen he caused the Ianizaries and chiefe men in the army to go as if it had bin for honors sake to meet *Mustapha*; which they all without delay presently did at his command, and so all together set forward. In the meane time he the most crafty varlet, with troubled countenance (for he could notably dissemble) as a man halfe dismaied came in haste into *Solyman* pavilion, and falsly told him, That the Ianizaries and almost all the best souldiers of the army were of themselves without leaue gon to meet *Mustapha*, and that he feared what would ensue thereof. Which news so troubled the old tyrant, that he became pale for feare, and going out of his tent, and finding them gone, easily beleeued all to be true that the false *Bassia* had told him. Neither wanted *Mustapha* strange warning of his end so neere at hand, for the third day before his setting forwards toward his father, falling asleepe in the evening, he thought he saw his Prophet *Mahomet* in bright apparell to take him by the hand and lead him into a most pleasant place, beautified with most glorious and stately palaces, and most delicate & pleasant gardens; and pointing to euery thing with his finger, to say thus vnto him, *Here rest they for euer, which in this World haue led an vpright and godly life, following vertue, and detesting vice*: and after that turning his face to the other side, to haue shewed him two great and swift riuers, whereof the one boyled with water blacker than pitch, and in them appeared (as he thought) numbers of men wallowing and tumbling, some vp, some downe, crying horribly for mercy: And there (said he) are punished all such as in this fraile life haue bin the malicious workers of iniquity: the chiefe of whom (as he said) were Emperors, Kings, Princes, and other great men of the world. *Mustapha* awaking, and troubled with this melancholy dreame, called vnto him his doctor: and hauing told him all the matter, asked him what the same might signifie? who standing a great while in a muse (for the *Mahometans* are exceeding superstitious, attributing much to dreames) full of sorrow and griefe at length answered, That this vision (for so it pleased him to terme it) was vndoubtedly to be feared, as presaging vnto him the extreame perill of his life, and therefore requested him to haue great care both of his life and honor. But *Mustapha* as he was of a notable spirit and courage, regarding nothing that answer, stoutly replied, What, shall I suffer my selfe to be terrified and overcome with childish and vain feare? why rather haue I not courageously and resolutely to my father? and so much the more boldly, because I know assuredly I haue alwaies (as reason was) so reuerenced his Majesty, that against his will I neuer turned my eyes or foot against his most royall seat, much lesse affected his Empire, except the most high God had called him to a better life, neither then, without the general good liking & choice of the whole army, that so I might at length without murder, without blood, without tyranny, well & justly reigne, and in loue and peace inuolate liue with my brethren: for I haue set down with my selfe, and chosen, if it be my fathers pleasure so, rather to die in his obedience, than reigning many yeares, to be reputed of all men, especially my competitors, a rebell or traitor.

Hauing

- A Having thus said, he came vnto his fathers camp, & pitching his tents (as we haue before said) futed himselfe all in white, in token of his innocency, and writing certaine letters (which the Turks when they are about to go to any place of danger, vse to write, and alwaies to carry with them, for they are wonderfull foolish in their superstition) and putting them in his bosome, attended vpon with a few of his most trusty followers, came with great reuerence towards the seat of his father, fully resolved to haue kissed his hand, as their vsuall manner is. But when he was come to the entrance of his tent, remembring that he had yet his dagger girt to him, he entered not vntill he had put it off; because he would not come into his fathers sight with any weapon, if happily so he might cleare himselfe of his fathers needlesse suspection. So when he was come into the more inward roomes of the tent, he was with such honour as belonged to his state cheerfully receiued by his fathers Eunuchs. But seeing nothing else provided but one seat whereon to sit himselfe alone, he perplexed in mind, stood still a while musing; at length asked where the Emperour his father was? Whereunto they answered, That he should by and by see him and with that casting his eyes aside, he saw seven Muts (these are strong men bereft of their speech, whom the Turkish tyrants haue alwaies in readinesse, the more secretly to execute their bloody butchery) comming from the other side of the tent towards him: at whose sight stricken with a sudden terrour, said no more, but, *To my death*; and with that, arising was about to haue fled: but in vaine, for he was caught hold on by the eunuchs and Muts, and by force drawn to the place appointed for his death: where without further stay, the Muts cast a bow-string about his necke, he poore wretch stil struuing, and requesting that he might
- C speake but two words to his father before he died. All which the murtherer (for no addition is sufficient significantly to expresse his vnnaturall villany) both heard and saw by a traucers from the other side of the tent: but was so far from being moued with compassion, that thinking it long till he were dispatched, with a most terrible and cruell voice he rated the villains enured to blood; saying, *Will you neuer dispatch that I bid you? well you neuer make an end of this traitor, for whom I haue not rested one night these ten yeares in quiet? Which horrible commanding speeches, yet thundering in their eares, those butcherly Muts threw the poore innocent Prince vpon the ground, and with the helpe of the Eunuchs forcibly drawing the knotted bow string both waies, by the commandement of a most wicked father strangled him: With like barbarous cruelty, he shortly after caused *Mahomet* his nephew (*Mustapha* his sonne) to be strangled also.*
- D This vnnaturall and strange murther committed, he presently commanded the Bassa of Amasia *Mustapha*'s Lieutenant to be apprehended, and his head in his owne presence to be strucked off. Which done, he sent for *Tzibanger* the Crooked, yet ignorant of all that was happened; and in sporting wise, as if he had done a thing worth commendations, bid him go meet his brother *Mustapha*: which thing *Tzibanger* with a merry and cheerefull countenance hastened to doe, as one glad of his brothers comming. But as soone as he came vnto the place where he saw his brother lying dead vpon the ground strangled, it is not to be spoken how he was in minde tormented. He was scarcely come to the place where this detestible murther was committed, when his father sent vnto him certaine of his seruants to offer vnto him all
- E *Mustapha*'s treasure, horses, seruants, jewels, tents, and withall the government of the Prouince of Amasia; but *Tzibanger* filled with extreame heauinesse for the vnmerefull death of his welbeloued brother, spake vnto them in this sort: *Oh wicked and vngodly Caine, traitor (I may not say father) take thou now the treasures, the horses, the seruants, the jewels, and the Prouince of Mustapha. How came it into thy wicked, cruell, and sauage breast, so vngodly and contrary to all humanity, I will not say the reuerence of thine owne blood, to kill thy worthy, warlike, and noble sonne, the mirrour of courtisie, and Prince of greatest hope, the like of whom, the Othoman family neuer yet had, nor euer shall? I will therefore my selfe provide that thou, nor none for thee shall euer hereafter in such sort shamefully triumph ouer a poore crooked wretch.* And hauing thus much said, stab'd himselfe with his owne dagger into the body, whereof he in short time died: Which so soone as it came to the old Tigers eares, it is hard to say how much he grieved. His dead body was by his fathers commandement carried from Aleppo in Syria, to Constantinople, and afterwards honourably buried on the other side of the Hauen at Pera. For all this bloody tragedy, his couetous minde was not so troubled, but that he could forthwith command all *Mustapha*'s treasures and riches to be brought to his tent: which his souldiers in hope to haue

Mustapha commeth to his fathers tent.

Mustapha most cruelly strangled in his fathers sight.

Mahomet Mustapha's sonne strangled also.

Solyman offered to Tzibanger all Mustapha's treasure and wealth.

Tzibanger for sorrow killeth himselfe.

the same given them for a prey, willingly hasted to performe. In the meane time the souldiers which were in *Mustapha's* campe, not knowing what was become of their master, seeing such a multitude of soldiers thrusting into their campe without all order, to repress their tumultuous insolency, slept out in their armour, and notably repulsed them, not without much bloudshed.

At length, the noise of this stir was heard by the rest of the Kings souldiers, who seeing the tumult to increase more and more, ran in to helpe their fellows, so that in short time there began a hot skirmish and cruell fight on both sides, insomuch that two thousand were slaine, and mo wounded: neither had the broile so ended; had not *Achomates Bassa* a graue captaine, and for his long experience of no small authority amongst the souldiers, kept backe the Ianizaries, and staied their fury; and turning likewise to *Mustapha's* souldiers, by gentle and mild words and courteous persuations, in this manner appeased their rage. *What my brethren* (said he) *will you now* (degenerating from your antient loyalty, for which you haue bene for so many ages commended) *impugne the command of the great Sultan our dread Soueraigne? Truly, I cannot sufficiently marvell what thing should moue you, whom I haue hitherto proued to haue bene most worthy and valiant souldiers, in this ciuill conflict to draw those weapons against your fellowes and brethren, which you haue most fortunately used against the enemies of the Othoman Kings: except you meane thereby to make your selues a joyfull spectacle vnto your enemies, who grieuing to see themselves overcome by your victorious weapons, may yet rejoyce among themselves to see you turne the same one vpon another. Wherefore my sonnes, for your antient honours sake, be carefull that you do not by this your insolency lose the reputation of your wisdom, loyalty, and valour; for which you haue hitherto bene aboue all others commended: reserve these your weapons which you haue now too too much used among your fellowes, against your enemies, of whom you may get more praise and honour.* This speech of the old Bassa, so millified the stout souldiers, that they freely permitted all that was in *Mustapha's* tents to be carried to *Solyman*: but as soone as the death of *Mustapha* was blowne into the eares of the Ianizaries and the rest of the army in *Solyman's* campe, another tumult rose among them worse than the first. They were quickly all vp in armes againe, and with a great noise confused with teares and lamentation, as they were in rage and fury, brake violently into *Solyman's* paviilion with their drawne swords: which stricke the tyrant into such a feare, that destitute of all counsell in himselfe, he was about with the extreame perill of his life to haue fled: but being holden by his friends, and making a vertue of necessity, vpon the sudden aduentured to do that which at better leasure he would scarcely haue thought vpon: for going forth out of his tent, but with a pale and wan countenance, he spake vnto the enraged souldiers thus: *What broile is this? what surre: what so great insolency? what meane your inflamed, fierce and angry looks? know you not your Soueraigne? and him that hath power to command you? Haue you so resolued to staine the antient and inuincible honour of your selues and your ancestours, with the blood of your Lord and Emperour?* Whilest he was yet thus speaking, the souldiers boldly answered, That they denied not, but that he was the man whom they had many yeares before chosen for their Emperour: but in that they had by their owne valour got for him a large and mighty Empire, and in like manner preferred it; that was therefore of them done, that he should for the same gouerne them virtuously and iustly, and not to lay his bloody hands without discretion vpon euery iust man, and most wickedly emburie himselfe with innocent blood: and that they came thither armed, they did it (as they said) moued with iust cause to reuenge the vnworthy death of guiltlesse *Mustapha*, and that for that matter, he had no iust cause to be angry with them. Wherefore they required, that they might publicly cleere themselves of the treason whereof they were accused by *Mustapha's* enemies, and that the accuser might be brought forth to iustifie his accusation: protesting that they would neuer lay downe their weapons, untill the accuser made his appearance in judgement, and commenced his accusation judicially, vpon paine to endure the like punishment if he failed in prooffe. Whilest these things were in doing, the hainoufnesse of the late committed fact caused euery man to shed teares, so that *Solyman* himselfe seemed to be sorry for the murder so lately by himselfe committed: wherefore he promised vnto the souldiers whatsoeuer they required, and did what he could to appease their angry minds. For all that, they in the meane time, lest he should craftily slip away and deceiue them of that he had promised, and of the expectation of such things as they had required, with a maruellous care and diligence all kept watch and ward.

A bloody tumult betwixt the souldiers of *Solyman* and *Mustapha*.

The tumult appeased by *Achomates Bassa*.

The Ianizaries vp in armes against *Solyman* for the vnworthy death of *Mustapha*.

The stout speech of *Solyman* to the Ianizaries.

The fierce answer of the Ianizaries to *Solyman*.

*Solyman* promising vnto the Ianizaries.

*Solyman* to appease this fury of the Ianizaries, deprived *Rustan Bassa* of all his honours, and tooke from him his scale whereof he had the keeping, and deliuered it to *Achomates Bassa*. But *Rustan* worthily stricken with feare and horror, seeing himselfe now in no safety in his owne tents, fled secretly to *Achomates*, asking his counsell what were best for him to do, and what course to take in so doubtfull and dangerous a case? To whom the Bassa answered, that it were best for him to vse the great Emperors aduise, and to do what he commanded. VVhich answer well satisfied *Rustan*: and so he which of late gaue other men access to the Emperour at his pleasure, was now glad by his old acquaintance and friends to prefer this poore sute, To know his pleasure what he would haue him to do: from whom he receiued this answer, That he should incontinently without further delay get him out of his sight, and out of the campe: B which the Bassa said he could not conueniently do, being by his displeasure and the souldiers rage disurnished of all things necessary for his departure. Whereunto *Solyman* sent him answer againe, That he could giue him neither longer time nor delay, and that it were best for him without more ado to be gon for feare of further harme. Whereupon *Rustan*, guilty in conscience of most horrible villany and treachery, accompanied but with eight of his most faithfull friends in stead of his late world of followers, posted in hast to Constantinople, and there (not without danger of his head) with *Roxolana* and other the complices and contriuers of the treason against *Mustapha*, in great feare expected the euent of his fortune.

This young Prince *Mustapha* thus shamefully murdered by his own father, was for his rare vertues generally beloued of the Turks: but of the souldiers most for his martiall disposition, C and readines for the effusion of Christian blood. The opinion they had conceived of him was such, and their loue so great, that they neuer thought there was any in the Othoman family, of whom they expected so much for the enlarging of their Empire: insomuch, that euery since, when in their priuat or publike actions they faile of any great hope, they vse this proverbe quen at this day taken from him, *Giatti Sultan Mustapha*, Sultan *Mustapha* is dead: as who should say, our hope is all lost, *Achomates Bassa* the great champion of the Turks, a man of exceeding courage, not ignorant of the small assurance of the great honors of that state, at such time as he receiued the scale from *Solyman*, boldly told him, That as he did then frankly bestow it vpon him, so he would at one time or other to his no lesse disgrace take it from him: to whom *Solyman* solemnly promised with an oath, not to displace him so long as he liued. For all that, he D had not long enjoyed that honor, but that *Solyman* falling in dislike with him, & willing again to promote *Rustan Bassa* to that great honour, greater than which there was none in the Turks court, which by reason of his oath he could not do so long as *Achomates* liued; To saue his oath, and to prefer his son in law (whom he had indeed displaced only to please the tumultuous Ianizaries) resolved to haue *Achomates* put to death. Of which his purpose *Achomates* altogether ignorant, and one morning after his wonted manner comming into the Diuano in all his honour, vpon the sudden receiued word from *Solyman*, that he must presently die, and forthwith was the hangman ready to haue strangled him, as was given him in charge: whom the stout Bassa thrust from him with his hand, with countenance and cheere in shew no more troubled than if the matter had nothing concerned him. And looking a good while round about E him, espied at last an honest man whom he had many times before pleased, whom he most earnestly requested for all the kinde shewed vnto him, to do him that last fauor as to strangle him with his owne hand, which should be vnto him the greatest good turne that he could possibly deuise, detesting nothing more than to die vnder the hand of the executioner. VVhich thing, when he after much intreaty had vndertaken to performe, *Achomates* willed him, that he should not at one twich strangle him out right, but letting the bow string slacke againe, giue him leaue once to breath, and then to dispatch him: which is request was by his friend accordingly performed, and he in that sort strangled: wherein it seemeth that he was desirous, first to tast of death, and not to die all at once. Immediately after whose death, *Rustan Bassa* was again restored to his place of chiefe Visier, and had the great scale deliuered vnto him: which honour he enjoyed about six yeares after, and so at last died of the dropfie. This was the end of these two great Bassas *Achomates* and *Rustan*, who in that time swaied that great Empire, vnder *Solyman*, and of whom we haue so much spoken. It is reported, that *Solyman* hauing appointed *Achomates* to die, should say, It is better for his great heart once to die, than to die a thousand times, in seeing his honour taken from him and bestowed vpon another.

*Rustan* disgraced by *Solyman*, flyeth to Constantinople.

The miserable end of *Achomates*, master the great Bassa.

1554 The Turks gallyes by the solicitation of the French before brought down into the Tuscan G  
sea, did much hame vpon the coasts of Calabria and Sicilia in this yeare 1554, as they had the  
yeare before, and so did diuers yeares after. At which time also *Pandolphus Comarensis* the Ven-  
netian Admirall scouring alongst the seas, carefully looking to the frontiers of the Venetian  
estate, chanced to meet with the Bassa of Callipolis, who in the yeare before had rifled cer-  
taine Venetian Merchants; in reuenge of which injury he set vpon him, and after a great spoile  
made both of the Turks and their gallyes; he ransacked *Dirrachium* then one of the Turks  
port townes in Dalmatia.

1555 The next yeare 1555, the same Bassa recovered his strength, but not daring to be too buse  
with the Venetians, surprised the Islands of Blumbis and Elba, subject to the Duke of Flo-  
rence, and withall sent letters to *Solyman*, to persuaide him to take vp armes against the Veneti-  
ans, as they which had broken the league.

At the same time, *Haly* the Bassa of Buda by policy surprised the strong castle of Baboza, in  
Hungary: and was in good hope by the like finenesse to haue taken the Towne and Castle of  
Zigeth, a place of great importance: but failing of his purpose, he came the next yeare 1556;  
with a great army, and the thirteenth day of Iune incamped before the towne, wherein was  
Gouernor *Marcus Horvath* a valiant Captaine, with a garrison of notable souldiers. Shortly  
after he began a most terrible battery: during which time the Christians sallying out diuers  
times, slew many of his men; who for all that vsed such diligence, that the twentieth of Iune  
they won the outermoost wall, and after siue hot assaults were in hope at the sixt to haue won  
the castle also: but the Christians perceiuing the danger, resolutely fallied out, and hauing  
slaine eight hundred of them, draue the rest againe from the wall. Yet the Turks gaue it not  
ouer, but with a great number of carts labored to haue filled vp the marish and ditches about  
the towne: which their attempt was by the industry of the defendants also defeated. The  
Bassa perceiuing how hardly the towne would be won by force, attempted to haue persua-  
ded them to haue yellected it vpy by composition: but failing therein of his purpose, began againe  
the twelfth of Iuly to assault the city, which assault he maintained siue daies together with-  
out intermission, still sending in fresh men in stead of them that were wearied or slaine: yet  
was the city for all that by the valour of the Christians notably defended. So when he had in  
vaine proued the vttermoost of his forces, he raised his siege the one and twentieth day of Iuly  
and departed: but within six daies after, he returned from the city *Quinque Ecclesiæ*, and as-  
saulted the city afresh; but was at length glad to giue ouer the siege and be gone, when he had  
lost of his best souldiers aboue two thousand, and of the defendants slaine but an hundred and  
twenty. After his departure there was ten thousand great shot found, wherewith he had bat-  
tered the towne and the castle, which was for this time thus worthily defended. The Turks  
in the meane time after their wonted manner ceased not to do what harme they could in the  
Tuscan sea, and had again miserably spoiled the Island of Corsica: for withstanding of whom  
the Bishop of Rome exacted of his people a great subsidie, and finely stript the Iewes of their  
mony, and seased vpon their rich Merchants goods in his territory. At whose earnest sute *Soly-  
man* in their behalfe writ vnto the Bishop as followeth:

Sultan *Solyman*, most mighty Emperor of Emperors, the sonne of *Selym*,  
Emperor of Emperors, to whom God giue eternall victory:  
to Pope *Paulus* the fourth greeting.

Most excellent and most mighty Lord of the Professors of the *Messias* Iesu, and Lord of Rome, the  
Almighty keepe thee. At such time as thou shalt receiue our Seale, thou shalt vnderstand by our Letters,  
that certaine Hebrewes haue come vnto vs, complaining that they are oppressed of thee with too grieuous  
exactions, when they come to trafficke at Ancona: This burthen I request thee to take from them, and to  
restore againe vnto them their goods, that thereby they may be able to pay to vs our Tribute: which if thou  
(as I hope thou wilt) shall do, thou shalt seele our fauour. Farewell. From Constantinople the last of  
the blessed moneth \* *Rambeluch*, in the yeare of our great Prophet *Mahomet*, nine hundred threescore  
and foure.

*Haly Bassa* grieved with the late repulse he had receiued at Zigeth, came againe the next  
yeare,

A yeare, and besieged it, at which time king *Ferdinand* sent *Nicholaus Polwiler* and the county *Se-  
rinus* with a power raised in Sueuia and Austria, to recouer Baboza, a castle betwixt Sigeth  
and Stiria, before surprised by the Turkes: of whose comming the Bassa hauing intelligence,  
rose with his army and departed from Sigeth, which he had for certaine moneths hardly be-  
sieged, and not far from Baboza met with *Polwiler* and *Serinus*; who joyning battell with him,  
after a hard and sharpe fight ouerthrew him and put him to flight. This victory with the com-  
ming downe of young *Ferdinand*, King *Ferdinands* Sonne, Archduke of Austria with new sup-  
plies, so terrified the Turks in that part of Hungary along the riuer *Dranus*, that they for feare  
forooke Baboza, *Sammartin*, *San-Laurence*, and diuers other small castles which they had be-  
fore taken, and fled to *Quinque Ecclesiæ*.

*Haly Bassa*  
ouerthrowne.

B The Gouernour of Sigeth encouraged herewith, sallying out with his garrison, slew many  
of the Turks in their flight towards *Quinque Ecclesiæ*, and meeting by chance with a troupe  
of horsemen which were bringing the Turks pay, ouerthrew them, tooke the mony, and so  
with an exceeding rich prey returned to his castle. At which time also *Adam* the Gouernour  
of Rab, otherwise called *Iauarinum*, hauing burnt the suburbs of *Alba-Regalis*, and driuen  
away many thousands of cattell, at a towne called *Sian* ouerthrew siue hundred Turks, and as  
many fugitiue Christians, and so with a great prey and little or no losse at all of his men, re-  
turned.

*Henry* the French King at the same time in warres with *Philip* King of Spaine, and troubled  
with the losse of his army ouerthrowne not farre from *S. Quintins* (at which time the Duke  
C *Montmorencie*, Constable of France and Generall of the army, with his son and diuers other of  
the nobility of France were taken prisoners) by his Embassadour *Michael Condignac* solicited  
*Solyman* to haue by sea inuaded Naples and Sicilia, so to haue withdrawne the Spanish forces  
out of France, to defend their owne frontiers. Which thing *Solyman*, offended with the inso-  
lency of the Embassadour, refused to doe: yet neuerthelesse commanded his aduenturers all  
alongst the coast of Affricke, to infect those seas, and to do what harme they could vpon the  
coast of Italy and Sicilia, which they so diligently performed, that the Viceroy of Sicilia was  
faine for defence of those countries to lie in readinesse with his gallyes in the ports of Caieta  
and Naples.

*Henry the*  
French king, so-  
licited *Solyman*  
to inuade the  
king of Spaine  
his territories.

In the meane time the *Guise*, Lord Grand Prior of the Knights of *S. Johns* in France (and  
D brother of *Francis* the Duke of *Guise*, Generall of the French Kings army in Italy, who vpon  
the ouerthrow receiued at *S. Quintins*, called out of Italy, (shortly after tooke Calais) Admi-  
rall of the gallyes of Malta, went out towards the East with foure gallyes well appointed, to lie  
in wait for the Turks, and by fortune met with two great ships laded with the Turks merchan-  
dise, which he tooke; and by and by after, light vpon foure of the Turks gallyes, with whom  
he had a great fight: yet at length hauing sunke one of them and burnt another, he tooke the  
other two. After which victory returning towards Malta to haue repaired his gallyes and cu-  
red his wounded men, he was met with foure other great gallyes of the Turks: who desirous  
to reuenge the losse of their fellowes, set vpon him, and he seeing now no remedy, but that he  
must needs fight courageously, encountered them. But forasmuch as he had in the two fights  
before lost some of his men, and 72 of the Knights in the gallyes lay fore wounded, he, by the  
counsell of the captaines retired towards Malta: but by the way one of his gallyes was taken  
by the Turks, with 52 knights of the Order: yet with the rest and the prizes before taken, he  
recovered the Island of Malta, where he staid that Winter; and the next Spring sailed into  
France to be pertakers of those troubles, which beginning shortly after, haue but of late taken  
end.

The *Guise*, Lord  
Grand Prior in  
France, Admi-  
rall of Malta,  
takes certaine  
of the Turkes  
gallyes.

The immoderat fortune of the great Sultan *Solyman*, was not in any thing more contrary to  
his desire, than in the prooue of those his children, of whom the world held the greatest expe-  
ctation. *Mustapha* his eldest son the mirrour of courtesie, and rare hope of the whole Turkish  
nation, the suspicious tyrant had most vnaturally caufed to be murdered in his own presence,  
F to the griefe of all his subjects in generall, as is before declared: poore *Tzihanger* was dead for  
sorrow: and *Mahometus* his eldest sonne by his best beloued the faire *Roxolana*, was departed  
this life also. So that now remained vnto him onely *Selymus*, the unworthy heire of so great  
an Empire, and *Bajazet* his younger brother, the liuely image of his father, both men growne,  
and the sonnes of the same *Roxolana*: but so far differing the one from the other both in feature  
of

*Solyman* in no-  
thing more vn-  
fortunate than  
in the prooue of  
his children.

Bajazet's  
youngest  
son  
steals  
into  
the  
Empire.

of body and disposition of mind, as if they had not bin of the same kindred and line. *Selyman* C  
the elder brother most like unto his mother, was in the secret determination of the aged Em-  
peror his father appointed heire of that most mighty empire. *Bajazet* much resembling his fa-  
ther, was on the other side strongly supported by the care and entire love of his mother, which  
whether it proceeded of a secret commiseration of his inevitable destiny, or that he had by  
loyalty or other means so won her fauor, is not knowne; but every man saw, that if it had bin in  
her power, she would undoubtedly haue preferred him before his eldest brother *Selyman*, and  
haue placed him in the Empire: but she must needs giue way to her old husbands will, firmly  
and irremouably set down, that the Destinies so permitting, none should reigne after him but  
his eldest son *Selyman*. Of which his purpose and resolution *Bajazet* being not ignorant, began  
most circumspectly to looke about him, if he could by any means frustrat that forcible neces- H  
sity, and exchange his certaine destruction with an Empire: in which his deep and dangerous  
cogitations he was not a little comforted by the fauor & loue of *Roxolana* his mother, & of *Ra-*  
*fan* the great *Bassa* his brother in law, who together had in any other matter bin able to haue  
ouertruled the aged Emperor. Whereupon he resolutely set downe himselfe, rather to end his  
daies by making proofe of his good or bad fortune, than vpon the death of his father (which  
by course of nature could not now be far off) to be as a sacrifice basely butchered by some vile  
hangman of his brothers. *Bajazet* so resolu'd, and now already fallen out with his brother *Sely-*  
*man*, took occasion vpon the generall discontentment of the people and others, for the vnwor-  
thy death of *Mustapha* their late joy, to begin those stirs which he had before with himselfe  
plotted, and so to make a head, wherunto he might afterward joine the body also; for why, that  
worthy *Mustapha* had left behind him so great desire of himselfe, that now it wearied many to  
liue after him, they had so placed al the hope of their good fortune in him, vnto whom nothing  
was more desirous than to reuenge the wrong don vnto him, or els to haue the same bad fortune  
with him: other some guilty of the immoderat affection they had borne vnto him yet liuing, and  
feare to be called to giue an account thereof, thought any state better, and more assured than  
that wherein they presently stood, and therefore sought all occasions of new stirs, and how to  
set all on a hurly burly: only a captain was wanting, *Mustapha* could not be againe reuiued, yet  
might he be strongly supposed to liue. This deuice pleased *Bajazet*, as best fitting his purpose,  
being not ignorant of this disposition of the people. Wherefore by certain of his most faith-  
full and trusty followers he found out a certaine obscure fellow of a notable audacity, which K  
should take vpon him the name & person of *Mustapha*, whose stature also and countenance and  
proportion of body differed not much from *Mustapha* himselfe: he, as if he had by chance  
escaped, first began to shew himselfe in that part of *Thracia*, which is about *Constantinople*,  
and lieth toward *Danubius*, not far from the countries of *Moldavia* and *Valachia*, & was for  
that cause both fittest for rebellion, and also best stored with horsemen, who of all others most  
honored *Mustapha*. Hither he comes as if it had bin from a long journey, slenderly accompani-  
ed, and as if he had bin desirous at the first not to haue bin known, his followers being deman-  
ded (as it chanced) who it was, did rather fearefully giue them that asked occasion to ghesse,  
than plainly to tell them, that it was *Mustapha*: neither did he himselfe much deny it: wherby  
the people became more and more desirous to know him. Which beginning thus laied, he af-  
terward began to reioice of his fortunat comming thither, and to giue God thanks for his safe  
arriual there amongst his friends: he tels them, That at such time as he was sent for by his fa-  
ther, he durst not come in his sight, or commit himselfe vnto him in his fury, but by the coun-  
sell of his friends to haue with great promises persuaded one that was marvellous like vnto  
himselfe to goe in his stead: by whose danger he might make proofe of his fathers mind to-  
wards him: who before he was admitted to the speech of his father, was without hearing mi-  
serably strangled, and so cast out before his paillion: at which time there was many (as he said)  
which perceiued the deceit, but the greater part remained in error, deceived with the line-  
aments and countenance of the miserable dead man, who was much altered with the terrible  
paines of death, and supposing it to haue bin him indeed that was slaine. Which thing at  
soone as hee vnderstood, he thought it not good longer to stay, but presently to fly and to  
prouide for his owne safety: and so flying with a few of his owne followers, thereby the  
more secretly and safely to escape; and hauing passed about *Pontus* by the people of *Bos-*  
*phorus*, was now come thither, where he was in good hope to finde much helpe and com-  
fort

The crafty de-  
uice of the sup-  
posed *Mustapha*  
to deceiue the  
people

A counterfeit  
*Mustapha* set  
up to make a  
head of rebel-  
lion.

A fort in the fidelity of his friends, whom he requested not now to forsake him, or to make lesse  
account of him disgraced by the malice of his step-mother, than they had before in time of  
his prosperity, for that he was minded to reuenge the injury don vnto him, and by force of  
arms to defend himselfe. For what els had he now left, beeing by no other means preferred  
but by the death of another man. That he had sufficiently proued how his father stood affe-  
cted toward him, and that he now liued by his mistaking, not by his kindness. The cause of all  
which his troubles was his step-dame, who (as he said) with her inchantments led the silly  
old man (now almost doting for age, and mad for loue) whither she would at her pleasure: and  
by her agent *Rufan Bassa* forced him forward headlong into all kind of mischief. But that God  
be thanked he wanted not friends, by whose helpe he would find a way out of these miseries,  
B and take reuenge of his enemies: for why, he had as yet couragious hearts, and the *Ianizaries*  
with the greater part of his fathers family on his side; and that great multitudes of people  
would flock vnto him vpon bruit of his name; and that they which now mourned for him as  
dead (being in number many) would by heaps run to help him being aliue: so that they there  
present would but only curteously receiue him as a guest, and protect him now distressed, till  
such time as his well-willers and friends might repair vnto him. And this at last he gaue out  
not in secret, but openly to all men wherfoeuer he came. The same things did they also re-  
port, whom he made the people beleue to haue bin the companions of his flight: which was  
also confirmed by diuers of good credit and authority, whom *Bajazet* had before dealt with to  
that purpose. So that a great number of men altogether vknown to *Bajazet*, were thereby se-  
C duced: for this matter was so cunningly wrought, that many who had known *Mustapha* aliue, &  
seen him ly dead before his fathers paillion, yet listed not greatly to beleue that which they  
knew, but easily suffered themselves to be persuaded that this was the true *Mustapha*. But the  
companions and followers of *Mustapha* (in whose mindes the liuely countenance and resem-  
blance of him was fully ingrauen) nothing could deceiue; yet blinded partly with fear, partly  
with grief and desire of reuenge, and wishing rather to aduventure any thing, than longer to  
liue without *Mustapha*, were the first men that came to offer their seruice to this counterfeit  
*Mustapha*, and would not suffer other men to doubt but that he was the true *Mustapha*, which  
was falsely reported to haue bin slain. As for the deceiuer himselfe, he either kept with him, or  
entertained them that came, somewhat with fair promises, some with curteous speeches, & many  
D also with money & rewards, which he made them beleue he had reserved of the reliques of his  
better fortune. For *Bajazet* had before notably prouided that he wanted nothing for counte-  
nancing of his credit. So within the space of a few daies such a multitude of men was refor-  
ted vnto him as might almost haue made a whole army. When *Solyman* vpon the sudden was  
aduertised by the fearful messengers and letters of the *Sanzacks* therabouts, what danger was  
like to ensue by the concourse of so great a multitude of people to this counterfeit *Mustapha*,  
he presently suspecting (as the truth was) that this was not don without the priuie of one of  
his sons, thought it not a thing to be neglected; and therefore by his Letters reprooued the  
*Sanzacks*, That they had suffered the matter to run so far, and had not in the beginning (as  
their duty was) suppressed the same. Griueously threatening them, if they did not with all  
E speed send vnto him in bonds that counterfeit companion and the rest of his Complices: the  
which that it might be the easier by them performed, he promised to send one of the chiefe  
*Bassa's*, namely *Partau Bassa* (who had married the widow of *Mahometes* the eldest son of *Roxo-*  
*lana*, of whom we haue before remembred) and with him a strong power of the soldiers of the  
Court. But if they would haue themselves excused, they should of themselves dispatch the  
matter before the comming of that aid. This *Partau* led after him certain Squadrons of soul-  
diers, not so many in number, as notable for their fidelity. For *Solyman* had caused the most  
faithfull of his Colonels, Captains, and Corporals, to be culled out; wisely doubting lest his  
soldiers, either led with affection, or corrupted with reward, might take part with him against  
whom they were sent. For the common sort of *Ianizaries* standing in suspense at the same of  
F *Mustapha*, and expectation of some great nouelty, fauored that broil, and wished all on a hurly-  
burly: neither was the matter indeed without danger. The *Sanzacks* after they had receiued  
this streit charge from *Solyman*, considering how much it stood them vpon to make speedy di-  
spatch, began now to incourage one another to bestir themselves, to make all the haste possi-  
ble, and with all their power on euery side to oppose themselves against the attempts of this

*Solyman* sends  
*Partau Bassa*  
gainst the sup-  
posed *Musta-*  
*pha*.

new found *Mustapha*, laboring to stay such as were committing unto him, and to disperse such as were already come, by shewing them the greatnesse of the danger, and threatening them with all extremities. In the mean time *Partau Bassa* came on with his army, and was not now far off: when (as in like case it often falls out in things not yet sufficiently confirmed, and by celerity prevented) the soldiers of the counterfeit *Mustapha* seeing themselves before on every side, began to fear, and first some few to slip away, but afterwards all without regard of shame or of their promise, to forsake their captain and fly every man whither he thought best. The Captain seeking likewise to make shift for himself, was with the chief of his counsellors and followers taken by the Sanzacks and deliuered to the Bassa, who with a strong guard sent them all in bonds to Constantinople: where *Solyman* by most exquisite torments drew from them all the secret devices of his yong son *Bajazet*; and that he had purposed after such a head made by this supposed *Mustapha*, as he thought convenient, to haue vpon the sudden joyed himself with a great power, and so as should best serue for his purpose, to haue gon directly to Constantinople, or els against his brother *Selymus*. But whilst he goeth somewhat too slowly about his busines, his vnripe counsels were by his fathers celerity oppressed. Of all which matter *Solyman* now thorowly assured, caused the supposed *Mustapha* with his companions at midnight to be drowned in the sea; thinking it not good to haue these things commonly known, and to haue his domestical wounds yet bleeding, laid open to the view of his neighbour princes. Neuertheless, being mightily offended with *Bajazet* for so great an iniury, he ceased not to cast in his mind how to be reuenged vpon him, which his wife *Roxolana* a woman of great wisdom was not ignorant of. Who after a few daies, at such time as the old mans fury ouerpast, falling of purpose into talk with him about the matter, she laid together in her sons behalf, and alledged the indiscreetnes of his youth, the necessity of the fact, and the example of his ancestors in like case, that it was so provided for by nature, that every man should be careful of himselfe and his, and that every man did indifferently shun death; that young men were by euill counsel easily seduced and made to forget their duty. That it were reason he should forgive him his first fault; which if he amended, then was it a great gain for the father to haue saved his sonne; but if he should again fall into relapse, there would not want time to punish him for both facts. And that if so be he would not pardon him for his owne sake, hee would vouchsafe to pardon him for hers; intreating now for him for whom she had before groaned, and not to be cruel vpon him, one of the pledges of their loue, in whom rested the bloud of them both: for in what woful case should she be, if of those two sonnes (all that God had left her) the fathers severity should bereaue her of the one. Wherefore she requested him to moderat his anger, & to prefer his clemency before his iust indignation; forasmuch as God himselfe of al power and might, did not alwaies deal with sinners in severity, but for most part in mercy; whereas otherwise all mankind would not suffice his wrath. And would mercy in any place be more fitting, than in the father toward his child? She promised further, that *Bajazet* should from thenceforth remain in dutifull obedience towards his Maiesty; and vpon his so great clemency, to conuert the fear wherein he now liued, into a world of duty and deuotion. Honorable minds she said were retained with nothing more than with kindnes and curtesie; That the remembrance of that his fatherly forgiveness should be a stay vnto him, for euer doing the like again. At last, That she would promise for him, and take vpon her, that he should for euer afterwards satisfie his fatherly expectation in all kind of duty and loyalty. Which words mingled with tears and other womanly gestures, so wrought with *Solyman*, being otherwise too much in her power, that he resolved to forgive the fault, yet so, that he should come and submit himselfe, and receiue from him his charge. This carefull mother foreslowes no time, but by letters secretly aduertised *Bajazet* not to feare to come to his father at such time as he should be sent for. Assuring him that there was no danger, for that his father was by her means appeased, and he again brought into his fauor. With which good newes *Bajazet* well comforted, resolved to go at such time as he was sent for: yet full of fear, and oftentimes looking back vnto his brother *Mustapha*, whose dreadful example sufficiently warned him, what a danger he aduentured himselfe vnto. Yet he came vnto the place appointed for his parley, which was in a common Inne at a place called *Carestran*, a few miles from the city of Constantinople. For such is the suspitious maner of the Turkish Tyrants of these times, not to suffer any of their sons that bee men growne, to set their foot within the gates of Constantinople,

*Mustapha and his companions drowned.*

*Let Roxolana's requeste to Solyman pardon his sonne Bajazet.*

*Bajazet goes to his father in fear.*

- A nople, as dangerous for soliciting the soldiers of the Court, and so consequently for altering the state. *Bajazet* was no sooner lighted from his horse, but his fathers Guard was ready to receive him, commanding him to lay aside his sword and dagger: which thing though it be a vsual matter in others that are admitted to the presence of the Turkish Emperour, yet might it then in the mind of his guilty son raise a great fear. But his kind mother (who had before foreseen in what fear and perplexity he would come) had conueied her selfe into a Chamber fast by the entrance of the same house as *Bajazet* was to passe; where out of a little casement couered with a thin linnen cloth shee called to him passing by, in these few words, *Corcoma Oglan, Corcoma*; which is as much to say, *Fear not my sonne, fear not*. With which short speech *Bajazet* was not a little both comforted and encouraged. But as soon as he was come into his fathers presence, and had done his duty, *Solyman* commanded him to sit down by him. Then began the grim Sir grieuouly to reprove him of rashnes and want of discretion in taking vp Arms, which he could not otherwise conceiue of but as taken vp against himselfe. And admit they were as he would haue it, and the best that he could make of it, taken vp against his elder brother, yet was it neuertheless a great presumption and most wicked fact. Neither was there any want in him, but that the whole state of the Mahometan Religion (which at this day resteth vpon the *Othoman* family) had by his domestical discord been sore shaken, and brought in perill of vtter ruin, to the great iniury, reproch, and contempt of his Maiesty, a most detestable and horrible crime, which could not but with condign punishment be reuenged. Yet for all that, he had determined to pardon him, and to shew himselfe rather a kind father, than a seuerer judge; so that he would from thenceforth leaue the care of future things to God: forasmuch as vone of these things are done by our appointment, but that Kingdomes and Monarchies are bestowed as it best pleaseth him. So that if it were his destiny to enioy the Empire after his death, he should be sure therof, as of a thing that would of it selfe come to him, and could not by any mans power be kept from him, as that which was by God ordained for him. But if it were otherwise appointed by God, then were it a mad thing for him to labour in vain to strite against the wil of God, and as it were to fight with God. Wherefore he ought now (as one wel warned) to cease to rage & storm, and not molest his quiet brother, or trouble him his aged father: for that if he should again fall and raise new stirres, it would assuredly fall vpon his own head, neither would any place of mercy be found for his second offence; & that
- D he should then find him not as now, his gentle father, but a most seuerer and reuenging judge. Which when he had said, and *Bajazet* had thereunto briefly answered as the time would permit, rather crauing pardon for his trespasses, than excusing that was not to be excused, and promising from henceforth to liue most loyally at his command, *Solyman* according to the manner of that nation called for drinke, which he commanded to be giuen to *Bajazet*, who not daring to refuse it, although he had rather haue so done, dranke thereof what he thought good, doubting lest that should haue bin his last: of which fear his father forthwith deliuered him by drinking a good draught of the same cup. So *Bajazet*, though guilty, hauing with better successe spoken with his father than had his brother *Mustapha*, returned againe to the former place of his charge.
- E This hapned in the yeare 1555, from which time *Bajazet* so long as *Roxolana* his mother liued, behaued himselfe with al durifull & brotherly kindnes both towards his father & his brother; and that rather for to keep her fauor, and not to cut off the hope which he had only in her affection towards him, than for any confidence he had in his fathers kindnesse, or for any loue he bare to his brother; the regard of her being the only thing that kept his fierce nature in quiet. But the dead about two yeres after, he as a man bereft of all hope of long life, & discharged of all bonds of duty, fell to his former course, & began more grieuouly than before, to reuiue the old grudges betwixt him & his brother, sometime seeking by secret practices to haue him made away, and other sometimes by open force entring into his prouince, which was not far off; there euill intreated some of his brothers followers as he light vpon, for their masters sake, omitting nothing which he thought might tend to the disgrace of him whom of al other he wished dead: he had also certain of his fauorits at Constantinople, by whom he cunningly wrought by all means to gain the loue of the soldiers of the court, and doubted not at occasion serued to passe ouer thither himselfe, and there to lurk in secret with such as were of his faction, and priuy to his designements. Of all which things *Solyman* had knowledge, but

*Solyman reprimand Bajazet of disloyalty, and afterward pardoneth him.*

*Bajazet returned vnto his charge.*

especially by letters from *Selymus*, wherein he was also advertised to have care of his own safety, for that he was far deceived, if he perceived not that these preambles of *Bajazet's* wicked intentions would at last turn upon his head, who regarded neither God nor man, so that he might alone reign vnto whose vnruely desires his fathers welfare was no lesse a bar than was his brothers, and therefore through his sides was his life shor at. Which treason had (as hee said) bin of long time plotted, and now occasion fought to haue the same performed. Wherefore he should take heed that he were not by such treachery overwhelmed before he were aware thereof. That for himself, he could easily bear with the injuries of his brother *Bajazet*, yet could not chuse but be mooued with the greatnes of his fathers dangers. By which means *Selymans* hatred against *Bajazet* was more and more increased. Wherefore he by letters put him in remembrance of his duty, how curteously he had vsed him, and again what he had on his part promised: that there would not alwaies be place for forgiveness; that hee should therefore cease to wrong his brother, and trouble his father. That he had but a short time to liue, and that after his death God would asigne each of them their fortune. But all this was to no purpose with *Bajazet*, fully set down resolutely to hazard any thing, than as a beast to haue his throat cut by his brother: which thing he as plainly saw would betide him in the reign of *Selymus*, as if it had bin euen then in execution. Yet he answered to his fathers commands not impertinently, but his deeds agreed not with his sayings, neither did hee alter any thing of his intended purpose. Which thing so soon as *Solyman* perceived, he thought it best to take another course, and to remoue his sons both farther from himself, and also farther one from another. Wherefore he gaue them to vnderstand that it was his pleasure, That both of them within a certaine prefixed time should passe out of their gouernments (*Bajazet* being then gouernor of Cutai, and *Selymus* of Magnesia) and that now *Bajazet* should remoue to Amasia, and *Selymus* to Iconium. *Selymus* was without imputation, and altogether in fauor with his father; yet because no occasion should be giuen *Bajazet* to fall into extremities, if he should haue bin remoued alone, *Solyman* to seem indifferent commanded them both to remoue. Vnto which command he was adioined, That the farther they were one from another, they should be so much the nearer in mind and brotherly loue: forasmuch as neernes of dwelling of the Great did oftentimes hinder their good agreement, whilst by forwardnes of officers many things are on both sides don to the grieuing of their masters. And that they should in any case do as they were commanded; and that he which stayd longest, should not be free from the suspicion of contempt. *Selymus* made no long stay, as he that knew a great part of all this to be don for his sake. But *Bajazet* hung back, and being gon a little on his way, complained of the vn lucky prouince of Amasia, stained with the blood of his late brother the noble *Mustapha*, to be assigned vnto him as ominous; and that he could be better contented with any prouince whatsoever than that, where the deadly remembrance of the miserable end of the dearest to him in blood, should be euer before his eyes, to the wounding of his heart. Wherefore he requested that he might at least Winter in those places, or els there from whence his brother was now of late departed: but *Solyman* would in no wise hearken vnto him. Now *Selymus* gon before certain days journey, with such troups as his father had sent vnto him besides his own, for feare of *Bajazet*, who yet stayd loitering and trifling on the time, suddenly returning and fetching a compass about, shewed himselfe at his brothers back, marching toward Prusa in Bithynia, the ancient seat of the Turkish Kings; which he did not without the priuity of his father, who liked not of the lingring of *Bajazet*: for what if he, hauing gained the good wil of the Ianizaries, should haue gon either to Prusa, or vnto Constantinople, what a danger might thereby haue grown to *Selymus*, yea vnto the whole State in generall? In this common fear, *Solyman* though it best for *Selymus* there to stay, from whence they might most conueniently help one another, if *Bajazet* should (as was feared) turn himself vpon either of them. Yet was not *Selymus* so strong as to aduerture to join battell with his brother, whom he knew ready to put all vnto the hazard of one day. But when *Bajazet* (contrary to his expectation) saw *Selymus* behind him, and that he had got nothing by his long delay, but that his brother should be the vndoubted heire of the Empire if his father should die, (which was then by reason of his sickly constitution of body more and more feared) he writ vnto his father accusing his brother, That hee could not more manifestly in any thing declare how maliciously he was affected towards him, than by taking that indire& course, which was to no other purpose but to aspire to the Empire, and to

*Selyman remoueth his two sons farther asunder.*

*Bajazet delayeth his going to Amasia.*

have

A haue a short cut ouer to Constantinople, if hee should haue any newes of his fathers death, which he stil gaped after. Which his longing if his fathers longer life should delay, then by the secret ministers of his treason to dispatch him, and by murdering of him to possesse himself of the empire: and yet neuertheles this man, as a most dutiful and obedient son, to bee of him much made of, and as it were put in his bosom. Whereas he on the contrary part meaning well, into whose conceit neuer any such thought came; but was euer at command, was not had in any regard, but cast off and contemned; whose greatest request was but to shun an vnfortunate ominous prouince. Then conuerting his stile to prayers, he intreated his father to gratifie him with some other prouince, if it were that from which his brother was gon, or with any other whatsoever, so that it were more lucky than that of Amasia. For answer whereof, hee

B said he would stay where he was, to the end that finding fauour in his request, hee should not haue need farther to retyre. But if he should not obtain his request, that then he was ready to go whither soeuer his father should command. It was not altogether for nought, that *Bajazet* found fault with Amasia; being the manner of the Turks, of the smallest things of all to diuine vpon the greatest. But *Solyman* vnderstood the matter otherwise, who not ignorant of his sons tears, knew right well, that he in them sought for nothing els but a more commodious place for him to raise new stir in, than was Amasia, so far distant from Constantinople. So *Bajazet* by many delaies did what he could to frustrat his fathers appointment, ceasing not in the mean time to augment his strength with new soldiers, to prouide armor, mony, & whatsoever els setting for the defence of himself, and impugning of his brother. Which *Selyman*

C rook in no other part than as intended against his owne person: yet would he seem as not to haue any vnderstanding of the matter. For why, the wary old Sir would not by taking knowledge thereof, drive headlong his son, who was already running to fast of himself. Besides that, he was not ignorant that the eyes of all Nations were bent vpon this discord of his two sons; and therefore he desired by all means, that these grudges might with as litle stir as was possible be appeased. Wherefore he answered *Bajazet* curteously, that concerning his gouernment of Amasia he could not alter it, as resolutely set down as wel for his brother as himselfe; and that therefore they should do wel to go both to their appointed places, as he had before commanded. As for the rest, they should be of good comfort, for that hee would take such order as that neither of them should haue iust cause to complaine.

D Partau Bassa, the fourth of the great Bassa's of the Court, was appointed to go with this message to *Bajazet*; and *Mehemet* third of the same great Bassa's, with like charge to *Selymus*; because the matter should seem to be don with all indifferencie: and both these great men commanded not to depart from them they were sent vnto, before they were both come vnto the places of their gouernment wherunto they were assigned. Which *Solyman* wisely did, to keep them both within the compass of duty, by the presence of two such graue Counsellors. Which thing *Selymus* rooke in good part, but *Bajazet* not so: who hauing resolved with himselfe to set all on a burly-burly, thought nothing more vnfit for his designs, than to haue one of his fathers greatest Counsellors still at his elbow as Cenfor of all his speeches and doings: wherefore hauing curteously entertained him, and rewarded him according to his abilitie, he dismissed him (though vnwilling to depart) making this excuse, That he would vse him as his patron and defender with his father, forasmuch as he had no other in Court to defend his cause; promising not to be vnto him an vnworthy or vnthankfull Client: and to carry word back again vnto his father, That he would about all things haue care of his command, if he might so do for his brother *Selymus*, whose injuries and trecheries he had much ado to brook. Partau the great Bassa thus sent away, assured *Solyman* what the very mind and purpose of his yonger son was. And albeit that *Bajazet*, to make it seem as if something had bin don by that embassage, made shew as if he would haue presently gon toward Amasia, yet *Solyman* neuertheles fearing the worst, made all the preparation he could against him: commanding the Beglerbeg of Greece, although then sick of the gout, to make hast, and with his horsemen with all speed to passe ouer to ayd *Selymus*. And *Mehemet* Bassa but lately returned, he sent forth with backe again to *Selymus* for the same purpose, with certain of the most trusty companies of the Ianizaries, and the old man in readines, made semblant as if he would himself in person haue gon ouer into Asia. But the Ianizaries and other soldiers of the court came with cuill wil together, detesting that Warre between the brethren, as altogether abominable: for against whom should they draw their

*Partau & Mehemet two great Bassas sent by Solyman to conduct his two sons to their several Charges.*

*Bajazet sends Partau Bassa back again.*

*Solyman preparing to go against Bajazet, sends the Ianizaries, unwilling.*

swords: was it not against the Emperours sons, and haply the heire of the empire? Wherefore this war might (as they said) wel enough be let alone, as altogether vnecessary, and not they to be inforced to imbrue their hands one in anothers blood, and to pollute themselves with such impiety: as for that which *Bajazet* did, was to be holden excused, as proceeding from necessity. Which speeches of the Ianizaries being brought to *Solyman*'s ears, he forthwith declared them to the Muphti (who in all matters of doubt they flee vnto, as vnto a most sacred Oracle) demanding of him, how he was to be intreated, who of himself presumed whilst hee yet liued, to leuy soldiers, raise an army, ransack towns, & trouble the state of the whole empire? and what also he deemed of them that were his followers and took part with him? and last of all, of them also that refused to bear arms against him, and said that he had in so doing offended nothing? Whereunto the Muphti answered, That both the man and his partakers were all worthy of death; and that such as refused to take vp Arms against him, were as prophane and irreligious men to be accounted intestine. Which the great Priests answer was published vnto the people, and by the chiefe Chiaus sent to *Bajazet*, to see if he might be therewith moued. Within a few daies after there came to Constantinople one of the Chiaus (whom *Bajazet* had intercepted, being sent from *Solyman* to *Selymus*) by whom *Bajazet* gaue his father to vnderstand, that he was in al duty his, and that he had not taken vp Arms against him, neither refused to be vnto him in all things obedient: but that he had to do only with his brother, and with him to fight for his life, by whose sword he must die, or els he by his, for that a mischief was to be by one of them performed. Which quarrel he was resolved to try while he yet liued, and that therefore he should do best not to meddle in the quarel, or giue aid to either. But if so be he would needs (as the report was) passe ouer the sea to aid *Selymus*, he should not easily get him into his hands, for that he knew right well, if the worst came, how to escape and saue himself, and would before he could get ouer into Asia, make such spoile with fire and sword, as neuer had *Tamerlane*, or other the cruellest enemy that euer the Turks had. Which messagedid not a little trouble *Solyman*; and withall it was reported, that the town of Axuar, where one of *Selymus*'s sons ruled as Sanzack, was already taken by *Bajazet* and shamefully sacked. But *Selymus* hearing that his brother was gon toward Amasia, and now on his way as far as Ancyra, being out of all suspicion of danger which hee feared vpon the way so long as his brother was yet lingring in those quarters, halted now towards Iconium, which was with a strong garison kept for him. For amongst other cares wherewith *Solyman* was vexed, it was not the least, that *Bajazet* intercepting Iconium, should get into Syria, and from thence into Egypt, an open country, and not yet thorowly established vnder the Turkish gouernment; neither forgetful of the old gouernment of the Mamalukes, & therefore desirous of change: from whence it would haue bin an hard matter to haue driuen *Bajazet*, especially the Arabians being alwaies ready and at hand at euery light stir, where any hope of prey was. Out of which prouince also in case of extremity he might easily transport himself into one of the Christian kingdoms. *Solyman* therefore took great care, that this passage which might seeme the last refuge of *Bajazet*'s deuices, might be stopped vp: and concerning the same, had giuen commandement vnto most of his Commanders in Asia, to be alwaies in readines to aid *Selymus* whensoever he should call. With them *Selymus* lay incamped vnder the wals of Iconium, attending euery stirring of *Bajazet*, resolving there to expect further aid from his father, & not by vntime fight to commit his safety to the hazard of one doubtful battell. But *Bajazet* on the other side, not vnmindful what a matter he had taken in hand, slept not therupon, but first entertained a valiant sort of horsmen which the Turks call Chiurts, and are supposed to be of that people which were sometime called Gordijs, men for their known valor famous. He yet lay in the plain and open fields by Ancyra, of the commodities of which city, which were indeed great, he made great vse. In the castle therof he bestowed his concubines and children: of the rich merchants he took vp mony, to be repaid with the vse vpon the good succes of the War: and from thence he took whatsoeuer was needful for the arming and furnishing of his men. Besides his own family, which was very great, and those Chiurts which we spoke of, many repaired vnto him, which in former time had bin beholden to his mother, to his sister, & to *Rustan* the great Bassa. Many also of the reliques of the valiant *Mustapha* and *Achmet* the great Bassa, valiant men and expert souldiers, who desired to reuenge the vnworthy death of their Lords and Masters euen with their owne. Neither was there wanting an exceeding

*Bajazet* requiesceth his father not to meddle betweene him & his brother.

*Bajazet* Bayes at Ancyra, and there raiseth his Forces.

rabblement of such as weary of their present state, desired some new alteration and change. The commiseration also of the state of the vnfortunat *Bajazet*, easily drew many to take part with him, whose whole trust was in his valor: they fauored the young prince liuely representing his father. When as in *Selymus* appeared no likenes of himself, but the expresse liniments of his mothers face and body, a woman whilst she liued generally hated of all the people. He went heavily, as ouercharged with his greasie pance, blub cheeked, and exceeding red faced; so that the soldiers in sport would say he was fed with green malt. He was also together giuen to his ease, and spent his time in drunkenness and sleep; neither was he courteous of speech, nor willing to deferue wel of any man: for he would not (as he said) offend his father by being popular; so was he only of his father beloued, and of all other men hated. Of all kind of men hee most disliked them that set al their hope in a bountifull and couragious prince. The same soldiers were also wont to call *Bajazet*, *Sofie*, that is to say, a man giuen to quietnes and study: but after they saw him take vp arms, and for the safety of himself and his children ready to aduenter any thing, they began to admire him as a man of valour and courage, and to ask amongst themselves, Why his father should reject him of such worth, the expresse image of himself, and prefer before him that gorbellied sluggard, in whom no spark of his fathers valor was to be seen? This his entring into arms was no fault, being therunto by necessity inforced. For, had not *Selymus* their grandfather don the like? whereof no better example could be found, whom the force of necessity constrained not only to take vp arms against his brother, but also by hastning the death of his father; and by so doing purchased vnto himself and his posterity the empire which so gotten, if *Solyman* did not vniustly possesse, why might not his son vse the same course? why should he so rigorously reuenge that in his sonne, that was so lawfull in the grandfather? Although there was, as they said, great difference betwixt that *Selymus* and this *Bajazet*; for that this man intended no harm against his father, but wished him long to liue: neither yet against his brother, if he might by his leaue but liue, if he would but once cease to do him wrong. That it was alwaies accounted lawfull to repel force by force, and to shun present death, if the destinies would so permit. By such affections and motions *Bajazet*'s forces daily increased: which being now grown almost to the greatnes of a ful army, he thought it not best to vse longer delay, but to march forthwith against his brother to fight with him one battell for his life, state and empire: accounting it some commendation (though in vaine) to haue attempted so great an enterprife. His purpose was, as *Solyman* feared, to get into Syria: which if he could bring to passe, he then doubted not of the rest. *Selymus* strengthened with his fathers power, lay waiting for his coming before Iconium, wel appointed of al warlike prouision: his army was exceeding strong, and in it many notable commanders, martiall men of great experience whom his father had ioyned vnto him; who all lay couered with their great ordnance, planted in places most conuenient. But *Bajazet* nothing terrified therewith, as soon as he came within sight of his brothers Army, encouraged his soldiers in few words to play the men, for that now was come the time they wished for, & place for them to shew their valor in: Wherefore they should shew themselves couragious and valiant, and he would make them all rich and fortunat. He told them, that their fortune was now in their owne hands, to frame it euery man as he would himselfe; so that if any of them were weary of their present state, there was the field wherein they might exchange it with better, and therein lay down the misery of their former liues. That of him they should if they ouercame, expect riches, promotions, honors, and whatsoeuer els, the rewards of valiant men. That with the victory of one battell, all their desires should be satisfied, were they neuer so great: which victory was by the valor that rested in them to be gotten, and his brothers Army, the heartlesse followers of a heartlesse captain, ouerthrowne: as for his fathers soldiers that were with his brother, they were in body present, but in mind altogether on his side. That it was only *Selymus* that withstood his welfare and their felicity; whom they should therefore valiantly seek for in field as their common enemy: and not to be afraid of his multitude: forasmuch as victory was to be gained not by number, but by valor: and the most mighty God of heauen and earth was still present, not with the most, but with the best. Besides that, he willed them to remember, with what a cruell enemy they were to fight, who thirsted after nothing more than their blood. And to conclude, he willed them all not to looke vpon his words, but his deeds; and sayd, If as you shall see me fighting for your profit, you shall likewise fight for myne honor, I dare then assure

The description of *Selymus*.

*Bajazet* & his quarrel generally fauoured of the soldiers.

*Bajazet* goes against his brother.

The battell be-  
tween Solymán  
and Bajazet,  
Forty thousand  
Turks slain.

sure you of the victory. Which said, he with great courage charged the enemy, and fighting himself a long time among the foremost, and there performing all the parts of a valiant soldier, and worthy Captain, was for his notable valor no lesse commended of his enemies than of his own soldiers. The battell was bloudy and terrible, and many fell on both sides; but after that they with wonderfull obstinacy had a great while fought with doubtful victory, so that forty thousand Turks lay there did vpon the ground, at length the victory began to incline to that side whereon stood the greater strength, the iuster cause, and better council. Many of the enemies being slain, & many of his own people also lost, *Bajazet* was enforced to retire; which he did so leisurely, and without shew of any fear, that it seemed to the beholders, he had well neer as well gained as lost the field. Neither durst *Solymán* pursue him; but stood still fast in the same place, neuer more glad of any thing than to see his brothers back. But *Bajazet* after hee had in contempt of his fathers command, thus run his own course, and satisfied his own desire, though disappointed of his purpose, and not able to perform the journey by him intended into Syria, turned now his course, and began in good earnest to go to Amasia his appointed province.

*Solymán* speedily aduertised of the euent of this battell, forthwith passed ouer into Asia; for as the great Bassa's his counsellors thought it not conuenient for him to go ouer the streight before the victory, so after it was certainly known, they thought it not good longer to stay, lest the ouerthrow of *Bajazet* might giue occasion to such as secretly fauored his quarrel, to shew themselves, and so to raise greater troubles. Besides that, the fame of his passage ouer would (as they said) much auail both to the discouragement of *Bajazet*, and the terrifying of all his friends; and therefore it was by them thought good, hastily to pursue him, now ouerthrowne, and not to suffer him to gather courage by the example of his grandfather *Solymán*, *Solymán*'s father, who had bin more terribly vanquished than when hee stood in his own strength, and might seem by that meane especially to haue preuailed, for that he was at first vnfortunatly ouerthrowne. Neither were these things without reason foreseen, for it is almost incredible, what admiration and loue this battell (though vnfortunat) did gain *Bajazet*; men wondered that he durst with so small a power, and as it were but a handfull of men, incouper with his brother far better appointed, and also supported by his fathers strength; neither fearing the great disadvantage of the place, nor the fury of the artillery; and to haue behaued himselfe in the battell not like a yong soldier, but like an old expert commander. *Solymán* might at his pleasure boast of himself (as they said) to his father for the victory; but *Bajazet* was the man that deserued to ouercome: and that *Solymán* might to any thing ascribe the victory, rather than to his own valor.

These and such like speeches, as they made *Bajazet* gracious among the people generally, so doubled they his fathers cares, and increased his hatred, to wish him the rather dead. For why, he was resolutely set down, not to leaue any other heir of the empire than *Solymán* his eldest son, always loial and obedient to him; whereas the other hee abhorred as stubborn & rebellious, gaping after the empire whilst he yet liued; of whom he was therefore so much the more to stand in dread, by how much he was reputed to be of more valor, and for the aid he had now so openly giuen to *Solymán*. For these causes hee passed ouer the streit into Asia, with purpose, not to go farre from the sea coast, but as it were as far off with his fauourable aspect to countenance *Solymán* his proceedings: doubting by comming too neere with his Army, to indanger himself by the sudden reuolt of the Ianizaries, which hee about all things feared.

I my self (saith the author of this history) saw him departing out of Constantinople the first of Iune, Anno 1559, when as within a few daies after, I my selfe was also sent for thither: for the Bassa's thought it not amisse to haue me in the camp, and to vse me curteously as their friend, for which cause I was assigned to lodge in an Inne in a village neer to the camp, where I lay very wel. The Turks lay in the fields round about; but lying there three months, I had good leisure and opportunitie to see the manner of their Camp, and in part to know the order of their martial discipline. So I trying my self in such apparell as the Christians commonly vse in those parts, went vp and downe with one or two companions at my pleasure vnknewne. First I saw the souldiers of all sorts most orderly placed; and that, which he would scarcely beleue that knoweth the manner of our war, there was in euery place great silence, & as a man may say, dumb quietnesse; no brawling, no insolencie, no not so much as a word or laugh-

Auger. Bush.  
I pist. s. lepar.  
Turk. war.

A laughter passing in sport or drunkennesse. Besides that wonderfull cleanliness, no dunghills, no excrements that might offend either their eyes or nose, for all such things the Turks do either bury or carry them far out of sight. They themselves so oft as they are enforced to discharge the burthen of nature, dig an hole with a spade and bury it, so is all their camp without filth. There was not to be seen any drinking or feasting, no dicing (the great shame of our wars) the losse of money or time at cards and dice, the Turks know not. I met only with a rough Hungarian and his companion, a soldier, who heauy himself, to the Lute rather howled than sung a dolefull ditty, containing the last words of a fellow of his dying of his wounds vpon the green banke of Danubius; wherein he requesteth the riuer, because it ran to the place where he was born, to carry news to his friends and countrymen, that he died an honorable death, and not vn-

B reuenged, for the increafe of his religion, and honor of his country: wherunto his fellows sighing, bare a foot, O happy and thrice happy wight, would Fortune with thee change we might. For the Turks are of opinion, That no mens soules go more speedily to heauen, than of such valiant men as die in battell, for whose welfare their maidens daily make prayers and vows. I would also needs go through their butchery, where their beasts were killed, to see what flesh was to be sold, where I saw but foure, or at most fife weathers hanging ready dressed, and that was the butchery for the Ianizaries, which I deemed to be in that camp not fewer than foure thousand. I maruelled that so little flesh should suffice so many men: but I was answered, That few of them did eat flesh, for the most part of them had their victuals transported from Constantinople. Then I demanding what it was, they shewed me a Ianizarie sitting by, who in an ear-

The opinion the  
Turks haue of  
them that die  
in their wars.

C then dish had pilld a turnep, an onion, a head of garlick, a parsnep, and a cucumber, all sauced with salt & vineger, or more truly to say, with hunger; whereon he fed as sauorily, as if they had bin sea-fants or partridges; his drinke was the common drinke of all liuing creatures, euen faire water. By which frugal kind of diet, they prouide both for the health of their bodies, and the sparing of their purse; and that I maruelled the more at, it was the time that their great fast, or to speake after our fashion, their Lent was at hand: at which time with vs Christians, euen in well ordered cities, much more in camps, all rings with playing, dancing, singing, crying, quaffing, carousing, and in briefe, with madding & phrensie. So that it is not vainly reported, That a Turke sent about that time Embassador into Germany, comming home, reported, That the Christians on certain daies did ryot, and became mad, vntill they, besprinkled with a certain

The spare diet  
of the Ianizaries.

D kind of ashes in the Church, came to themselves againe, and so recovered; and that it was a wonderful thing to see, how much they were changed by the efficacy of that remedy, that they seemed not to be the same men: meaning indeed the disordered manner of the Christians at Shrouetide, and the Ceremonies vsed on Ashwednesday: Which thing they to whom it was told, so much the more maruelled at, for that the Turks haue many medicines which cause madnes, but few or none which presently easeth the same. And they vpon those daies that go before their great fasts, change nothing of their wonted maner of life to the worse: but rather contrariwise prepare themselves to abstinence, by taking somewhat from their vsuall fare, the better to endure the sudden change of their fast: which they so precisely obserue, that on their fasting daies they will not so much as tast a cup of water, or wash their mouths with water all

The precise man-  
ner of the  
Turks in their  
fasts.

E the day long, before the stars appeare in the sky: which maketh their fasts, especially in Summer when the daies be long and hot, to be vnto them very tedious. Whiles I thus lay in the camp, there came vnto me one *Albericus* a learned man with certain Presents from the emperor to *Solymán*, which were certain gilt plate, and a most curious clock, which was carried vpon an Elephant like a castle; and some crowns to be dispersed among the Bassas: which *Solymán* would needs haue presented to him in the campe in the sight of the whole army, to make it the better known what friendship was between him and the Emperor, and that he needed not to feare any danger from the Christian Princes.

Presents sent  
from the Empe-  
ror Ferdinand  
to Solymán.

But to returne againe to *Bajazet*, from whom we haue a while digressed: he after the battell at Iconium, had retired himselfe to Amasia, the place of his gouernment, as though he would haue now there quietly liued, if his father would so giue him leaue. He had now satisfied his youthfull desires & grieffe, and seemed willing from thenceforth to satisfie his fathers better expectation: and therefore ceased not by letters & fit men to proue his fathers minde. Neither did *Solymán* shew himself strange from such a reconciliation: at first he easily gaue the messengers audience, read his sons letters, & courteously returned answer; so that it was commonly reported

*Bajazet* retired  
to Amasia, and  
seeketh for his  
fathers fauour.

Solyman dis-  
gambles with  
Bajazet.

reported in the camp, that the father & the son would agree, and that the old man would pardon the youthfull prank already past, so that he would from thenceforth remain dutifull. But all this was by the counsell of the Bassa's, nothing but deep dissimulation in the crafty old fire, vntill he had shut vp Bajazet, and so got him aliue into his hand: for it was feared, lest he despairing of pardon, should with such a power break into the borders of Persia (now the only place left for his refuge) as might preuent the watchfull diligence of his lieutenants vpon those frontiers: whom Solyman charged by continuall letters so to stop all the passages into Persia, as that there should not be any crany for Bajazet to fly out by. In the mean time, if any came within his reach that were suspected to haue taken part with Bajazet, or fauored his proceedings, those he caused to be tortured & secretly made away, and among them some whom Bajazet had of purpose sent to excuse themselves. For Solyman fearing lest Tamas the Persian King (more mindfull of his old quarrels than of the late enforced peace) should hardly with much ado suffer his son to be got out of his hands if he should fly thither, and so again raise a long & dangerous war, did therefore what he possibly might to oppress him before he should come thither. Which his purpose although it was couered with al secrecy, yet was it not hid. den from some of Bajazet's friends, by whom he was oftentimes warned not to trust his father, but to beware of treason, and in any case speedily to provide for his owne safety. But Solyman thinking he had now so provided as that he could by no means escape, and happily the more to deceiue his son, appointed to return with his army to Constantinople the day after their Easter day. But Bajazet vpon the very feast day, hauing performed the solemnities thereof, commanded al things to be trusted vp at Amasia, and so set forward vpon his vnfortunat journey towards Persia, knowing right wel that he went to the ancient enemy of the Othoman family, but yet fully resoluving to proue any mans mercy, rather than to fall into the hands of his angry father. Now were they all set forward, except such weak souls as were not thought able to endure the labor of so long a journey: among whom was left Solyman, Bajazet's yongest son, but then newly born, which guilelesse babe with his mother Bajazet thought better to leaue to the mercy of his grandfather, than to take him with him, a poor companion of his wofull and miserable flight; whom Solyman, as yet vncertain of his fathers fortune, commaunded to be nursed at Prusa. Bajazet so gon from Amasia, vsed such celerity in his trauell, that almost in euery place he preuented the fame of his comming, and lighted vpon many that were appointed to stay his passage, before they were aware of him. The Bassa of Sebasia he thus deceiued: There was two waies, wherof one of them being intercepted, would greatly hinder his journey, and that the Bassa had already taken. Wherfore he sent certain as if they had bin fugitiues, to tel the Bassa that he was already gon the other way. Which the Bassa beleeuving, left the place he had before taken, and rising with all his power speedily to pursue him the other way, whereby it was told him that he was gon, left that way free and open for him to passe by.

Bajazet fleeth  
from Amasia.

Bajazet decei-  
ueth the Bassa  
of Sebasia and  
Erzurum.

The Bassa of Erzurum he also deceiued by another not much vnlike shift. From whome when he was not far distant, and knowing that in passing his Country he was to indure great danger, he set vpon him with a wyle, sending vnto him certain of his followers with commendations: who afterwards lamentably complaining of the yong princes calamity, to moue the Bassa to pittie, at last requested that he would giue him leaue to shoo his horses in his territorie, telling him that he came vnprovided of all things, and therefore was desirous in that fruitfull country to refresh his horses a day or two, and to new shoo them. Wherunto the Bassa curtiously answered, That he would not let him to take whatsoeuer he needed. But whether it was for the compassion that he had vpon the state of Bajazet, or for the secret loue he bare him, or that he thought by that means the easilier to intrap him, is vncertain; and haply preuented by Bajazet's quick speed, had not as yet sufficient time to draw his soldiers together. He sent also to Bajazet certain smal presents, seeming to be glad of his welfare and comming. Who neuertheles kept on his way resting no part of the day, and but a litle of the night. The Bassa of Erzurum vnderstanding that Bajazet came stil on, made what hast he could also, and ioyned M his power with the rest of the Bassa's which followed after: for many Bassa's & Sanzacks hearing that Bajazet was fled from Amasia, pursued fast after him, being charged by Solyman, vpon pain of their heads to bring him back either aliue or dead: but all in vain, by reason of his speedy departure, & for that he made more hast to fly, than they did to follow. Yet it cost no

man

A man dearer than this Bassa of Erzurum of whom we haue now spoken, whom Solyman for this cause displaced: and Solyman afterwards slew, with two of his sons yong striplings, whom hee before in despight shamefully abused against nature. Yea Solyman himself and Mahomet the great Bassa, with the Beglerbeg of Grecia, followed also after Bajazet, though it were as far off. This his departure grieved Solyman about measure, assuring himself (as the truth was) that he was fled into Persia: wherwith he was so much moued, that he could scarcely contain himselfe, but would needs haue gon with his whole power in all hast against the Persian, to haue terrified him at hand from relieuing his rebellious son. But these his raging fits his graue Counsellors moderated, by declaring vnto him what danger he should adventure himself vnto, by reason of the doubtfull faith of his best soldiers: and what if Bajazet (as he was a desperat and sudden man) should in the mean time turn about about Pontus and the fens of Mætis, and so fetching a compas come to Constantinople, and proclaiming a general liberty in his absence possesse himself of the empire. By which wholesome persuasion Solyman staid his so hasty a journey. But Bajazet all the way as he went writ on the gates & dores, that he would giue double pay to all such as should follow him: which caused Solyman's captains to haue their owne soldiers in distrust, and the more, for that they might oftentimes hear among them speeches of great good wil and loue toward Bajazet.

After long flying, he was at length come to the riuer Araxis, which separates the Turkish kingdom from the Persian: which hauing passed ouer, and yet not so in safety, he left certaine of his followers vpon the bank of the riuer, to keepe the Sanzacks (who still eagerly pursued him) from passing ouer. Whom the Sanzacks easily repulsed, and so passing the riuer, entred a great way into the Persian kingdom, vntil such time as they were met by certain of the Nobility of Persia with great troupes of horsemen, who demanding what they meant, by that their pursuit, and what they sought for in another mans kingdom, were answered by the Turks, that they pursued their kings fugitiue son. To whom the Persians replied, That they did not wel, contrary to the league with their lord & master, to come in arms beyond the bounds of their own kingdom: and that there was a strong league betwixt king Tamas and Solyman, which it behooued them to regard. As for Bajazet, their king would consider what was conuenient for him to do, and not in that point forget himself in the mean time they should doe well to get them out of that country wher in they had nothing to do. Wherupon the Turkes forthwith

Bajazet hard-  
ly pursued.

D left this pursuit and departed. But by and by came messengers from the Persian king to Bajazet, to salute him, and to demand the cause of his comming, and also to see what strength he brought with him, which as some account was about 20000. To whom Bajazet declared, That he by his brothers iniurie & fathers hard dealing driuen out of his country, was fled vnto the sacred majesty of the Persian king, as his most assured refuge, who as he wel hoped, in compassion of mans instability, would not reject him so distressed, and otherwise destitute of all help. Wherunto the Persian answered, That he had don very vnwisely to come to him that was in league and amity with his father; whereof one Condition was, That they should account the enemies of the one the enemies of the other; and the friends of the one, the friends of the other. Which Law to break he counted a thing vtterly unlawful. Neuertheles (seeing the matter was so fallen out, he was welcom as vnto his friend, who in his behalf would leaue nothing vnattempted to reconcile him to his father, which he dispaired not to bring to passe. So Bajazet meeteth with the Persian king, but in an euill houre, although at their first greeting there was great welcome, friendly countenance, chearfull looks, mutuall kindnes, often conference, and great feasting one of another: things wherby the secret thoughts of hollow hearts are best concealed. There was also a motion made of a streiter bond of allyance, and one of the Persian kings daughters promised to Orchanes one of Bajazet's sons; and he put in hope that the Persian king would neuer rest in quiet vntill Solyman had made him Gouvernour either of Mesopotamia, Babylon, or Erzurum (which governments were by the Persians greatly extolled) and that he might there live without fear of his brother, far from him and his father also: where if any thing should fall out otherwise than well, he might haue his brother the Persian King as a sure refuge to retire vnto, and so safe from all danger. Which speeches were haply giuen out of purpose to auert Bajazet his thoughts from the feeling of the present danger. Who seemed vnto himself so assured of the loue and friendship of Tamas the Persian King, that at such time as hee sent his

Bajazet's en-  
tertainment  
in Persia.

his Embassadors to Constantinople, for a reconciliation to be made betwixt *Solymán* & him, (as was commonly supposed) he willed the same Embassadour to tel his father, that he had lost a father at Constantinople, and found another in Persia. But whether the Persian dealt sincerely in this behalf for *Bajazet* by his Embassadors, which were many, may well be doubted. Like it was, that there was more feined shew of double diligence, than of any true meaning therein, and rather to feel *Solymán's* mind, than to do the poor distressed Prince any good; and the rather, for that in the mean time all things were seriously plotted that might tend to his destruction, Which were no sooner grown to their full ripenes, but there was of purpose a motion made, That such a multitude as followed this yong prince lay so close together, that there was not in one place victual sufficient for them: and that it was therefore more convenient to haue them billeted in the country therabout, which would be more commodious as well for the better victualling of them, as for diuers other purposes also. Truth was, that *Tamas* the Persian King, far vnlike his noble father *Ismael*, stood in doubt lest he brought vp a serpent in his bosom. Yet there were many which thought, that it was not the Persians minde at first to haue destroyed *Bajazet*, but to haue bin therunto enforced by the praise of some of his familiars and followers: who not regarding the curtesie of the Persian king, nor the laws of hospitalitie, perswaded *Bajazet* to thrust him out of his kingdom. Whereof there was many euident tokens; and among other things it was told King *Tamas*, that one of *Bajazet's* chiefeest Captains should say, What mean we? why stay we to kil this heretick King, and to possesse his kingdom? for we shal no doubt by his trechery all come to destruction. And that vpon such occasion the King was constrained to condescend to a deuise more necessary than honorable. *Bajazet* had no great power, but most of them were valiant men, and souldiers of great experience, ready to aduenture vpon any thing, of whom the Persian not without cause stood in some fear. He knew his kingdom to be neither ancient, nor yet wel assured, as gotten by his father by a counterfeit shew of a reformed religion: and who could assure him, but that among so many Nations ouer whom he lorded, but that there were many weary of the present state, and so desired nouelties? vnto whom nothing could chance more fitting than the coming of *Bajazet*, a noble and valiant yong gentleman, and that more was, desperately set; and yet he himself might of right rather seem in the power of his guest, than hee in his; and that therefore he was to alter the matter, and not longer to entertain him as his guest, but to coupe him vp as a most dangerous wild beast: which to do, the easiest way was to disperse his power, and so to take him vnawares. For that he could not without much bloodshed be openly taken in the midst of his strength, especially by the dainty Persian, of long time not vsed to War, and as yet not come together, against *Bajazet's* souldiers, men of great activity and experience. So was the matter cunningly imparted to him for the dispersing of his souldiers, & all the commodities to insue therof alledged. Which *Bajazet* might not wel gainsay, although many of his wife followers (men of great reach) did shrewdly suspect the sequell. But what could he refuse, vpon whom necessity lay so heavy; where no hope was left; where hee liued as it pleased another man; and that again too, where once to doubt of the fidelity of his host might be imputed to him for the greatest trechery. So these most valiant souldiers, the poor Princes faithfull followers, neuer again to see one another, are dispersed into diuers country villages, and bestowed where the Persians thought good. Not many days after, at a time pickt out for the purpose, they in number few, and dispersed in a strange country, were inclosed by many and slain: their horses, armor, apparel, and whatsoeuer els, became a prey vnto the murderers. At the same instant was *Bajazet* and his sons cast in bonds also, and that to his greater grief, as many report, taken as he was sitting merrily at dinner at the kings table. The Persian king seemed to haue foreseen much in this his hard dealing with *Bajazet*: as that if he, being a valiant and courageous yong prince, and much better soldier than his brother, should haue succeeded his father in the empire, much trouble and peril might haue growne thereby both to himself and his kingdom: and that it stood farre better with the safety of his estate that *Selymus* (a man wholly giuen to voluptuousnes and ease) should reign ouer the Turks: in M whose time he might as it were promise vnto himself all peace and security. And therefore it was thought that he would neuer let *Bajazet* go aliue out of his hand, but rather make him away in prison, as if he had there died for melancholy and grief. Well he was assured, that after he had slain his Followers, and imprisoned himselfe and his sonnes, hee would neuer bee friends

*Tamas is feare of Bajazet.*

*8. Bajazet's followers dispersed and slain.*

*Bajazet imprisoned.*

- A friends with him that had so notably wronged him. *Bajazet* thus shamefully imprisoned, messengers ran continually too and fro betwixt the two old Princes *Solymán* and *Tamas*. Amongst the rest, the Persian King sent a solemne Embassadour vnto the Turke with Presents, namely, curious tents, costly carpets, an Alcoran containing the misteries of their superstition, and certain strange beasts. The cause of his coming was pretended to be for a reconciliation to be made betwixt *Solymán* and his Sonne, which Embassadour was honourably entertained and feasted by his great Bassa's. Now was poore *Bajazet* in small hope of life, his cruell father still craving to haue him deliuered into his hands to be slain: and the Persian yet denying to deliuer him, and seeming to defend him, but not (as was thought) altogether faithfully. *Solymán* left no means vnattempted to haue wrung him from the Persian; sometimes he spake him faire, B putting him in mind of his league, wherein it was agreed, That they should both haue the same friends and the same enemies: otherwhile he terrified him with great words, and denouncing of war, except he would deliuer him his sonne: he furnished with strong garrisons all the frontiers of his dominion towards Persia; he filled all Mesopotamia and the bankes of the river Euphrates with souldiers, especially with them of his owne guard, and such as he had before vsed in the battell against *Bajazet*; ouer whom commanded *Achemet Bassa* the third of the Visier Bassa's, and *Selymus* the Beglerbeg of Græce (for *Selymus* was soone weary of the field, and so betime returned home: ) he also incited the Georgian people to take vp armes against the Persians: who wisely answered, That they had not such confidence in their own strength, as to prouoke King *Tamas*; but let *Solymán* himselfe come with his army, and whey they saw C him present in the field, then they knew what they had to do, and that he should then well see that they wanted neither discretion nor valour. And because he would leaue nothing vnproved, he made shew as if he would in person himselfe haue gone to Aleppo in Syria, and so haue on that side inuaded the Persian: neither was the Persian King altogether out of feare, hauing to his cost many times proued what *Solymán* was able to do. But the vnwillingnesse of the souldiers, and their minds altogether estranged from that war, easily staied the raging Turke: they detested that war, and forsooke their ensignes, a great number of whom (especially horsemen) without leaue of their Captains returned to Constantinople: and being commanded againe to the campe, went indeed, but with such countenance and cheere as well declared how they were affected, and what they would do if occasion serued for them to reuolt.
- D For which cause, after that *Solymán* perceiued that *Bajazet* could not aliue be got from the Persian (excusing himselfe by feare of reuenge by him whom he had so grievously offended, if he should by any meanes escape) he thought it best to follow that which was next, and to haue him there slaine; which he was in good hope to compass, and the rather, for that the Persian had but lately written vnto him, That he could not but much maruell to see him deale so slenderly in a matter of so great importance: That he on his part had sent him diuers embassadors, & that he on the other side had sent him nothing but common messengers with papers, which caused him to thinke that he made no great account of the matter: wherefore he should doe well to send vnto him men of account and place, with whom he might confer and conclude also according to the weightinesse and exigence of the cause: besides that, he was (as he said) E not a little in his debt, for that *Bajazet* and his followers had bene vnto him no small charge before he could get him into his power: all which it was good reason he should haue consideration of. Whereby *Solymán* perceiued, that many was the thing the Persian King sought after; and therefore rather than he would in an vnfit time of his life intangle himselfe in a dangerous and vnecessary war, he determined by the counsell of his Bassa's, rather with money than with the sword to fight with the Persian king. Here vpon was *Hassan Aga* (one of the chiefe gentlemen of his chamber) appointed embassador into Persia, with whom was joined the Bassa of Maras, a man both for his age and place, reuerend: who departing with a large commission almost in the depth of Winter, with great speed and wonderfull toile by those long and difficult waies, arrived at last at Casbin the seat of the Persian King, hauing by the way lost diuers F of their seruants & followers. Being come to the Court, the first thing they desired was to see *Bajazet*, whom they found shut vp in a close prison, pale and wan as a man forlorne, with his haire and beard so long and overgrowne, as that he was not to be knowne before he was new trimmed; which done, then appeared the liuely resemblance of his wonted countenance and fauor, so that *Hassan* very well knew him to be him: for he had been brought vp with him of a

*The Persian King sends an Embassadour with presents to Solymán.*

*The cause why the Persian King would by no meanes let Bajazet go out of his hand.*

*The miserable estate of Bajazet.*

The agreement  
between the  
Persian King  
and Solyman  
for the restitu-  
tion of Basa-  
zet.

Bajazet and  
his four sons  
dravell'd.

The rare force  
of innocency.

childe in the Court, and for this cause especially had *Solyman* sent him thither to be assured that it was he. At length after long discourse and conference betweene the King and the Embassadors, it was agreed vpon, that the king should receiue from *Solyman* full recompence of all the charges he had been at, and of the harmes by him sustained since the comming of *Bajazet* into Persia, with such further reward as to great turne deserued: which things performed, that then it should be in *Solymans* power to haue *Bajazet* made away. With this news *Hassan* posteth to his master at Constantinople, who forthwith caused the promised reward, together with such charges as the Persian King demanded, to be made ready, and with a safe conuoy to be sent vnto the borders of Persia, where they were of the Persians receiued. Presently after returned *Hassan* the appointed executioner of the vnfortunat *Bajazet*: for so *Solyman* had streitly charged him to strangle him with his owne hands. Which thing this new made hangman accordingly performed, and with a bow-string strangled the vnfortunate Prince, who is reported to haue requested of the executioner, that he might but see his children before he died, and take of them his last farewell: which poore request could not be granted, but he forthwith commanded to die. This was the wofull end of the vnlucky attempts of *Bajazet*, a Prince of far more worth than was *Selymus* his brother, who in seeking to shun the death he feared, hastned the same before his time. Such as was the fathers end was also the end of his four sons, *Omer*, *Amurat*, *Selym*, and *Muhomet*: of whom the three eldest were strangled at Castia, and there buried. The yongest but new borne left at Amasia, and sent by his grandfather to Prusa (as is before said) to be there nursed, was now vpon the death of his father commanded by his said grandfather to be strangled also. The Eunuch sent by *Solyman* to haue done the deed, and loth to do it himselfe, tooke with him one of the porters of the Court, a desperat and otherwise a hard hearted Ruffian, a man thought fit to haue performed any villany: he comming into the chamber where the childe lay, and sitting the bow-string to the childes necke to haue strangled him, the innocent babe smiled vpon him, and lifting it selfe vp as well as it could, with open armes offered to haue embraced the villaine about the necke and kissed him. Which guiltlesse simplicity so wounded the stony hearted man, that he was not able to performe the intended butchery of the poore simple child, but fel down in a swoone and there lay for dead. The Eunuch standing without the doore maruelling at his long stay, goes in, & finding the ruffian lying along vpon the ground, with cruell hand performed that the other could not find in his heart to do, and so strangled the guiltlesse childe as had bin giuen him in charge. Whereby it evidently appeared, that it was not the mercy or compassion of *Solyman* that so long caused the guiltlesse infant to be spared, but rather the opinion generally receiued amongst the Turks, who measuring all things by the good or bad successe, referre all things that fall out well, vnto God as the author thereof, be they neuer so vngiustly begun: and therefore so long as it was yet vncertain what successe the attempts of *Bajazet* would haue, *Solyman* spared the infant, lest vpon his fathers good hap he might seem to haue striven against the will of God. But now that his father was dead, and his quarrel by the euill successe thereof condemned as it were by the sentence of the Almighty, he thought it not good longer to suffer him to liue, lest of an euill Bird might come an euill Chick. I had sometime (saith the reporter of this History) great reasoning with my Chiaus about this matter: for falling into talke with him of *Bajazet*, he began bitterly to enuigh against him for taking vp armes against his brother. Whereunto (saith this Author) I replied, That in my opinion he was worthy both to be pittied and pardoned, for as much as he was of necessity inforced either to take vp armes, or else shortly after to yeld himselfe to the slaughter. But he still exclaiming against him, I said vnto him, You blame poore *Bajazet* of great wickednesse for bearing armes against his brother: but *Selymus*, *Solymans* father you blame not, who vpon like occasion tooke vp armes both against his father and his brethren; yet he therein did nothing amisse, nor in your judgement blame worthy. And rightly, (saith the Chiaus) for the euent of the matter sheweth sufficiently, that that which he did was done by the appointment of God, and that he was from Heauen predestinated therunto: whereas in *Bajazet* the euent sheweth the cleane contrary. So that which falleth out well, be it by neuer so wicked means compassed or brought to passe, they take it as done according to the will of God; but if it fall otherwise, the iudge it as a thing condemned by God himselfe; depending wholly vpon the good or bad euent of things,

A things, and therefore judging them to be well done, or otherwise.

This yeare 1558, *Charles* the fifth that noble Emperour (of whom we haue in the course of this History so often spoken) who weary of the World, had two yeares before deliuered all his hereditary kingdomes and principalities to his son *Philip*, did now the 24 of February, on which day he was borne, by his Embassadors solemnly sent for that purpose, resigne that Empire with all the honors and titles thereof vnto his brother King *Ferdinand*, requesting the Princes Electors to confirme the same vnto him, which they did the thirteenth of March next following. So liuing as a priuat gentleman in that solitary life whereunto he had to the wonder of the World certaine yeares before retired himselfe from all worldly affaires, the 21 day of September following died of a seauer, when he had liued 58 yeares, and thereof reigned 39: a man no doubt to be worthily accounted amongst the greatest Christian Emperours that liued before him. About which time died also his two sisters, *Mary* the Queene of Hungary, and *Elenor* the French Queene, both Ladies of great honour.

The Knights of Malta, who of long had bene suters to the great Bishop and the King of Spaine, for the recovery of Tripolis in Barbary, about nine yeares before taken from them by the Turks, at which time they also surprised the Island of Zerbi vpon the coast of Barbary betwixt Tripolis and Tunes, from whence they much troubled the Christians traouelling by those seas; had now at length so much preuailed, that the King commanded a great fleet to be now forthwith made ready in September in the yeare 1559, to meet together in Sicilia, and from thence to go directly against the enemy by Malta. Vnto which fleet, the great Bishop, the Duke of Florence, and the Knights of Malta, with many other valiant men out of diuers parts of Christendome, joyned their forces also; so that at length there was a hundred gallies and ships met together vnder the conduct of *Andreas Gonzaga* the Generall. But whilst this fleet from diuers places was long in comming thither, the Duke of Medina Coeli came before with part of the fleet to Malta, and in the haven of Marza Moxet expected the comming of the rest, who about the end of the yeare came thither. But whilst they were wintered expecting the Spring, many of the souldiers fell sicke and died. At length the time of the yeare fit for their setting forward being come, the Captaines consulted among themselves, Whether they should first set vpon Tripolis, or the Island of Zerbi, otherwise called Mening. The Knights of Malta being of opinion, that it were better first to besiege Tripolis, and that with all speed, before Dragut should come thither to furnish it with souldiers and provision. Others thought it better first to invade the Island of Zerbi, where the army might be relieved with plenty of all things necessary, and from whence they might at all times of danger in safety retire; and from thence afterwards as time should serue, to go to Tripolis. Which vnfortunate counsell was by the greater part agreed vpon. Wherefore in February the yeare following they departed from Malta, and sailed directly to Zerbi. In the meane time *Dragut* the most famous pyrat at that time amongst the Turks, and Gouernor of Tripolis, was come thither with eight hundred of the Turks Ianizaries, and had notably strengthened the city with men, victual, and new fortifications; and presently sent messengers to *Solyman* at Constantinople, to certifie him of the arrival of the Christian fleet in Affrick. But the Christians comming to the Island of Zerbi, were at the first landing encountered by the Moores, whom they repulsed and so at pleasure landed. This Island is not far from the maine, here and there full of bogs and marshes, other ruer hath it none, and in the midst is somewhat hilly. It was inhabited with about 30000 men, which dwelt in low cottages, simply apparelled: yet is the Island reasonable fertile, yielding dates, oliues, barley, mill, and such like. When the Christians were there landed, they sent for *Caramanum* a poore King amongst the Moores (from whom *Dragut* had before taken that Island) to vise his counsell for the better proceeding in that war. In the meane time they agreed with 80000 men to besiege the strongest castle in the Island: in going whereunto, the Spaniards went formost; the Germans next, and last of all the Italians. By the way as they went they light vpon 10000 Moores which lay in ambush in a wood, to haue vpon the sudden set vpon them vnawares, but being discovered, and 700 of them slain in skirmish by the Spaniards, the rest fled. So comming to the castle they planted their battery, and laid hard siege vnto it. The Captaine of the castle finding himselfe too weake long to hold out, fled secretly with his Turks, leauing the castle for the Moores to defend; who vpon condition that they might in safety depart, yeilded the Castle to the Spaniards: for keeping,

1558  
*Charles* the em-  
peror resigneth  
the empire to  
his brother *Fer-*  
*dinand*, and  
shortly after di-  
eth.

1559  
The Christian  
Princes set out  
a fleet for the  
recovery of Tri-  
polis in Barbary

1560  
The Christian  
fleet arriveth  
at the Island  
of Zerbi.

The Castle of  
Zerbi, taken by  
the Christians.

whereof, *Varona* and *Cerda* two Spanish Captains were left with their companies. Whilſt theſe things were in doing, *Carahanum* the Moore King came to the campe of the Chriſtians and there talked with the Generall; in whoſe hoary countenance reſted a reuerend Maieſty: his apparell was after the Moores faſhion of white linnen, with him came alſo the King of Tunes his ſon. In talking with the Generall his manner was to ſit flat vpon the ground, and wiſely diſcourſed how the Turks were to be removed out of Affricke. But in the middeſt of theſe diſcourſes, when ſuch a thing was leaſt feared, ſuddenly a pinnace brought newes from ſea, That *Piall Baſſa* the Turks great Admiral was comming thither with a great fleet of eighty ſiue gallies, and that mo were daily repairing vnto him on euery ſide. Which was indeed true: for *Solyman* vnderſtanding from *Dragut* the Arch-pyrat, that Iſland to be by the Chriſtians now poſſeſſed and fortified, thought it not (in his ſo great power & flouriſhing eſtate) to ſtand with his honor to ſuffer, but rather to giue aid vnto the Moores of that Iſland, a people agreeing in religion with himſelfe: and therefore commanded *Piall Baſſa* his Admiral to take in hand that expedition. Who therupon rigged vp a great fleet wel appointed & ſtrongly manned with a number of the Turks beſt and moſt approved ſouldiers, as well Ianizaries as others: yet all both doubtfull and fearefull of the long journey, as alſo the fame of the enemies with whom they were to incounter: for why, the Turks had conceiued a great opinion of the valour of the Spaniards, as knowing great wars both of ancient and later times to haue been by that nation (to the immortal praiſe thereof) moſt happily performed: they remembered *Charles* the ſiſt, and daily heard much of King *Philip*, the heire both of his fathers vertues and kingdomes; which made them ſo careful, that many of them before their ſetting forth (as in times of greateſt danger) made their wiſe, and ſo departed from Conſtantinople, taking their leaue of their friends, as if they ſhould neuer haue thither returned again. So that all the city was in a conſuſed feare: neither was there any man, whether he went or ſtaid, that hung not in ſuſpence with the doubtfull expectation of the euent of that war. Howbeit *Piall* with his great fleet, with long ſailing and a prosperous wind was at length come welneere as far as Malta, and knowledge thereof (as aforeſaid) giuen vnto the Chriſtian fleet at Zerbi. With which vnexpected newes the Chriſtians there were not a little troubled: neuertheleſſe they fortified the caſtle with new fortifications and bulwarks, and ſell to agreement with the principall man amongſt the Moores of the Iſland, who commanded the reſt, and had before plucked downe the enſignes of *Dragut*, and ſet vp the King of Spaines) that he would yearly pay vnto the King of Spaine (as he had before vnto *Dragut*) ſix thouſand crownes, one camel, foure Oſtriches, foure Sparrow-hawkes, and foure blew Faulcons: a tribute fit for ſuch an Iſland.

But ſhortly after, viz. the ninth of May, the Great maſter of Malta by another pinnace gaue the Chriſtians at Zerbi again to vnderſtand, That the Turks fleet was euen now at hand, and already departed from the Iſland of Gozo, well appointed and ſtrongly manned: and that therefore he aduiſed them with ſpeed to hoiſe ſaile, & to get them to ſome place of more ſafety, or els to come to him to Malta, for feare of being by ſo great a power of the Turks ſuddenly oppreſſed. Whereupon *Iohn Andreas Auria* the Admirall ſent vnto the Generall, requeſting him to come aboard, that ſo they might before the comming of the Turks fleet, retire themſelues to ſome place of more aſſurance. But he for all that ſtaid ſtill at the caſtle, where the Chriſtians had built foure ſtrong bulwarks: whereof they had named one *Aurids*, another *Gonzaga's*, the third the Viceroy's, and the fourth the Knights, not yet all perfectly finiſhed: as for the caſtle it ſelfe they called it *Philip Alcazer*, by the name of the King. But whileſt the Generall is thus buſie, and vainly hopeth to keepe both his caſtle and his ſhips, he the next day deſcrying from far the comming of the Turks great fleet, haſted with the Admirall to be gone: and putting twice at ſea, was both times by a contrary wind driuen againe into the hauen, ſo that he and the Admirall had much ado in time to get them into the caſtle: for the wind was ſo fauourable for the Turks, and brought them ſo faſt on, that the Chriſtians diſmaied with their ſudden comming, knew not well what to do, or which way to turne themſelues. But by good hap, the greater part of the ſhips and 14 gallies were got out and gone the night before, and the Great Maſter had in Aprill called home his gallies, wherewith and ten others of his owne he afterwards defended the frontiers of his Iſland. As for the reſt of the fleet that ſtaid for the Generall and the Admirall, ſome few gallies eſcaped by flight, other ſome ran themſelues aground, ten of which were preſently taken by the Turks, as were the reſt alſo that were left,

although

A although they for a while did what they might to haue ſaued themſelues. The night following, the Viceroy and the Admirall ſecretly ſtole out of the caſtle, and ſo by good fortune in two ſmall frigates fled to Malta. *Carahanum* alſo the Moore King, with the Prince of Tunes, got them away into the maine. *Gonzaga* the Viceroy departing from Malta to Sicilia, provided as he might for the ſafety of that country. *Auria* in the mean time gathered together the remainder of the diſperſed fleet, having loſt in this vnfortunate expedition ſeuentie gallies, with a great part of the ſhips.

Now in the caſtle was left as Generall, *Don Aluarnus de Sandes*, a valiant gentleman of great ſpirit and long experience, with ſiue thouſand footmen, ſome Germans, ſome Italians, but for the moſt part Spaniards; beſides a thouſand other that were no ſoldiers. So that the Turks beginning to beſiege the ſame the ſeuenteenth of May, were by them many times notably encountered, and in their aſſaults repulſed. Vnto this ſiege at length came *Dragut* the pyrat, who with ſiueene great pieces which he brought with him from Tripolis, encreaſed the fury of the Turks battery. Neither were the Chriſtians in the mean time wanting vnto themſelues, hauing in the caſtle forty great pieces of artillery, wherewith they ſlew a number of the Turks and Moores: and ſometimes ſallying out, fought with them hand to hand; and hauing ſlaine and wounded many, retired againe into the caſtle. In this manner the ſiege continued three moneths with many an hot and deſperat ſkirmiſh: during which time, nothing more troubled the defendants than thiſt in that hot & dry climat and intemperat time of the yere: for why, in the caſtle there was but one great ciſterne, which although it yeilded ſome good ſtore of water, yet was it not enough to ſuffice ſo great a multitude, but was by meaſure ſtill ſparingly

C given out to the ſoldiers ſo far as it would ſerue, no man hauing more allowed him than would ſuffice to keepe him alieue: the quantity wherof ſome augmented by diſtilling of the ſame water, and mingling it with their allowance, and ſo wel eaſed their thiſt, vntil ſuch time as hauing ſpent all their wood they wanted that poore helpe alſo. There might a man haue ſcene many poore ſoules lying vpon the ground halfe dead, gaping and ſtill crying out nothing but Water, water; into whole dry mouths; if any man vpon compaſſion vouchſafed to poure a little water, they as men reuiued therewith would preſently ſit vp, vntil that for thiſt they fell downe againe, and ſo at length as men roſted gaue vp the ghoſt. Thus many died daily, beſide them whom the chance of warre and other diſeaſes without helpe conſumed in ſo great a diſtreſſe.

D *Don Aluarnus* the Guernor conſidering the great extremity they were now brought vnto, attempted with *Don Sancho de Leyva* Admirall of the Neapolitan gallies, *Belingerius de Requesenes* Admirall of the Sicilian gallies, & ſome others, by night to haue eſcaped away into a galley which lay vnder the caſtle; but in doing thereof were perceiued by the Turks, and ſo all taken. Whereupon ſuch ſoldiers as ſickeneſſe and the enemies ſword had yet left alieue, pinched with extreame neceſſity, forſaken of their beſt captaines, and out of all hope of reliefe alſo, couenanting their liues only with the enemy, yeilded themſelues into moſt miſerable captiuitie. In this vnfortunate expedition periſhed about eightene thouſand Chriſtians, ſome with ſickneſſe, ſome drowned, but moſt ſlaine, beſide the loſſe of a great part of the fleet alſo.

E Of this victory *Piall* ſent newes by one of his gallies to Conſtantinople, which for the more maniſeſting thereof, dragged at the poupe thereof a great enſigne of the Chriſtians, with the picture of Chriſt crucified therein. Which was no ſooner come into the hauen, but that the rumor of the ouerthrow of the Chriſtians was forthwith blowne thorow the whole city, the Turks exceedingly reioycing one with another for the newes of ſo great a victory: yea many of them not ſo contented, came by heaps to the gate of the houſe where the emperor *Ferdinands* embaffador lay, & there meeting with his ſeruants, by way of deriſion asked them, if they had any brethren, kinſmen, or friends, in the Spaniſh fleet at Zerbi; for if you haue (ſaid they) you ſhall ſhortly ſee them here. Beſides that, they with many words moſt inſolently bragged of their own valor, & feared the cowardice of the Chriſtians, asking who were able to withſtand them: now that the Spaniard was alſo overcome. Al which with much more the embaffadors men with great griefe were inforced to heare, but there was no remedy, ſeeing God had ſo appointed it. Shortly after, in September, the victorious fleet returned to Conſtantinople, dragging with it the priſoners, ſpoiles, and gallies of the Chriſtians, a ſight no leſſe pleaſant vnto the Turks, than heauy vnto the Chriſtians: and that night it lay at anker neer vnto the rocks in the ſee of the city, with the greater pomp and glory to come the next day into the hauen. At

Xxx 3

which

Part of the Chriſtian fleet oppreſſed at Zerbi by the ſudden comming of the Turks.

The caſtle of Zerbi beſieged by the Turks.

*Don Aluarnus* with the reſt of the chiefe commanders taken priſoners.

The caſtle of Zerbi yeilded vnto the Turks.

The Turks with victory returned to Conſtantinople.

which time *Solyman* himselfe was come downe into a gallery neere vnto the hauens mouth, G  
adjoyning to his garden, the better to see the comming in of the fleet, and the Christian cap-  
taines set there to shew vpon the poupe of the Admirall gally, namely, *Don Aluarn de Sandes*,  
*Don Sanchius de Leyua*, *Don Billingerus de Requesenes*, all of late great commanders, as for the  
Christian gallies all disarmed and vnrigged, so to seeme the more contemptible in comparison  
of the Turks, they were towed at the taile of the Turks gallies. They which then saw *Solyman*'s  
countenance, perceiued not in him any signe at all of any insolent joy. I my selfe (saith *Bunbe-*  
*quius*, then the Emperour *Ferdinands* Embassador there) saw him two daies after going to the  
church with the same countenance he had alwaies, with the same severity and gravity, as if  
this victory had nothing concerned him, nor anything chanced strange or vnexpected: so ca-  
pable was the great heart of that old fire, of any fortune, were it neuer so great, and his mind so  
settled, as to receiue so great applause and reioicing without mouing. Within a few daies after, H  
the Christian captiues (before almost starued with hunger) were brought to the court: many of  
whom could scarce stand vpon their legs, some others for weakenes fell down and fainted, and  
other some died outright: they were all scornfully led in triumph, with their armes disorde-  
red and scornfully put vpon them: the Turks in the meane time insulting round about them,  
promising vnto themselues the Empire of the whole world: and vainly asking, What enemy  
they were to feare, now that the Spaniard was overcome. *Aluarn Sandes*, as chiefe of al the pri-  
soners, being brought into the Diuano before the Visier Bassa's, and demanded by *Rustan Bas-*  
*sa*, What his master meant, being not able to defend his own, to inuade other mens, answered,  
That it bestemed not him to judge thereon; and himselfe to haue done but his duty, with such  
faithfulness as was meet to put in execution what he was commanded by his lord, although he  
had no good fortune therein. After that, he besought the Bassa's vpon his knee, to speake for  
him vnto *Solyman*, for that he had at home a poore wife, with certain small children, for whom  
he requested him to spare him. Vherunto *Rustan Bassa* (contrary to his manner) courteously  
answered, his soueraigntie to be of a mild and gentle nature, and that he was in good hope his  
pardon might be of him obtained: so was he commanded away vnto *Caradines* his castle, to-  
wards the blacke sea. But he was not gone far, but that he was called backe againe, for that the  
great Chamberlain, a man in great credit with *Solyman*, had not as yet seen him: for which cause  
he was sent for backe againe, wherwith he was not a little troubled, fearing lest the Bassa's ha-  
uing changed their minds, would haue put him to death. The rest of the captiues of the better  
sort were committed to the castle of Pera, and amongst them *Don Sanchius de Leyua*, with his  
two base sonnes, and also *Don Billingerius Requesenes*: which two great men, with *Don Aluarn*  
*de Sandes*, were neuerthelesse afterwards with much ado and almost beyond all hope, at the  
request of the Emperour, and by the dexterity of his Embassadour, by *Solyman* set at liberty, al-  
though he had before denied them vnto *Salinas* the French Kings Embassador, who had bin an  
earnest intercessor for them. Yet before they were deliuered out of prison, the Muphti or Turks  
great priest was asked his opinion, Whether it were lawfull, for a greater number of Turks  
to exchange a few Christian captiues (for the Embassador beside the rewards he had promised  
vnto the Bassa's to further the matter, had also vndertaken, that forty common prisoners of  
the Turks should be set at liberty for them) wherunto the Muphti answered, That the Do-  
ctors of their law were of diuers opinions concerning that question, some saying that it was  
lawfull, and some not; howbeit as then it was by him resolved vpon vnto the more fauourable  
part, and the exchange allowed.

There were among the prisoners taken at Zerbi, besides these noblemen of whom we haue  
before spoken, two other noble gentlemen right honourably borne, *Don Iohn of Cardona*, *Don*  
*Billinger* his son in law, and *Don Gasto* the Duke of Medina his son, to whom yet but a youth his  
father neuerthelesse had giuen an honourable place in the army. Of these two *Don Iohn* had  
wisely taken order for a great summe of mony to be left in the Island of Chio, by the way at  
the Turks fleet went to Constantinople, from whence he afterward in safety got into Spaine.  
But *Gasto* was by *Piall Bassa* (vpon hope of a great rancome) purposely hid out of the way, M  
which had like to haue wrought his destruction: for *Solyman* hauing gotten an inkling ther-  
of by the instigation of *Rustan*, laboured for nothing more than to haue *Gasto* found out, so to  
haue a more iust occasion for the putting of *Piall* to death, being taken tardy in so manifest a  
fault. But all that labour was spent in vaine, *Gasto* being by death taken away, but whether by  
the

Augerius Buf-  
bequius Epist.  
4. legationis  
Turcicae.

The misery of  
the Christian  
captiues.

A the plague (as some report) or by *Piall* his meanes (as it were more like) left the truth should  
be found out, is vncertaine. But certaine it was, that being with great care sought for by the  
Duke his fathers seruants, he could neuer be heard of more: so that it was thought *Piall* for  
the safegard of his owne life, not to haue spared *Gasto* his prisoners life. Who neuerthelesse  
for a long time liued in great feare, and not daring to come to Constantinople, tooke occasion  
with a few gallies to wander about amongst the Islands of *Aegeum*, as if he had there some-  
thing to do: but indeed so shunning the sight of his angry Lord, for feare he should haue been  
compelled in bonds to haue answered the matter. Vntill at length he appeard at the request  
of *Suleiman Bassa* (the Eunuch and *Solyman*'s great Chamberlaine) and of *Selyman*, *Solyman*'s son,  
granted him his pardon in these words well worth the marking, out of the mouth of an Infi-  
del Prince: *Well haue we from me pardon and forgiveness for so great an offence: but let Gods most*  
B *just reuenger of all villanies take of him due punishment after this life.* So fully he seemed to be per-  
suaded that no euill deed ought to remaine without punishment, either in this life or in the  
life to come.

There was in this expedition a Colonell of the Turks well acquainted with *Bunbequius* the  
Emperours Embassador, then lying at Constantinople: into whose hands in that discomfiture  
of the Christians, by chance was come the Imperiall ensigne of the gallies of Naples; where-  
in within the compasse of an Eagle, were contained the armes of all the Prouinces belonging  
to the kingdome of Spaine. Which faire ensigne the Embassador vnderstanding him to pur-  
pose to giue for a Present vnto *Solyman*, thought good to preuent the matter, and to get it from  
him: which he easily obtained, by sending him two futes of silke (such as the Turks make  
reckoning of) for it: so prouiding that one of the Imperiall ensignes of *Charles* the fift, should  
not to the eternall remembrance of that ouerthrow, remaine still with the enemies of the  
Christian Religion. This so miserable calamity receiued by the Christians at Zerbi, made  
that Island, before little or nothing spoken of, to be euer since famous.

About this time to end this vnfortunat yeare withall, the 25 day of Nouember died *Andre-*  
as Auria (that second *Neptune*) being ninety foure yeares old: a man in his time of great fame,  
and of the greatest Princes of that age had in no small reputation, but especially of *Charles* the  
fifth, in whose seruice he did much for the benefit of the Christian commonweale, being for  
most part imploied in his greatest wars against the Turks and Moores. Yet amongst all the  
notable things done to his immortall glory, the kindenesse by him shewed vnto his native  
country was greatest; which oppressed by the French, he set at liberty: and when he might  
haue taken vpon him the sole government thereof (as had diuers others before him) modera-  
ting his desires, and respecting the only good thereof, appeased the great dissention that had  
of long reigned therein; and established such a forme of gouernment, confirmed with so good  
and wholesome lawes and orders (no mans liberty infringed) as that it hath euer since to his  
eternall praise, in great wealth, state, and liberty, thereby flourished. Vnto whose remembrance  
(for that we haue before of him much spoken in the course of this History) I thought it not  
amisse to ioine the liuely counterfeite of his reuerend aged countenance, by nature framed an-  
swerable vnto his noble vertues.

*Piall* in disgrace  
with *Solyman*,  
fleeth to Con-  
stantinople.

One of the im-  
periall ensignes  
of *Charles* the  
fift redeemed  
from the Turke.

The death of  
the noble *And-*  
*reas Auria*.

ANDREAS